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THE

HISTORY OF FRANCE.

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THE

HISTORY OF FRANCE.

BY

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PREFACE.

THE present volume completes a History of France, written after a careful study of every available original source, with the sole desire of ascertaining the truth, and without any bias of party policy or contemporaneous fashion. As the author announced in the first volume, his aim was to write French history from a point of view which should be English in its spirit, principles, and judgment, yet without jealousy or enmity towards a nation running the same race with ourselves, although in a different path. It is surely possible to be just and even friendly towards our neighbours, without adopting their opinions wholesale, and taking their rule as the measure not only of their merits but of our own. This nevertheless is what Englishmen have long been in the habit of doing. Of the histories of England which preceded that of Hume, the most popular and the most highly esteemed was written by a Frenchman. But although Hume's work displaced that of Rapin, Hume's views of England were taken altogether from the banks of the Seine, and his opinions were but the echoes of opinions current in French circles and saloons. What, again, is the new English school of thought which expresses sympathy with the acts of the French Revo-

lution, and an unbounded approbation of its results? We may admit that it was justly provoked by the shallow judgment which anathematised every liberal movement under the name of Revolution, until the public became first sated and at last disgusted. Still, what is the sympathy for Jacobinism but the echo of the opinions of those clever Frenchmen, who have contrived not only to excuse but to sanctify the Revolution by representing its cause as holy, its career as inevitable, its crimes as attributable to circumstances, not to persons, and its results as sufficiently glorious to cover any amount of meanness or of atrocity? It may be natural for Frenchmen to take this view, but it is obsequious folly on the part of Englishmen to adopt it. There is good and there is bad in the French Revolution. It may be more poetical to condemn it or laud it in the mass; but discrimination, though doubtless prosaic, is demanded by truth, morality, and sound judgment.

No more miserable and pernicious doctrine has ever been preached, than that which represents revolution as the result of an irresistible impulse, which it is treason to doubt and madness to resist. The era of revolutions is far from being closed; that of class struggles has indeed only recommenced. To enter upon such a period with the belief that the victory is reserved for those classes which stand lowest in the scale of education and resources, and that the excesses in which they indulge are to be patiently and submissively endured, is puerile and pusillanimous. Far more truly might it be said, that the physical force of multitudes, although it may for a time overbear intelligence and moderation, can always be resisted. If

the supremacy of intellect were never doubted by those who possessed it, that diminution or exhaustion of power which marked the last years of the great French Revolution would never have been experienced. In speaking thus it is far from the author's intention to make any allusion to the present, or to profess himself in the least an alarmist. His object throughout has been to write rather for the learner than for the partisan, for those who still have to form their opinions than for readers of a more mature age whose sentiments have assumed the hardened form of prejudice or passion. His aim has been to instruct, to make truthful representations, to pronounce just decisions, rather than to please the ear with the eloquence of the orator or the poet.

Some critics, indeed, insist peremptorily that a history should be either philosophic, or pictorial, or both. To the advantage or fairness of preaching philosophy under the guise of history, I must demur. To write a history in behalf of Deism, of Catholicism, of Benthamism, or of Socialism, is to take facts for counters and play a skilful game with them. To narrate the world's events after the manner of Bossuet, and see the hand of Providence directing and ordering all, would be to compose a homily. To follow Buckle in regarding man as the slave of clime, soil and circumstances, would lead us to a dead and dull materialism. There is no science so fleeting or ephemeral as the philosophy of history. Each generation forms one for itself, and expounds its theory—to be repudiated by the generation which follows.

The power of producing lifelike pictorial effects is as valuable as it is delightful in the chronicler of

cotemporary life, in the man who designs what he sees, and portrays what he contemplates. But vivid description and dramatic personification, at second-hand, made up of old materials and filled up by modern imagination, constitute romance, not history. Such devices may captivate and impose upon the ignorant and careless reader; but these are the achievements of the dramatist, not of the honest narrator. Scanty as are the records and dry the details of Roman history, for example, we find in the clever modern histories of that celebrated city a lavish elaboration of detail in the narrative of events, with full-length portraits of personages stippled with all the minuteness of Dutch painters. The design is admirable, the colouring just. One quality alone is wanting to its perfection, and that is truth.

I discuss these questions as generalities; myself they can scarcely concern. One of my reviewers, to be sure, is just enough to say that I have not done for France what Macaulay has done for England and Motley is doing for the Netherlands. I admit the truth of the charge. Macaulay devotes a volume to every three years. Motley not much less. A history of France on the same scale, and with the same space for portraiture and description, would require a room to hold and a horse to carry it. To give a clear yet succinct, a well studied and digested history of a great European country in a few volumes is a more useful, although it may be a more humble, task.

PARIS: *February* 1868.

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HISTORY OF FRANCE.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE DIRECTORY.

1795—1799.

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It is strange to find, but impossible not to see, a considerable resemblance between the reign of Louis the Fourteenth and that of the Convention. Both were supreme and terrible dictatorships; the one of a personage who concentrated in himself all the pride, prejudice, and powers of a dominant upper class; the other of the very antipodes in the social scale, of not merely the people, but of the most destitute and reckless of the people—the very dregs, in fact.

It would be difficult to say which was more intolerant or more cruel, the monarch or the mob; for St. Just had reason to plead that the republic sacrificed no more victims than the monarchy. Louis striped, branded, and slaughtered, chiefly the middle and lower class of the south. These, brutalised by his persecutions and proscriptions, took, after a century's lapse, their revenge, the hordes of Marseilles and Avignon bringing

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to the capital their frantic taste for bloodshed. The dominant passion of the monarchy, military conquest, was that of the Convention also; and the result the same—exulting triumphs followed by menacing reverses, which demanded of the country to meet them almost its last man and its last coin. The financial exhaustion of both periods was the same; in what fashion bankruptcy could be best committed being the problem left to their successors by the grand monarch and the great assembly. The trade and industry of the country was almost as much annihilated at one epoch as at the other. Nor was the internal administration very different. The royal intendants were the conventional commissaries, equally arbitrary; and if not equally oppressive it was because the intendants had merely to press down the weight that already existed, whilst the Convention had to reverse it. This placing of the poor in the position which the rich had held produced the aggravated horrors of social revolution, the more horrible because it was in some degree called for; each class when it was uppermost abusing its power, and effacing the Christian law of fraternity by that of the wild beasts which regard each other but as objects of rivalry or prey. Nothing could be more similar than the principles which actuated Louis the Fourteenth and the Convention. Both believed that they had each the right to dictate the moral, religious, and political opinions of their subjects. To want loyalty was treason to the king, to profess it was treason to the republic. The worship of birth enjoined in one epoch was a capital crime in the other. An embroidered coat betokened authority at the beginning of the century, rags were the garb of sovereignty in 1792. But in nothing perhaps did the exaggerated systems come more closely together than in their ultimate consequences, which were in both cases to destroy utterly, and render next to impossible, the principles and political system which they strove to found. Louis the Fourteenth

strained the sinews of absolute monarchy till they broke. His successor sate upon the throne, but without force to hold the sceptre. The convention so degraded and disgraced democratic government, that a free general election at its close would have extinguished the republic at once. The Conventionalists, however, managed to prolong their own reign, and by so doing merely gave time to enable a soldier to found a military empire, in the place of the constitutional one, which might much more easily have been established in 1796 than it was twenty years later.

If the Convention bears such strong resemblance to the most brilliant reign of the monarchy, the likeness between the governments which each begot as its successor is stronger still. The Regency and the Directory are twins. Under both oppressed mankind began to breathe, to talk and to live more freely, yet it was to make no good use of such freedom. The austerity of Louis and the terror of the Convention had suppressed all vice save that of cruelty and servile fear. Society, the moment it was freed from both, rushed into the extreme of dissoluteness and pleasure. Religion, scoffed at one epoch, was proscribed in the other. The Convention had abolished it, as well as the ties of marriage. Barras, the director, was a man of much the same stamp as Cardinal Dubois. The Luxemburg became a Palais Royal. The fall of *assignats*, and the attempt to replace or bolster them up, led to jobbery as frantic as that which Law inaugurated. Wealth became the sole aim and worship. And complete epicureanism succeeded to the fanaticism, religious or antireligious, of the preceding epochs. The epicureanism of the Regency differed indeed from that of the Directory. In the former epoch it was young, sanguine in its moral and political aspirations; it was looked to as a principle that might regenerate mankind, and save it from bigotry if not from despotism. It produced Voltaire, grew and

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became developed during the progress of the century, until it broke out in an extravagance and fanaticism of its own. All this had been worn out and evaporated during the terrible experience of the Convention. The epicureanism or disbelief in all things, which followed, was no longer the young elastic sentiment of the commencement of the century. It was old, effete, and capable of inspiring little more than a few books of drivelling philosophy. As the Convention had destroyed all schools and all studies, and as Napoleon himself, when he reached power, could but establish priests as uneducated as the age throughout the land, its sons continued to hold the revolutionary faith; but it was a negative or dead faith, not a living one—that utter distrust of things and men which still continues the character of the principal portion of the population. Nothing indeed could have vivified the epoch, or reawakened the enthusiasm of such a people, save military glory. That Napoleon gave, and by it he came to supersede all other idols and all other influence. His history in fact begins where that of the revolution ends, and the image of the Five Directors forms but the frontispiece to his romantic story.

It has been before remarked that hope was the characteristic of the National Assembly, and fear that of the Convention. Its fears indeed often produced the courage of despair. The consciousness that they had made enemies of all the world, and that any change of men in the legislature or the government must necessarily bring punishment upon themselves, impelled them to prolong their power, by the decree which rendered it compulsory that the old Conventionalists should form two-thirds, thus constituting the majority of the new assemblies, and consequently should have the power of choosing the members of the coming government. This was indeed put to the vote in the primary assemblies. But the provinces refrained from voting, believing that

they could not reverse the decisions of Paris. And these were enforced against the express will of its own citizens, who hated the very name of the Convention, by the cannon of Bonaparte.

On the 27th of October, 1795, the members of the new legislature met. Instead of 500 members, the two-thirds, to be chosen from the members of the convention, the elections had returned but 379. As the deputies for the colonies were to retain their seats, 104 new members were left to be chosen by their colleagues. These were of course the dregs of the Convention, which the country refused to name, and of these, "the least bad," according to the expression of Thibaudeau, were selected. The number of 750 being thus completed, the one-third, consisting of the elder and of the married, were set apart to form the Council of the Ancients, and allowed to occupy the hall of the assembly in the Tuileries. The remaining 500 adjourned to the old *Manège*, or place of sitting, where the present Rue de Rivoli is situated.*

A more important act than even the completion of the assemblies was the choice of the Five Directors who were to form the new government. By the constitution the choice lay with the Council of the Ancients, out of a list presented by the Cinq Cents. These agreed to place at the top of the list the five of their own selection, and name after them the most obscure and incapable members of the Convention, such as the ancients could not approve. All, they resolved, should be regicides, and yet not members of the old terrorist committees. The men they fixed upon were La Reveillere Lepaux, Barras, Rewbell, Sièyes, and Letourneur. La Reveillere, deformed, studious, and retiring, was the philosopher of the party; he was one of the seventy-three expelled from the Convention for

* Moniteur, Thibaudeau.

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objecting to the unjust condemnation of the Gironde. He had most votes. Barras and Rewbell were Thermidorians, friends of Tallien. Barras was noble; had served as an officer, and subsequently, as a terrorist pro-consul. He and Rewbell had soon all the jobbers and contractors, the corrupt of society, attracted to them. The female portion especially flocked round Barras. Letourneur was chosen as a military man, and at the same time a harmless one. Sièyes was the only member elected for his brains. But he at once declined to form a government with men in whom he had no confidence.* It became thus necessary to choose another Director. The newly elected third of the assemblies, all moderate and anti-conventionalists, were for nominating Cambacérès. He was a moderate man and an able jurisconsult, who as member of the Convention had laid the foundation of the future code. To defeat Cambacérès, Carnot, who had been elected by fourteen departments, was put forward and was named the fifth Director, although by no very large majority of the Ancients.

The Luxemburg, by turns throughout the revolution a prison and a palace, had been designed as the residence of the Directors. They found with difficulty a chair and table, to write the proclamation announcing their assumption of power. There was not a livre in the treasury. And their first act was to demand of the councils the permission to issue 3,000,000*l.* of assignats, or about 120,000,000*l.* sterling, which, exchanged for coin, would produce 1,000,000*l.* Having obtained this the Directory, or its finance minister, Faypoult, drew up an elaborate financial report. From eighteen to twenty milliards of assignats had been issued since the commencement of the revolution. The government proposed completing the sum of thirty milliards, and

* According to Carnot, he and Rewbell were declared enemies, and Rewbell a passionate man, with whom Sièyes would have had eternal war.

then prohibiting further issues. They estimated that there were upwards of seven milliards' worth of confiscated property to be disposed of, which, as the assignat had fallen to one hundred and fiftieth part of its value, might be made to satisfy the holders of paper. Such a proposal terrified the Council of Ancients, with whom lay the final voting of all laws. The bankruptcy which it declared displeased the revolutionists, and even they were alarmed at the prospect of destroying the assignat and its fabric without any other money forthcoming. The scheme was accordingly rejected, and the Directory obliged to substitute for it the right revolutionary levy of a forced loan of 600,000,000 on the rich. It was to be progressive. Assignats were to be taken at one-hundredth part of their nominal value, and the issue was allowed to the amount of forty, not thirty, milliards. A new kind of assignat was subsequently invented, with a peculiar portion of land or houses mortgaged and inserted in it. The scheme had no success. So that in July, 1796, the Directory found itself obliged to decree that all taxes should be paid in coin, or in assignats, only at the current value. The ordinary expenses were at the same time estimated at 450,000,000 of livres, the war expenses 550,000,000 in addition.*

* The budget of 1797 was fixed at 450 millions ordinary, 650 extraordinary expenses. It was proposed to meet these with

250 millions of land tax.
50 do. of personal tax.
150 do. of customs and other taxes.

Thus, leaving the extraordinary or war expenses to be met by extraordinary means, such as the sale of national property or loans.

It will be remarked, that in this account of revenue and expenditure there is no mention of the public debt, that debt which Cambon received such praise for consolidating. In that consolidation he had comprised 89 millions of rentes or interest annually due, 415 millions of capital in debts to be reimbursed at fixed epochs; other debts, equal to 625 millions, arising from liquidation. Cambon fixed the annual interest due at 200 millions. In 1798 the interest was 258 millions, when two-thirds were cancelled by the Directory, or nominally allowed to be received in payment of national property. The remaining third constituted the debt at 5 per cent. One hundred francs of it did not pro-

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The finances, however entangled and exhausted, did not form the chief difficulty of the new government. It was like so many of the ignorant attempts of the revolution to frame a constitution, in which the executive, isolated from all other powers, and antagonistic to them, was still expected to rule by their support. The Directors, however objectionable and obscure, entered upon office with a laudable desire to avoid and keep down the extravagance of contending parties. On one side were the Moderates, comprising the new third of the assemblies, with some few Royalists amongst them, but the greater numbers merely bent upon closing the revolution, and weaning the government from arbitrary ways. On the other was the disappointed herd of Anarchists, crushed since Thermidor, but partly resuscitated by the aid which they were called to give, and did give, in the struggle against the sections.

Of these parties the Directors thought the Moderates the most formidable. Their opening proclamation announced their peculiar mission and care to be for the extinction of royalism. That they fell short of the cannibalism of the terrorists they showed by releasing from the Temple the daughter of Louis the Sixteenth, and handing her over to the Austrians upon the Rhine, in exchange for the French deputies in their hands, Camus, Drouet, and Beurnonville, together with Maret and Semonville, seized during a diplomatic journey through north Italy. Yet lest this should be considered a weakness, Barras and his colleagues proposed a fête to celebrate the 21st of January, the anniversary of the late king's execution. This was intended as a mortification to the supposed Royalists of the Cinq Cents.

The chief strength and security of the Directory lay

duce more in the market than 17 frs., whilst 100 frs. of the *deux tiers*, which could purchase national property, fell as low as three sous. Such was the end of republican credit and finance.—Calmon, Finances de l'Empire.

at first in the publicity and freedom which accompanied its installation. The public felt as free as in 1789, and showed it by the formation of clubs and the issuing of journals representing every party. The reactionists or Royalists, as some of them no doubt were, met in the Rue de Clichy, which gave its name to their club. The anti-Jacobins, who did not go such lengths, formed a constitutional club in the Hôtel de Salm, of which Barbé Marbois, Tronson Du Coudray, Thibaudeau, and Talleyrand were members. The *sans-culottes* met in the refectory of the Genovéfan Convent, long after the public library of the Pantheon, behind which it was situated. Here were renewed the eloquence and the politics of the Jacobins and Cordeliers.*

To such menaces and obstructions the Convention had not only opposed the guillotine and the terror, but latterly the successes of its armies. Both these resources at first failed the Directory. The true strength of the republic lay indeed in the army, the members of which had gained more by the revolution than any other class. The lowly-born saw the privilege of birth disappear before them; military talent found a quick reward. The royalist princes of ancient France were in the ranks of their enemies, and whether on the Rhine or on La Vendée, were the inveterate foes of the modern French soldier such as the revolution had made. With the generals, however, this attachment of the military masses to the existing government did not hold. The Convention had been cruel and unjust to them. The Directory promised no better. And although the far greater number remained true to the faith and fortune of the republican colours, there were some who, like Dumourier, foresaw the restoration of royalty as a necessity, and were ready to be the instruments of that change. Amongst these was Pichegru, the conqueror

* Thibaudeau, Dumas Souvenirs.

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of Holland, who first a soldier, before the revolution, had been promoted, and made a sergeant by the Prince of Condé. They thus knew each other. In August, 1795, the prince by an agent sounded Pichegru, who appeared but too ready to serve the Bourbons. He could have done so at once but for the hesitation of Condé. The French general consented to conduct the operations of his army in concert with the general of the enemy.* He repassed the Rhine; Jourdan, who was on the right bank farther north, being thus left unsupported, was obliged to withdraw. The French were subsequently beaten from their lines before Mayence. The Directory warned, recalled Pichegru in time, but the reverses of the campaign could not be prevented.

To discover and defeat the underground efforts of the Royalists and Jacobins, the Directory in December, 1795, established what became a permanent institution of the country, a ministry of police. Cochon first held the office, and it was certainly no sinecure. Royalist agents were ubiquitous and active; the Anarchists at first more menacing and open. As of old, they addressed most furious petitions to the assembly. One, drawn up and presented by the *sans-culottes* of the south, aroused all the passions of the Cinq Cents. The petitioners were not without cause of complaint. The terrible excesses of the Anarchists in the towns of the Rhone and Mediterranean had, as may well be supposed, created a host of vindictive enemies, the relations of the thousands despoiled and murdered. These relatives, since Thermidor, had returned from emigration or raised their heads from terrified submission. They found Jacobins in possession of their lands and houses, living in the presbyteries, and tilling the confiscated property of the churches. The anti-terrorists formed societies for the purpose of vengeance,† called *Compagnons de Jésus et du*

* Memoirs of Montgaillard, of Faucheborel, and Gouvion St. Cyr.

† For their doings see Souvenirs de Charles Nodier.

Soleil. They massacred the Jacobins and all those who had imbued their hands in the blood of royalist or civic victims, and in a lapse of time slew if not as many victims as the revolutionists, certainly enough for large expiation. The terrorists of the south, thus terrorised in their turn, complained that since Thermidor the government commissaries did not hold out to them sufficient aid or protection. An animated debate ensued, which called forth once more an indignant speech from the Girondin Isnard, who exposed the recent attempts at resuscitating Jacobinism in Marseilles. Under its influence the Cinq Cents set aside the petition by the order of the day.

Such a cool dismissal of their complaints proved to the ultra-revolutionary party, the resuscitated Jacobins of the Pantheon, that nothing was to be hoped from the assemblies which formed the legislature under the new constitution. The restoration of the old constitution, that of 1793, and the Convention, or a Convention, became in consequence their fixed idea and dominant aim. To mature and accomplish it, they formed as of old an insurrectionary committee of public safety, which met in secret, re-enlisted all the old agents of insurrection, and exerted their utmost to rally and reconstitute the revolutionary army of the rabble, which had well nigh lost its vocation.

The original Jacobins were numerous enough to divide their respective duties. The Marats and the Desmoulins blew the trumpet of the press, the Legendres and Santerres marshalled the masses, the Robespierres and Dantons perorated. But the men of action had been cut off; there remained but the theorists and the scribblers. Babœuf, originally a land-surveyor, was one of these. He was a journalist of the school of Marat, and who had consequently spent almost as much time in prison as out of it. This gave him leisure for reflection and for the concoction of

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theories. The Jacobin doctrine of transferring to the poor the property of the rich was nothing new, and had been practised all through the revolution. Babœuf erected it into a system, and first preached that community of goods which has grown up to be a philosophy and a creed in our days. He came too late in the revolution, however, for his or any other theory, to be listened to. The working class was disgusted with the revolution, which had brought to it nothing save decimation and famine. But there were still some thousands of professional insurrectionists in Paris, and Babœuf's system promised them plunder. It was not the more unwelcome for the plunder being necessarily prefaced by bloodshed. The plan of Babœuf's conspiracy was to slay all the authorities, recal and recomplete the convention with the Babouviens, restore the *maximum*, the requisition, and the terror, and resuscitate the state of things which Thermidor had interrupted. A captain named Gressel disclosed the whole plot to Carnot, and almost all the conspirators, with their papers, were seized in one night in May 1796.

Babœuf was so confident, that almost his first act, when arrested and his whole plot discovered, was to threaten the government and make an offer of forbearance only on condition of his scheme of social revolution being adopted. He was under a profound delusion. The men and the ideas so formidable in 1793 had become powerless and effete in 1796. The people, still closely pressed by famine,* were not to be moved. No party in the councils or no large portion of the population could succeed in making political capital out of anarchy. Drouet alone, the former postmaster of Varennes, was implicated in Babœuf's plot. His being absent from France in an Austrian prison left him unaware how

* The people of Paris received but three-quarters of a pound of bread each per day through the greater part of 1796.—Decree of Directory in Aug.

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much public opinion had progressed. He contrived, however, to escape from prison.* Amongst those who were sent to Verdun were the well-known insurrectionist names of Amar, Verdier, Chaudieu, Antonelli, Rossignol. They were sent to Vendome, where a high court of justice was selected to try them.

There were some feeble attempts to create a tumult in the night appointed for the removal of Babœuf and his accomplices, which was towards the end of August. A more serious effort was made on the night of the 9th of September. Some four or five hundred Anarchists, incompletely armed, collected in Vaugirard, and favoured by the darkness penetrated into the military camp then formed on the Plaine de Grenelle. Their hopes were built upon a certain regiment of dragoons, the 21st, which was to favour them. But when they approached its cantonment, they met with no signs of adherence, whilst the soldiers in general prepared to resist and capture the fellows, who came crying, "Down with the Convention and the Directory." A major of the 21st regiment of dragoons, named Malo, mounted on horseback, collected some men and charged the intruders, who were soon dispersed and taken to the number of between two or three hundred. Some thirty were condemned by court-martial and shot, the rest were ordered to be transported. This tumult rendered it necessary to treat Babœuf and his accomplices with severity. Their trial lasted long, but Babœuf and his second Darthé were condemned to death, and executed after having made feeble attempts at suicide. Some more were condemned to transportation; amongst them Buonarotti, who lived to be the historian of the conspiracy.†

The ease with which the Directory put down this last

* Changing his name, Drouet managed to earn his bread as an artisan.

† Buonarotti, Hist. de la Conspiration. Procés de Babœuf. Fleury's Babœuf. Granièr de Cassagnac, Histoire du Directoire.

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conspiracy of the Anarchists, with the little sympathy shown by the people for them, evinced that the time of popular insurrection had passed. The people, as the French say, had given in their resignation. It was for professional politicians to continue the struggle. Could they have done so within the constitutional arena, and with merely such power and influence as civilians wield, liberty might still have survived; but unfortunately, from the commencement of the revolution to its close, party strife was decided not by opinion, violent as that might be, but by force. For five disastrous years the populace had formed that force. It was now to be sought elsewhere, and the army offered itself. It had during the revolutionary years deserved well of the country, kept its soil uninvaded, and even made conquests more important than those of Louis the Fourteenth. But it was not till the year 1796 that its exploits, and the fame of the general who achieved them, shone with a brilliancy that soon eclipsed and flung into the shade all civilian efforts, merits, and authority.

The year 1796 promised well for the Directory in its prosecution of the military struggle. The last months of the previous year had seen La Vendée finally succumb. The efforts of England and of the French princes, not dismayed by the disaster of Quiberon, had renewed the attempt of landing an English auxiliary force with a French prince upon the coast. The Count d'Artois embarked. Charette once more raised the standard of insurrection, but Hoche, who commanded the republican army, was too energetic and too able. He kept possession of the sea-coast, and rendered it a perilous task for the pretender or his auxiliaries to land. That personage had been landed on the Isle Dieu, off the coast of France, by the English fleet, which remained in the neighbourhood waiting an opportunity for disembarking. This, possible at first, became of course each day more hazardous, the republicans being more vigilant and

better prepared. Neither Charette nor Stofflet were able to raise anything like the old Vendean armies, and so open a passage from the sea to its foreign auxiliaries. The Vendeans expected everything from England and the prince. The prince and the English expected not merely the promise but the appearance of an army from them. Both were disappointed. The English thought that under such circumstances the prince should at least have flung himself upon his native soil, and have struck a blow for the throne and its partisans. But the Count d'Artois was not made to *chouanner*. He begged to be recalled, gave voluminous directions to the Vendeans for another rising, with a few thousand English pounds, and sailed away, leaving Charette and Stofflet to their fate. These could not even unite, so vigilant was the guard of Hoche. Stofflet could not number three hundred men. Soon tracked and seized, he was carried to Angers, and shot in February. Charette did his utmost to break through the toils with which Hoche surrounded him. But it was in vain; the spirit of the Vendeans was broken, and Hoche completed it by an adroit mode of disarmament. He seized all the eatables, corn, and principal inhabitants, and only delivered them up on the district surrendering its arms. This trial of life or death, the Vendeans, a year or two back would have answered at the point of the bayonet; not so now. Hoche prevailed, Charette became the daring leader of a band instead of the general of an army; and hunted by numerous detachments he at last fell into an ambuscade, laid for him by general Travot. He resisted capture with desperation; but it was effected, and the last Vendean chief died about a month after Stofflet, with his wonted fortitude, on the public place of Nantes.

The attempt to raise La Vendée was an abortive effort of England to take part in the continental war against France. This was by no means easy to accomplish,

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since the republic was mistress of the coast of Holland, since Spain had made peace, and Prussia in the treaty of Basle (1795) had acquiesed in the French conquest of the Low Countries and of Holland. Austria alone remained to reduce, and even she so far wavered as to render it necessary for England to encourage her resistance by a subsidy of six millions sterling. At the same time an aggressive war was indispensable to the Directory. In peace it could not hope to maintain its power, the national reaction of the time leading back to royalism. The old Conventionalists, who nominated and composed the Directory, must combat this; and the armies, which wanted to continue their career—there was no other for any man—were of the same opinion. But war, to be carried on, must be bold and aggressive, for government had no money to feed the armies on its own soil.*

They must advance to find food, as well as acquire glory, in the enemies' provinces. It was therefore insisted on that the generals on the Rhine should cross it and march into Austria, and that those on the Alps should force their way into Lombardy or Piedmont. It was hoped that they might "join hands" over the Tyrol, and then advance in concert. Bonaparte had long recommended the invasion of Piedmont, and Carnot was of the same opinion. Both were for driving the Austro-Piedmontese from the *Riviera*, or strip of coast between the mountains and the Mediterranean, and from thence crossing the low passes between the Alps and Apennines into the plains north of them. The Austro-Piedmontese were quite strong enough to have defended the Riviera against the French, and they showed it by driving back Kellerman.

But the peace with Spain (July 1795) allowed the Directory to draft the army of Catalonia to Nice.

* Carnot to Scherer.

Scherer and Augereau came with it, the former to take the command. Finding himself at the head of 40,000 men and urged by Carnot, he advanced up the Riviera. Piedmontese and Austrians kept on different sides of the Alpine range. By taking possession of the crest of these the French might separate them. Scherer employed Augereau and Massena to do this, whilst he himself fell upon the Austrians at Loano in November. They expected no attack so late in the year, and were completely driven from their positions, leaving open those passes to the north through which the French had intended to penetrate. Scherer, however, contented with the defeat of the Austrians and with the opening communications with Genoa, shrunk from crossing the Alps into Piedmont at the commencement of winter. For this he was strongly censured by Buonaparte, who pointed out how easily he might have taken Ceva and conquered Piedmont, doing in November, what Buonaparte himself did in the following April. He insisted that it could best be done in winter.*

The Directory could only stop the mouth of such a critic by transferring to him the command, which he accordingly assumed in March, 1796, of the army of Italy, 45,000 strong. To engage him to set out, they promised that he should find 500,000 livres at Nice. They could only forward to him 24,000;† these were all he brought to the famished army, which had to look to victory for supplies. The Piedmontese army under Colli, of nearly equal force, had its head-quarters at Ceva. Beaulieu commanded an army of 34,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry, with which he imagined he had but to defend Genoa. To keep him in this opinion Buonaparte marched a division towards that city. The Austrians attacked it on the 10th at Voltri, beat it back, and

* To Napoleon's letter, included in his Correspondence, the date of October is wrongfully given. It must have been written after Loano.

† Mémoires du Duc de Gaeta.

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Beaulieu intending to annihilate his adversary, sent a strong corps to the mountains, from whence he hoped to fall upon their flank or rear. The greater part of the French had, however, already marched thither, and those driven from Voltri also took that direction. So that when Beaulieu occupied the heights of Montenotte with 13,000 men, he found himself beset on the 12th by far greater numbers of the French, whose divisions attacked him on all sides. The Austrians were overwhelmed and beaten, 2,000 of them made prisoners; the rest fell back upon Dego.

The Piedmontese were not in time to aid their allies at Montenotte, and not in force sufficient to aid them at Millesimo; Buonaparte was thus able on the 15th to send Augereau against the Piedmontese at Millesimo, whilst Massena drove the Austrians from Dego. On both points the French continued to be superior in numbers. A small Austrian division under Provera had advanced into the gorges of Millesimo to form a junction with the Piedmontese; but were driven back upon Ceva, after a smart action, and Provera compelled to surrender. The action of Dego was more fatal to the Austrians, who were expelled from the village with the loss of 3,000 killed and 9,000 prisoners. They lost all their artillery. The looseness of the Austrian tactics were proved, when on the following day, a strong corps of no less than 7,000 Austrian grenadiers stumbled upon Dego, drove the French from it, and placed the entire movement and victory of Buonaparte in jeopardy. To dislodge them was indispensable, yet, the troops worn with fatigue and fighting were scarcely equal to it. They were three times repulsed, from whence it is evident that had this corps arrived in time the former victory of Dego would not have been won. It was only on the fourth assault, led by General Lanusse with his hat held high on his sword, that the French succeeded in recapturing Dego.

The Piedmontese showed by no means the staunchness of the Austrians. They abandoned Ceva, and the French came up with them at Mondovi, to complete their rout. The victors were in high exultation. Buonaparte had shown them from Montezemolo, a little beyond Millesimo, the rich plains of Piedmont, the promised land of Italy. Hannibal, he said, may have forced his way through the Alps, we have done as much by turning them. Arrived at Cherasco, within ten leagues of Turin, Buonaparte found the plenipotentiaries of the Sardinian court empowered to make every sacrifice. An armistice was concluded (28th of April) and the final conditions of peace referred to Paris, the fortresses of Ceva, Tortona and Alexandria being in the meantime placed in French hands.

Buonaparte, or Bonaparte as he henceforth called himself, well deserved the immense credit which he obtained from this series of victories, fought with few soldiers perhaps, yet decisive in their results. The French generals of division, Augereau and Massena, showed as much heroism as their commander did skill. And yet there was no miracle in their first achievements. The Austrians, who fought also most gallantly, were inferior to the French in number. And if Beaulieu allowed them to be irreparably so, it was that he counted on the support which the Piedmontese ought to have given his right. But the armies of that effete monarchy gave no serious support and made not even a decent resistance. Their inaction and retreat left the Austrian general no resource but to withdraw behind the Lombard rivers.

On the 7th of May the French passed the Po at Piacenza whilst Beaulieu expected them at Valenza. After a show of resistance at Fombio, he proposed defending the passage of the Adda. Instead of breaking the bridge over the river at Lodi, Beaulieu thought it sufficient to enfilade it with a battery, whilst to support this battery, the Austrian grenadiers were posted too far

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behind. The French generals Lannes, Berthier, Massena were thus enabled to carry the bridge at the head of their grenadiers, receiving the first discharge that killed 200 men and bayoneting the Austrian artillerymen ere they could be succoured. The crossing of the Adda gave Lombardy to the French, as Napoleon wrote, and the Austrians retired behind the Mincio.

The French commander entered Milan in triumph. The Duke of Parma thought fit to make his submission. Bonaparte made him pay down two millions, and surrender twenty of his best pictures for the Louvre. He at the same time pressed the Government in Paris for reinforcements, promising if he had them, not only to repel the Austrians, but march on Rome and Naples. The Directory took him at his word, and proposed sending him to the South of Italy with one army, whilst Kellerman should continue the conquest of North Italy with the other. Bonaparte replied by an offer of resignation. The majority of the Directors too were for not concluding the treaty with the King of Piedmont, which left the arms of the French general free. Its conclusion was only due to the efforts of Carnot.*

The month of June was spent by the French in awing and reducing the southern and central states of Italy. Tuscany had long since negotiated with the Republic; and Napoleon now visited it, hoping, yet failing to surprise the English vessels at Leghorn. Augereau occupied Bologna. Naples itself felt compelled to conclude an armistice and withdraw its troops from the Austrian army. On first entering the territories of the Venetian republic Bonaparte had announced by a proclamation his wish to remain in amity with its government. He strongly advised later that its system should be changed, and some modifications made in its ultra-aristocratic form. The proposal was scouted.

* Gourgaud. Carnot's Memoirs by his son.

The Venetian government displayed its sympathies for Austria, and the language of the French became that of hostility and menace.*

The fate of Italy was not yet decided. Wurmser was coming to replace Beaulieu at the head of a new army chiefly drawn from that commanded in Germany by the Archduke Charles; 30,000 men had at the same time been despatched from Moreau's army to reinforce Bonaparte.† The latter calculated his force at but 56,000 men in June, whilst the Austrians, he said, had been reinforced to the number of 67,000. ‡

This *avalanche* came down the Tyrol on both sides of the Lake of Garda, towards the end of July, when Bonaparte wrote,§ "This is our unfortunate position. The enemy has pierced our lines on three points. He is master of Rivoli and the Corona. Salo has been abandoned. The Austrians have taken Brescia and the Ponte San Marco, cutting off our communications with Milan and Verona." He in consequence immediately ordered the abandonment of the siege of Mantua, with the guns in position, and bade the baggage to be directed back upon Milan.

With a force so slightly outnumbering that of the French, it was a hazardous plan which Wurmser adopted, of sending one portion of his army by the left of the Lake of Garda to capture Salo and Brescia, whilst with the other he descended the course of the Adige, driving Massena from Rivoli. His object was to unite the two divisions on the Mincio, and in this he might have succeeded, had not the Austrian commander marched to relieve and revictual Mantua, in the siege of which he supposed the French still engaged. Taking advantage of his absence, Bonaparte on the 31st marched westward from the Mincio to repel the division

* Zschokke's Untergang.
† Carnot.
‡ Napoleon Correspondence.
§ Ib.

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under Quasdanowitsch that had captured Salo and Brescia. This was fully accomplished on the 31st of July, the French marching all that night to Brescia, and driving Quasdanowitsch back into the gorges of the Tyrol. On the 2nd Bonaparte marched back from Brescia and found that in his absence the division which he had left to guard the Mincio, and had ordered at least not to retrograde beyond Castiglione, had been driven in, that the Austrians already occupied Lonato, and were extending between it and the lake to form a junction with Quasdanowitsch. They were not more than 30,000, Wurmser himself being still at Mantua, the French somewhat inferior. But in extending their right towards Salo, the Austrian commander weakened his position at Lonato, which Bonaparte immediately attacked on the 3rd. He drove in their centre, one portion of the Austrians withdrawing to the Mincio; the rest cut off from the main army, were after a time obliged to surrender, to the number of 3,000 with a score of guns.*

On the day after the battle one of these divisions came suddenly upon the French commander-in-chief, as he was engaged hurrying up his rearward troops to Castiglione. They called on the small corps to surrender. Bonaparte, surrounded by his staff, ordered the Austrian officer to be brought before him and affirming that he was there with his whole army, demanded in turn the instant surrender of the Austrians; these could not believe that the commander-in-chief would be there without his army, and surrendered in consequence—several thousands to a handful.

The battle of Castiglione, fought upon the 5th against Wurmser's force, brought back from Mantua, and rallying those which had retreated from Lonato, bore considerable resemblance to the battle fought at Solferino in our time.

* Napoleon's Mémoires, Gourgaud. Correspondence. Las Casas, Mémorial de Ste. Hélène. Joubert's despatch and Augereau's account in Pièces Justificatives of the Mémoires de Massena par Koch.

Both began on the same plain. Napoleon despatched Serrurier the night before to fall upon the Austrians' left wing. Massena fell upon their right. "Augereau," writes Napoleon in his correspondence, "attacked the centre of the enemy which leaned upon the tower of Solferino, and driving it in decided the victory." * According to Napoleon, these five days' fighting cost the Austrians 8,000 in killed and wounded, from 12,000 to 15,000 prisoners, and 70 guns. They cost the French, he says, 7,000 men. By the 7th of August the French had recovered all their old positions.

Wurmser, indeed, did not give up his cause as lost. He had retreated into the Tyrol, but still held Roveredo and Trent with the remainder of his beaten army, swelled by a reinforcement, according to the French, of 20,000 men. Bonaparte followed him up the Tyrol and fought with him the battle of Roveredo on the 4th of September, the French penetrating into that town along with the Austrians. Wurmser, though beaten, directed his march not back into Germany, but sideways towards Bassano, from whence he projected to return upon Verona whilst the French commander was still in the Tyrol. It was a bold but unfortunate idea. Followed closely by Bonaparte, beaten at Bassano as well as before Verona, he was nearly surrounded, but succeeded in escaping into Mantua with the mere relics of his army.

Whilst the genius of Bonaparte thus drove the Austrians from the plains of Lombardy, the efforts of his brother generals at the head of far superior armies could make no impression upon the Imperialists in Germany. Yet it was the desire and interest of the Directory that the young general should not monopolise victory. The French armies under Moreau and Jourdan on the upper and lower Rhine numbered 150,000 men. The Arch-

* The victory of Solferino in our day, and the capture of its tower by the French, were chiefly owing to the defection of an Hungarian corps, posted to protect the defence. An Eye-witness.

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duke Charles, even after the departure of Wurmser with 30,000 men for Italy, was nearly as strong. The French passed the Rhine with two armies, Jourdan at Cologne, Moreau at Kehl, with the intention of meeting in the centre of Germany. The Archduke Charles at first retreated before them, but gave Moreau battle on the 11th of August at Neresheim. The combatants lost each about 7,000 men, the French kept possession of the field, but the junction of Moreau with Jourdan was prevented. On the 3rd of September, Jourdan gave battle to the Archduke for the purpose of effecting what Moreau had failed in accomplishing. The engagement took place at Wurzburg, but the French were defeated by the archduke and Jourdan's army driven back upon the Rhine. Moreau advanced as far as Munich, and was thus in Bavaria in the first days of September, whilst Bonaparte was engaged with Wurmser. The latter believed that the two French generals would unite, and in this belief he made his unfortunate *point* upon Verona. But Moreau could go no farther. The Archduke Charles, after the defeat of Jourdan, watched every opportunity for overwhelming his brother general, and all Moreau could do was to bring back his army to Strasbourg. His retreat across the Black Forest is compared by French writers to that of the Ten Thousand. It is not easy to discern the similitude.

These successes of the Archduke Charles compensated at Vienna the victory of Bonaparte, and even after the last defeat it was determined to send a fresh army down the Tyrol upon Verona, under the command of Alvinzi, to the relief of Wurmser, who was by no means provided for supporting a long siege in Mantua. The force collected for this purpose amounted to some 50,000 men, of which one portion under Davidowitsch was to take the accustomed road down the Adige to Verona; the rest Alvinzi proposed to bring to Vicenza, and thus approach Verona and Mantua from Venetia. In both

directions the Austrians were successful. Early in November, Davidowitsch drove General Vaubois from the valley of the Adige back upon Verona, whilst Massena and Augereau were obliged to retire from Vicenza to the same town.

The Austrian generals took post on the heights of Caldiero, eastward of Verona. Bonaparte marched from this city on the 12th to attack them, but was repulsed, and for the first time found himself worsted. He vented his anger and despair, the latter more than half affected, in a despatch to the Directory, complaining of their leaving him so inferior in number to the enemy. To rest under defeat was, however, to draw down destruction. He had tried in vain to dislodge the Austrians from Caldiero by attacking them from Verona. To reach them from the other side was difficult, for the only way led through marshes, and to attempt this would expose Verona. Yet the French general risked it. He marched from Verona south-east by the Adige, passed over it to the marshes, and directed his column on the 11th of November along the raised roads by which "he hoped to reach Villanuova and the enemy's rear by the first light of morning." * He was stopped, however, by the Alpon river and the bridge of Arcola which crosses it, where a regiment of Croats kept guard. Not to force a passage seemed to be to lose the whole aim of the expedition, and accordingly every effort was made by the French to do so. Attack after attack failing, the last was led by Napoleon in person, who planted a flag upon the bridge and led on a truly forlorn hope. The generals and aides-de-camp covered him with their persons, but all were shot or wounded, and he himself, dragged back from the inexpugnable bridge by his soldiers, was well nigh drowned in the morass which engulfed him to the middle. There was no taking or passing the bridge till the next day, the Alpon having

* His Correspondence.

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then been passed higher up. The aim was thus not attained of turning or reaching Caldiero from the east, but an equal result was obtained by Alvinzi quitting that position to fight the French column on the *chaussées* or roads through the marshes, on which the heads of columns alone could take part in the combat. The contest continued on the two following days in the open plain, where Alvinzi's troops, no longer sheltered by their position, were completely beaten. Napoleon says they were chiefly raw recruits. Alvinzi in this engagement lost half his force, and finally withdrew into the Tyrol.

The victory of Arcola and the retreat of Alvinzi were followed by negotiations which occupied December. They having failed in producing an agreement, Alvinzi reappeared in January, 1797, with an army as strong as ever. Its numbers were completed and spirit invigorated by volunteers from the chief towns of Austria. Those of Vienna had received their colours from the hands of the Empress. The French troops, however, had been reinforced too, and were thus more equal to the new contest than they had been for that decided at Arcola.

This time with merely a feint attack upon Verona from the east, the chief force of Alvinzi came down the valley of the Adige, it and the French staking at once the issue of the campaign upon the possession of the high plain of Rivoli. The French had collected their principal force there, and held it with a formidable artillery. It thus became the task of Alvinzi to assault this position on several sides with his infantry, it being impossible to use at first either cavalry or artillery. Fighting under this great disadvantage, the Austrian columns gallantly ascended the heights of Rivoli, and one portion especially drove in Joubert, and had well nigh established themselves on the *plateau*. They were driven from it, however, when Massena arrived with the last reinforcements. It was a day-long struggle, which

ended in the complete failure of the Austrians to take the *plateau*. As they attacked from all sides in different divisions, these once defeated, could not unite or rally, so that the consequence of failure was the loss of half his army to Alvinzi. Such was the battle of the 14th of January, 1797, known as that of Rivoli.

Meantime 7,000 or 8,000 of the Austrians under Provera had left the main armies combating, and hurried to Mantua, to surprise the French corps of besiegers. They resisted for the night, and by the morning some of the troops that had so lately fought at Rivoli arrived to prevent the revictualling of the fortress. In vain did Wurmser make a desperate sortie and Provera do all that a gallant general could, to penetrate into the place. Wurmser was repulsed, and Provera obliged to surrender. The campaign was over. The Austrians had not resources for marching a sixth army to save Italy. Mantua surrendered on the 2nd of February. And the war, if continued, had at least not to be fought on Italian ground.

Previous to the last expedition of Alvinzi, England and France, more from regard to popular opinion than to the convictions of the government, had made an attempt at negotiation. Lord Malmesbury came to Paris, and had several interviews with Delacroix the minister of Foreign Affairs. But neither had any idea of making the concessions requisite for peace. The English could not stomach the French hold of Belgium, and the hopes and efforts of the Directory were centered on the expedition of twenty odd thousand men who, with Hoche at their head, were about to land in Ireland. They sailed for that purpose, and returned as they came, having battled only with the elements. But it showed the animus of the French—to strike a deep blow at England, not conclude peace with it.

The Directory proposed a separate peace with Austria, and sent Clarke, subsequently the Duke of Feltre, for

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the purpose. But he was as little successful with the Austrians, as Lord Malmesbury had been with the French. Bonaparte was averse to the mission and the instructions of Clarke, which went to leave the fortress of Mantua to the enemy.

The astounding success of the French army of Italy, and the glory of its commander, not merely cowed and prostrated Europe, but threatened to do the same by the parties which struggled against the Directory at home. It would be difficult to find a government less calculated to command obedience or respect. It had obtained and prolonged its reign against the popular choice, and by doing it absolute violence, whilst every man of respectability and moderation scorned its members as incapable and corrupt. The directors indeed soon perceived that they could not survive in an atmosphere of freedom. To gag the press, falsify the elections and keep up the laws excluding from office all who were not Terrorists, formed their only means of retaining power. The majority of Frenchmen were unmistakably returning to their old convictions and their old habits, to religion, to monarchy, or to the rule of those who had some claim and right to govern. Had the Bourbon family possessed a prince of eminent qualities, all eyes would have turned to him, but the legitimate princes merely looked to restore the reign of long years previous. The Duke of Orleans, notwithstanding his campaigns, had not redeemed the crimes of his father. Hence moderate men were more anti-revolutionary than royalist, and would not have objected to a Directory of honourable men, governing constitutionally, in harmony with the people and the assemblies. The majority of the directors, however, consisting of Barras, Rewbell and Reveillere would not consent to this. The lately elected Third of the representatives was decidedly hostile to them; the second Third, which with the First, would come in to constitute a majority in the spring of 1797, promised to

be still more so. And the elimination of terrorists and conventionalists from the government was to be expected.

In this sinking state of its fortunes several events came to the aid of the Directory. The first was the folly of its enemies in conspiring and meditating violent revolution. The accomplices of Babœuf displayed to the citizens the spectre of the Terror behind the more moderate tyranny of the Directory. And whilst the moderates carried on a constitutional opposition, the royalists plotted and concocted conspiracies not only for the overthrow of the government, but the restoration of royalty under its most objectionable form. In vain did constitutionalists, such as Thibaudeau, separate from those who actively conspired for royalty and dominated in the club of Clichy; they were implicated all the same, and all who opposed the Directory came to be confounded in the common and still odious appellation of royalist.

The majority of the civilian world was, however, decidedly adverse to the Directory, as the elections proved. But on the other hand the armies and the greater number of the generals upheld its cause. Pichegru indeed had placed himself at the head of the royalists, and Moreau who knew his treason, showed his impartiality by concealing it. But Hoche was violently republican, and what was more important, Bonaparte decidedly revolutionary. When he first took the command of the army in Italy, the Piedmontese general sent a French *émigré* to make some demands. Bonaparte caused him to be seized, and threatened to shoot him; and he would have fulfilled his threat but for the interference of the Directory. This shows how deeply imbued with revolutionary feeling was the young general, who indeed sufficiently evinced this in the battle against the Sectionaries. Royalism, in fact, would have closed the career which opened before him

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and the soldiers born of the revolution. He already saw how vast that career might be, and he sent from himself and his armies zealous promises of support to Barras and his friends against the reactionists of the Assemblies.

If his splendid campaign of 1796 had raised Bonaparte's reputation to the highest, his mode of finishing the war in 1797 was calculated, if possible, to add to it. Whilst Moreau and his army were vainly endeavouring to save the little fortress of Kehl, Bonaparte, in the wintry month of March, set out to cross the Carinthian Alps to Vienna. The Archduke Charles had taken the command of the Austrian army, and large reinforcements were promised him. But ere they came, Bonaparte, who was at the head of 70,000 men, advanced against the enemy. He crossed the Piave on the 13th of March, and the Austrians were defeated on the Tagliamento, three days later. Seeing the march of the French, the Archduke Charles had hurried up with what force he could collect to defend the passage of the Alps at the Col de Tarvis. He there met Massena coming from the Tyrol, and a struggle ensued of equal gallantry between them, which terminated in the French retaining possession of the crest of the Alps. The French commander had by this time received his reinforcements from the Rhine; the Archduke Charles had not.

Whilst the French general was thus pushing his way victoriously into the German provinces of Austria, the Venetian towns, which the French had by their presence revolutionised, burst forth into insurrection against the capital. The authorities of the republic mustered what troops they had to reduce them. And the French officers left behind, found it impossible not to support the insurgents. They had an easy excuse for this in the fact that the mountaineers and peasants of the Venetian territory, with their priests, armed against the revolutionists, with whom they confounded the French.

And there arose a time of anarchy and mutual slaughter which was universal: two hundred Poles belonging to the French army were massacred at Salo, and those French who happened to be isolated, fared no better. Bonaparte paused in his invasion of Austria to find some remedy for this disorder. He sent threats and offers alternately to the Venetian authorities, but these were equally powerless against French soldiers and native insurgents, and were quite unequal to the task of recovering their power or restoring order. Meantime, Bonaparte advanced and had encounters with the Archduke on the 1st and on the 3rd of April at Neumark, and at Unzmark. The latter was unable to resist, and at Leoben, on the 7th, plenipotentiaries arrived from Vienna to demand a suspension of arms, which Bonaparte consented to for five days. He had offered the Directory to continue the war, and press it to the gates of Vienna, if they would strongly reinforce him and put the armies on the Rhine in motion. But they hesitated, and showed at once a desire not to make peace, yet to refuse Bonaparte the means of dictating a more favourable one.* He therefore signed the Preliminaries of Leoben. The Austrians offered to recognise the French Republic—Recognize the sun in heaven, observed Napoleon. They ceded Belgium and Lombardy, the former to be a French province, the latter to become a republic. Austria asked an indemnity for these losses, and France proposed giving it in the Venetian provinces all round the northern shore of the Adriatic, whilst Venice it offered to indemnify with the Papal Legations.

These had already become French. After the defeat of Alvinzi, and previous to his crossing the Tagliamento, General Bonaparte had marched an army into the Roman territories. Ample proofs had been discovered of the full complicity of the papal government with the

* Bourrienne.

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Austrians, which was natural enough, as the French had long since seized Bologna. Some papal soldiers and more priests under the conduct of a cardinal, attempted to resist the French. The latter pushed their way to Ancona, and from thence by Loretto to Rome. Bonaparte was puzzled as to how he should treat the pope. The Directory were for annihilating what constituted the unity of the Catholic church. But to do this, the French should occupy Rome permanently, and Austria was yet in arms. Bonaparte first proposed giving Rome to Spain, but he thought better of it. Bonaparte felt a respect for all the elements of power. However he might have come to Italy a mere Jacobin, his sojourn, with the practical experience of government and its necessities, which he there acquired, his negotiations with foreign powers, and the knowledge which he was called upon to acquire and to weigh of their nature and services, had greatly modified in him that policy of mere revolutionary instinct, which still actuated the then dominant members of the Directory. He therefore altogether swerved from their order to persecute priests and destroy the popedom. He held out on the contrary a protecting hand to the poor French refugee ecclesiastics.* And whilst he shore the pope of the Legations and Ancona, stripped our Lady of Loretto of her jewels, and sent her wooden image to Paris, he showed such respect for the spiritual power, that when told that the Inquisition was now purely spiritual, he refrained from insisting on its abolition. Rome submitted to these terms, and the heavy payment and sacrifice of its best works of art in the treaty of Tolentino (Feb. 19th, 1797).

It is singular enough that all Bonaparte's policy in Italy should thus be in real accord with that of the moderates and constitutionalists in Paris, whilst yet he

* See his Correspondence.

and they denounced each other, they treating him as a Jacobin, he spurning them as royalist. The first question which formed the ground of quarrel in the Cinq Cents and Ancients, was the treatment of nobles, of priests, and of those prosecuted by the revolution. The Thermidoriens of the Directory, and the Conventionalists of the Assemblies were for maintaining the old revolutionary enactments, exiling priests, prosecuting nobles, and excluding from office all who had emigrated, or been connected with emigration. The Constitutionalists were for abrogating or modifying those severe laws, and were for allowing priests to ring their bells and perform their rites. When Sièyes concocted a law of puritanic democracy to banish the well-born, the majority of the public as well as the Assemblies scouted it. During the terror those who dominated had forcibly imposed upon children brought to be registered the names of Marat, Clootz, and Sans-culottes. The Moderates wanted to allow persons to change these odious names; not so the Directory. In a host of minor matters, national guard, observation of the decade, or tenth day, instead of Sunday, wearing of cockades and so forth, the Directory employed its police to enforce what the people universally rejected. The revolutionary tyranny in minute matters survived the guillotine. The sceptre of the Directory was, as Bonaparte expressed it, "of lead."

In Italy the general reversed the Directorial policy. He took the poor exiled French priests under his protection, and refused to sacrifice the Pope to the Theophilanthropy of La Réveillère. When the Genoese in framing their new republic proposed to banish their noblesse, Bonaparte told them, that to proscribe any one class of citizens was just as pernicious and unjust as to proscribe another class.*

Bonaparte's principle of foreign policy was equally

* Memoirs of Napoleon.

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the reverse of that of the Directory. It was for revolutionizing every country in Europe, preparatory to robbing them. It would not hear of peace, and breathed nothing but war and revolution. Bonaparte declined to follow such rules: he treated with Piedmont, with the Pope, and with the Austrians, and no doubt he would have treated with England too, had he at the time had any influence over the negotiations with that power.

Unfortunately the Constitutionalists in Paris, and the general in Italy, were too far removed to understand each other. Instead of allying, they indulged in mutual denunciation. The prints of the Moderates in Paris denounced Bonaparte as a rank Jacobin, whilst he retaliated by threatening to put them down as royalist. These looked for other military leaders. In Pichegru they showed confidence by electing him president of the Cinq Cents; whilst Moreau, who had discovered Pichegru's relations with Condé without disclosing them, was considered more as a tacit and cautious friend to royalism than an enemy.

That the opposition to those Directors who were for persisting in the fanaticism and intolerance of the revolution was not royalist, is sufficiently proved in the fact that Carnot favoured it. He too, like Bonaparte, had gathered wisdom from practical experience. He was for effacing in domestic politics the line of demarcation between the men of the revolution and those who had held aloof from it. As Bonaparte in Italy, he protected the priests and did not consider gentle birth a crime. He moreover approved Napoleon's refusal to revolutionize South Italy.*

In these moderate views Carnot was supported by Letourneur, and was for a time and to a certain degree not opposed by La Réveillère Lepaux, who of a

* Carnot's Memoirs and Letters.

studious and visionary character naturally leaned to moderation. Unfortunately Lepaux conceived the idea of founding a new religion, that of the Theo-Philanthropists, a dreamy worship of the invisible without priests or dogmas or even rites. To establish this sect, La Reveillère was for proscribing the priests of the old religion and immolating the Pope. Carnot smiled in derision at the project, which Bonaparte coolly set aside. La Réveillère did not forgive this, and when Letourneur as Director gave way to Barthelemy, Carnot at once found La Réveillère to be estranged from him, and united to Barras and Rewbell, whilst Barthelemy was of too royalist a colour to be the safe ally that Letourneur had been.

As the summer of 1797 advanced, the Cinq Cents, hostile to the Directory, broke into more flagrant opposition. Motions more and more menacing were passed, many even threatening impeachment. The debates assumed a strong anti-revolutionary colour. A deputy named Bailleul denounced the many murders committed in and near Lyons, by the royalist associations, upon the old Terrorists. Camille Jordan, the eloquent orator, excused as much as condemned such excesses. The Constitutionalists themselves thought the Royalists were going too far; and proposed a reconciliation and alliance with the Directory, the terms of which were to be a more moderate policy and a new ministry of both parties. Madame de Staël laboured in favour of such a coalition. Barras, Rewbell, and La Réveillère declined, and appointed a new ministry still more hostile to the Constitutionalists. The triumvirate reckoned on Hoche, who, under pretext of pressing the invasion of the British Isles, was to move his army from the Rhine to the vicinity of Paris. He did so, ere the three Directors were quite prepared for the *coup d'état.* Summoned to account for his movement Hoche hesitated, hoping that Barras would extricate him from the

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difficulty. But Barras was embarrassed too, and Hoche indignant withdrew.*

Towards the middle of July Camille Jordan denounced in the Assembly the concentration of troops towards Paris. There was a plot, he said, to assassinate the deputies, and the organization of the national guard was necessary to protect them against attempts of the kind. General Pichegru was chosen to draw up the report at first, and was subsequently to take charge of the organization. The three Directors feared a *coup d'état* being operated against them.† Whilst the two parties were thus at open strife in Paris, arrived the address of the commander-in-chief of the army in Italy, made on the anniversary of the 14th of July, threatening extermination to the Royalists, and to the enemies of the constitution. He had in a previous month made offers of service to the Directors. They now besought Bonaparte to come to Paris and head their *coup d'état.*‡ He declined, but sent the hot-headed Augereau. Yet whilst furnishing the Directors with so able an instrument of violence, Bonaparte took care to procure information of all that was passing from cooler heads. General Bernadotte proceeded to Paris soon after Augereau. Lavalette, Bonaparte's aide-de-camp, had preceded both, and warned his general of the emptiness and extravagance of both the contending parties.§

At three o'clock on the morning of the 18th Fructidor (September 4, 1797) Augereau with two divisions forced his way into the gardens of the Tuileries, and proceeded to invest the palace, where the Assembly usually sat. Ramel, the commander of the guard of the Assembly, was sent to the Temple; Augereau was accompanied by the old revolutionary brigands Santerre, Rossignol,

* Carnot.

† Directoral Letter of 24th of June in Bourrienne.

‡ Barras says, "Si nous sommes décrétés d'accusation, nous monterons à cheval."

§ Lavalette's Letters in Bourrienne.

and Fournier. Their appearance presaged the resuscitation of the Terror. Barthelemy was arrested at the Luxemburg. Carnot escaped through the garden. The members of the Cinq Cents, or at least those in the secret of the *coup d'état*, met at the Odéon, and at the School of Medicine, to pass the requisite decrees, whilst the majority hastened to the Tuileries and were either excluded, or, if members of eminence, arrested. The three Directors sent to such of the Cinq Cents as had collected at the Odéon a list of the members they proscribed, with their reasons for the *coup d'état*. The chief ones were the proofs, but too authentic, of the treason of Pichegru. Such a pretext might have the appearance of validity against that general and a score of Royalists, but to implicate the Constitutionalists and republican opposition of the Directory in the same accusation, was a calumny worthy of the Terror.* The Conventionalists of the Cinq Cents lost no time in passing their decree, ordering the transportation of their colleagues. There were 42 members of the Cinq Cents, and 12 of the senate, amongst them the most respectable and revered names of the legislature, such as Matthieu Dumas, Barbé Marbois, Portalès, Siméon, Boissy-D'Anglas. Carnot and Barthélemy were also in the list, as well as Camille Jordan and of course Pichegru. All these were visited with the same punishment as the Terrorists, Collot d'Herbois and Billaud Varennes, viz., deportation to Sinamari, on the South American coast, a punishment little more merciful than the guillotine. The press furnished its quota of victims. The proprietors, editors and writers of 54 journals were placed on the list of persons to be transported; amongst them were the names of Suard, La Harpe, Fontanes, Lacretelle, Fievée, Bertin, in fact the most promising men of the rising generation. A great many fortunately

* Carnot estimates the Royalists of the Assemblies at some fifteen in number. Delarue, Hist. du 18 Fructidor, makes them 80.

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made their escape. At the same time most of the revolutionary laws abrogated by the Assemblies were restored to vigour. Émigrés were to be put to death, those connected with them excluded from office. Priests were transported. The revolution was completed by the election of Merlin and François de Neufchâteau to be Directors in the place of Carnot and Barthelemy. Thus as the Directorial form of government, based on a majority of Conventionalists, was inaugurated by the cannon of Bonaparte, the continuance of the same men and principles in power was secured by the sabre of Augereau. The Conventionalists would not allow public opinion to prevail, nor the people to exercise their free choice. Rather than this should be permitted, they handed over the government of the country to the military, gradually indeed and on that account the more surely. After Fructidor the names of liberty and republic were a mockery.

It was not merely the introduction of more humane and liberal principles of government, which was defeated by the *coup d'état* of Fructidor, but the conclusion of peace with Europe. However the English government upon Lord Malmesbury's first embassy to Paris might be reluctant to acknowledge the French possession of Belgium, the defeats of Austria in Lombardy had brought it to make a virtue of necessity, and acquiesce even in the possession of Antwerp and the Scheldt by its enemy. Lord Malmesbury came to Lille on his second mission in 1797 prepared to make every reasonable concession. Carnot, Barthelemy, and the Constitutionalists of the Assemblies, were for making peace with England on these conditions. Barras even conveyed an insinuation, that for half a million of money he would bring about peace. But receiving no answer to his offer, he, Rewbell and La Réveillère were hostile to any accommodation. The sole hope of it lay in the prevalence of the Moderate party. When this was crushed

in Fructidor, the Directory insolently dismissed Lord Malmesbury, he having declined on the part of his government to cede all its conquests to France.*

The treaty between France and Austria, although the preliminaries had been signed at Leoben, was still in jeopardy from the same cause and the same men. The Directors did not want peace, they refused what had been promised at Leoben, some indemnity to Austria for the loss of Lombardy. Bonaparte was for giving them Venice and the line of the Adige; this Carnot approved, but his successors peremptorily opposed it. Bonaparte, however, was not prepared to continue the war to suit their interests or caprice. He declined to run a-muck against Europe, and dethrone all its powers in order to replace them with rickety republics, scarcely able to support themselves, much less to give efficient aid to the French in a prolonged struggle. The Directory counted on the revolutionised and regenerated Italians, and proposed to reduce Germany to the same state. Bonaparte refused to embark in such a crusade. The essay he had already made of a Cisalpine republic sufficed him as an experiment of which he already perceived the difficulty and danger.† The accumulated wealth of the North Italian cities had been despoiled and spent by Bonaparte in the maintenance and equipment of his armies, and in sending succours to those on the Rhine, and subsidies to the Directory. To follow this up by severe taxation would indispose the Italians and convert the peninsula from a friendly into a hostile country. He therefore persuaded the Directory to leave the kingdoms of Sardinia and Naples, Rome and Tuscany, as they were, and to make peace with Austria on the terms which he had indicated at Leoben. To do this was no easy task, for not only did the Directory,

* Malmesbury Diaries, vol. iii.

† Bonaparte's Letter to Talleyrand of Oct. 7.

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elated by its triumph in Fructidor, throw obstacles in the way, but Austria also raised impediments. Its plenipotentiary Cobentzel assumed a tone as if Austria was still in a position to dispute Italy with the French. "If you persist in raising such obstacles," exclaimed Bonaparte, sweeping from its stand a magnificent *cabaret*, that had been given him by the Empress Catherine, to break in fragments on the floor, "I will shatter your empire as easily and as surely as I have done this porcelain." The Austrians felt the threat to be serious. Whilst Bonaparte, in despite of the fanfaronnade, saw, in the winter snow already covering the mountains, the difficulty of resuming any advance upon Vienna in such a season.* Such being the disposition on both sides, the treaty of Campo Formio was signed on the night of the 17th of October, 1797. Austria ceded its Belgian provinces and waived any objection to France pushing its frontier to the Rhine. It was in consequence to take possession of Mayence. In exchange for Lombardy, which the Emperor also ceded, he was to obtain Venice with Istria, Dalmatia, and the territories to the Adige. The territory south of that river, with Mantua, was to be united to the Milanese and the Roman Legations in order to form the Cisalpine republic. The Ionian Islands were ceded to France, the Austrian Brisgau to the Duke of Modena as indemnity for his Italian dominions. The remaining details and arrangements of the treaty of Campo Formio were to be discussed and completed by plenipotentiaries at Rastadt. One of the minor conditions of the treaty, and not the least honourable to Bonaparte and the Directory, was the liberation of General Lafayette from the prison of Olmutz.

Bonaparte reached Paris in the month of December. In a public reception prepared for him by the Directory, he presented to them the treaty of Campo Formio,

* Bourrienne, who denies the correctness of the story of the *cabaret*.

which he had concluded against their express desire but upon which they found it convenient to compliment him highly. Talleyrand, whom Madame de Staël had persuaded Barras to appoint to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, introduced the victorious general as one so totally given up to the love of retirement and the study of Ossian, that the difficulty would be to make him interest himself again in the affairs of the earth! If ever there was an epoch which might be called the grave of the representative system, it was that which succeeded to the tyrannical acts of Fructidor. Bonaparte, however, took the opportunity of pronouncing it to be the true era of representative government. It seemed as if M. de Talleyrand and General Bonaparte strove as to which of them should pronounce the most egregious falsehood.

The general impression left by Bonaparte upon almost all whom he came in contact with, was that of marked superiority. He was reserved indeed, and mistrustful of all men and all things, covering his thoughts with either silence or an evasive smile. What perhaps has most prepossessed the world against him, is the opinion then formed by Madame de Staël. She found him cold, without enthusiasm, and she concluded that he was actuated by the most unmixed selfishness. This was not a fair or a true conclusion. Bonaparte had been a witness from the first of every phase of the revolution. He had no doubt shared with others each successive delusion, and had seen the brilliant hopes of 1790 drowned in the convulsive era of anarchy and blood. He perceived how abortive had been every attempt at liberty or representative government in France, and whilst De Staël, despite repeated disappointments, had still confidence to believe in both, Bonaparte turned his back upon such chimeras. Holding but too naturally these opinions, he still could not express them; and Madame De Staël condemned him as a Mephistopheles, because

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he could not hold to his young belief in the realisation of that popular system of government to which she still clung. Enthusiasm he had no doubt, but it was the enthusiasm of the soldier, to which he joined the dissimulation, but nothing more than the prudent dissimulation, of the man of the world and the politician.*

The first thought of the Directory was to cut out work for their hero. A descent upon England was their chosen experiment, the more hazardous the better for their purpose. But it did not suit Napoleon. One of his reasons for putting an end to the war with Austria was, that his victories went to support and glorify the most corrupt and incapable of administrations. Closer communication with the members of the Directory merely increased Bonaparte's contempt for them. Although he had lent his aid in Fructidor, he disapproved of the barbarous and aimless severity inflicted on the most estimable men. But miserable as the Directory might be in policy and in persons, there was no possibility of overthrowing or superseding them for the moment. The soldiers of the army of Italy were far from being imperialist, and many of the generals were either royalist or republican, at all events not yet disposed to accept the supremacy of Bonaparte. If, however, the Directory were allowed to follow up the idea of revolutionising the world, and continuing to govern as the mere end of the revolution, repelling and proscribing the moderate and sensible men of revolutionary as well as of other tendency, their reign must end in discredit.

It was indeed soon evident that the Directory would not hold to the wise arrangements of their general with regard to southern and central Italy. Joseph Bonaparte had been sent thither as ambassador, with his brother's injunctions to respect the Pope and keep the peace

* One of his letters to Joseph (Mémoires de Joseph) contains a simple and truthful account of his disillusion, the overthrow of his belief in a republic.

with him, insisting at the same time that his holiness should avoid too close a connexion with Austria, and should dismiss the Austrian general Provera. Instructions of quite a contrary nature came from the Directory, ordering Joseph to support the Roman republicans, and to insist on their chiefs being released from prison. They were so, and their first effort of course was to get up an insurrection to dethrone the Pope. They communicated it to the French ambassador, who tried to dissuade, scarcely to prevent, for the ambassadorial precincts gave them shelter. The insurrection soon showed itself, first at the Villa Medici, then around the French embassy. They hoisted the French cockade, and cried, Vive la République Romaine.* The Papal troops charged them and drove them into the court of the Palace. The ambassador went with his suite to interfere and put a stop to the struggle. But whilst there, Duphot, a young French general betrothed to Madame Joseph, Bonaparte's sister, was shot. The ambassador, indignant, lost no time in quitting Rome, and General Berthier was ordered to march thither. His army entered Rome on the 10th of February. On the 15th the Roman Republic was proclaimed and the Pope sent off, first to Tuscany, and then to France. A contribution of 4,000,000 francs was levied chiefly on the princely families. But this was a mere commencement, for the agents of the Directory entered every palace that was not occupied by the proprietor, declared it belonging to an emigré, and applied the French law of confiscation and plunder. With most ill-judged selfishness these civic officers of rapine kept all the spoil to themselves, and gave no share to the military, not even applying the treasure to pay the arrears and meet the wants of the army. These were excessive. And the consequence was a complete revolt of the French army in Rome, not of the generals indeed but of officers as

* Joseph to Talleyrand. Mémoires du roi Joseph, t. 1.

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well as soldiers. Massena succeeded Berthier, but was unable to enforce his authority. At Mantua a similar mutiny took place. A narrative of the events reached Bonaparte as well as the Directory. But the former, who saw in this but the necessary results of such a system of rapine and disorder as the government of Barras, Rewbell, and Lepaux, shrugged his shoulders and declined, as far as was prudent and decorous, all responsibility.

To avoid sharing in it, yet without setting up any flagrant opposition, to augment his military reputation and glory without imperilling both in the exclusive service of the Directory and furtherance of its ideas, and to do this upon some scene too remote for either subordination or recall, was what Bonaparte sought. And he found precisely what he wanted in an expedition to Egypt. The project of invading England he resolutely declined, after having made a survey of the enemy's coasts. The Directory could not but be aware that the despatch of their best general and soldiers across the Mediterranean, at a time when the English were strongest at sea, and when they themselves were exciting revolution and provoking Austria to renew the war, was an act little short of insanity. But it had at least the advantage of getting rid of Bonaparte, and in all probability of damaging or sinking his reputation.

The great difficulty was how to find money for the purpose. The cancelling of the assignats, and the obligation to pay taxes in gold had but scantily supplied the treasury. Bonaparte had to send money from Italy, the produce of its spoils, to aid the Directory to establish its tyranny in Fructidor. As to credit, the government had shut the door in the face of it by the first use it made of its absolute power, which was to cancel two-thirds of the debt, whether inscribed or floating. But there was Switzerland with a certain amount of treasure deposited at Berne, easy and convenient to rob.

Barras and his two colleagues had long turned thither their greedy eyes; Carnot protested against the barefaced spoliation and subjugation of a republic. But Carnot's voice was heard no more. One of the consequences of the revolution of Fructidor was to fill every place with Jacobins, and active revolutionists. These men kept down for a time, started up again and treated all the countries adjoining France as their prey. Since Bonaparte had left Italy, they were let loose upon it.* And they soon overran Switzerland under the guidance of a personal friend and relative of the Director Rewbell. The apt name of this individual was Rapinat.

Early in 1798 insurrections broke out in different parts of Switzerland, the chief one being that of the Vaudois against Berne. The French who had already invaded a portion of Basle Canton, marched at once to occupy Lausanne. The Diet of the country summoned its little army, which under D'Erlach stood on its defence. But the days of a handful of Swiss with pikes and halberds defending their country against Burgundian hordes were passed. Marshal Brune found the Swiss without artillery and cavalry. Notwithstanding the gallant defence they offered, the French forced their way into Berne, March the 3rd, where they seized some 17,000,000 of livres in lingots, besides arms and provisions in abundance. This was not enough. An equal sum was ordered by the French Directory to be levied on the property of the Swiss proprietors—Rapinat was appointed police minister to superintend the wholesale robbery.

The chief excuse of the dilapidation of Roman and of Swiss treasure, was that immense sums were required for the expedition which was preparing under the supervision of Bonaparte in the ports of Italy as well

* The letters of Bonaparte, however, plainly show that he contributed to the revolutionising Switzerland, and that he enjoined the authorities of the Cisalpine to aid in producing the disorder.

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as France. The army destined for it, and called that of the East, was ordained secretly on the 12th of April by the Directory. It was to capture Malta, take possession of Egypt, cut through the Isthmus of Suez, and thus open a way to Hindostan. It was to consist of 36,000 men, a rather insufficient number for the conquest of Asia. It was accompanied by almost a corps of scientific men. Bonaparte, elected member of the Institute, had either felt or affected more sympathy for men of science than any other class. And he hoped to derive subsidiary glory from their labours on the scientific field of Egypt, whilst he reduced the Mamelukes and restored the empire of the Pharaohs.

Just as all was ready and the expedition about to start, it was suspended by one of those popular tumults which the French diplomacy of the day was sure to excite. Bernadotte had been sent ambassador to Vienna, with orders to show more arrogance than courtesy. He was enjoined to hoist the tricolour flag in front of his hotel in Vienna, an unusual act in that capital. The flag appeared on the very day of a national and patriotic fête, and the Viennese crowd assembled for this purpose, took umbrage at the tricolour, and pulled it down. Bernadotte intervened personally with his staff, as Joseph Bonaparte had done at Rome, and on a pistol-shot being fired by one of them, the Austrian mob retaliated, broke into the embassy, and destroyed the furniture. A guard of troops alone saved Bernadotte and his family from being captured and outraged. Notwithstanding the protest of the Imperial Government, that the *émeute* provoked by the French flag was most contrary to its policy and offensive to its wishes, Bernadotte left Vienna. The Directory felt their wonted propensities favoured by these means. To throw up the Egyptian expedition and send Bonaparte to conquer Vienna, was the first thought. But the general declined. A war with Austria was not to be improvised but prepared for.

And the Directory had made preparations on the contrary for weakness and defeat. It had no money, its troops were in mutiny for want of pay and management. The institution of the Roman Republic had provoked the Catholic world, and the Swiss revolution had disgusted every man of liberality and humanity. The Directory, he said, had better make peace with Vienna and not allow Bernadotte's folly and presumption to precipitate the country into war. He on his part was bent on proceeding to the Nile, not the Danube.

The expedition sailed from Toulon on the 19th of May, 1798. Until the month of October in the following year Bonaparte was lost to France, the Directory pushing its fortunes and its policy alone. The events of the Egyptian campaign are thus almost strangers to those of France, and England and its forces have taken so large a part in them, that they may be consulted more at length in English than in French history. The principal circumstances will thus be no more than briefly recorded here. An amazing fact it was that the English were unprepared with a fleet to blockade Toulon, to watch or intercept the expedition. But Nelson was moving about at first with a few vessels, and not till after the French had sailed, with sufficient to combat or arrest them. Yet Bonaparte took twenty days to reach Malta from Toulon. Jacobin emissaries had already done their work with the knights and population.* The Order of Malta, established to combat the Turks, had long forgotten its mission, and gave up at once its own existence and the island to the French. In the relative position of the naval forces of the countries, this was but conquering the island for England. The French general had gone out of his way to brave his principal foe on its own element. And Bonaparte had scarcely landed in Egypt, when Nelson attacked the

* Napoleon's Correspondence.

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French fleet on the 1st of August, at anchor in the bay of Aboukir, ran between it and the land, and destroyed three-fourths of it, the remainder escaping. Whilst the French army was thus losing its communications with Europe, it had advanced to Cairo and totally routed the Mameluke cavalry in the battle of the Pyramids, presenting solid squares to their flying horse, and then slaughtering them with grape.

In possession of Egypt, and shut out from communication with home, it became necessary to levy large contributions from the different towns* as well as enforce the old taxes. To this was added the spoil of even the families of the conquered.† Such extortion drove the people of Cairo into rebellion, which was only put down by bombardment, and wide destruction of edifices as well as men.‡ This discontent emboldened the dispossessed beys to try to recover their domination, and a Turkish force was collected in Syria for the purpose. Bonaparte lost no time in marching against them. He took the frontier fortress of El Arisch in mid February and Jaffa on the 7th of March, the successful storming of which led to the most indiscriminate massacre.§ On the 18th was commenced the siege of Acre. The French commander had won the adhesion of the mountain tribes, at least of the Druses and Mettualis,‖ and the reduction of Acre would have made him master of Syria as well as of Egypt. But Djezzar, pacha of that town, declined all his offers, and reinforced by the guns and sailors of Sir Sydney Smith's fleet defied the French assaults, and repelled them with unexpected vigour. It was this admiral, indeed, whom Bonaparte denounced as a madman, that

* See the amount in the Napoleon correspondence.

† The women of the Harem were obliged to give up their jewels, or redeem them.

‡ See Napoleon's letter ordering the destruction of the great Mosque.

§ Napoleon says he never saw anything so hideous.

‖ Correspondence.

kept the French at bay from Acre for the space of two months, after which, despairing of the capture, Bonaparte retreated, first inflicting a severe bombardment on the town. In his despatch to the Directory it is stated that the presence of the plague in Acre induced him not to force his way into it.* In the open field however the French had been victorious. The Turkish cavalry united with the remains of that of the beys, were defeated by French in the combat of Nazareth, and the battle of Monthabor. But this did not shake the constancy of the defenders of Acre. The French retreated from it to the valley of the Nile in June.

Much has been said of the vast schemes entertained by Bonaparte, and marred by his repulse from Acre. If victorious he represented that he might have marched on Constantinople, and from thence upon Vienna. He also spoke of invading India, and wrote to Tippoo in January proposing their co-operation. But his original 36,000 soldiers had dwindled to one-half the number. He proposed filling the void by enlisting young negroes.† But despite his patronage and almost adoption of Mohametanism, the religionists did not trust him, and he saw it accordingly to be impossible for the French ever to retain Egypt.

Liberated from the fear, even before they were quite rid of the presence of Bonaparte, the Directory pursued their way. Councillors of a deeper revolutionary stamp than even they, recommended them not to do things by halves. A large portion of the nation consisting of the better born and better educated, was hostile to them, and however crushed by the military, and their chiefs condemned to transportation, they still remained formidable.

Sièyés was for proscribing and turning out of the country all save the *Sans-culottes*. This pedant, who

* Moniteur.

† Napoleon to Desaix.

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shrank silently in his cowardly skin all through the reign of Terror, dreamed of nothing less than renewing it for others the moment he had ceased to tremble for himself. And Siéyès was perhaps the most eminent man in France. Such scum did the revolutionary ebullition throw to the surface. The directors were not men to shrink from any amount of severity of proscription, if feasible. But such a scheme could not be realised without penal laws and enactments, equal to those of the Terror. This neither the public nor the army would have tolerated. The latter had mutinied in several places against the wholesale robbery of the government agents. Had murder been added, the country itself would have risen. The Directory was therefore compelled to prolong its sway not by proscription, but by *coups d'état.*

The victory of Fructidor had got rid of the moderates of the assemblies, and the decrees of that period had sufficiently terrified candidates and electors, so that few constitutionalists were likely to be returned. The majority of the electors were, however, bent upon returning members who, whatever their colour, should at least be enemies and opponents of the Directory. As they might not elect royalists, they were determined to choose Jacobins, such of them at least as detested the thermidoriens and Barras. The government could thus count but on its own little clique, with hostile majorities on either side of it. Less scrupulous men would have shrunk from such a position, but they, to whom constitutional guarantees were but playthings, soon invented a mode of getting rid of them. They directed that in every electoral district in which the government candidate was in a minority, the minority should secede, and proceed to a second election, leaving the majority to return their candidate also. A commission of five members was then appointed, all of course in the interests of the Directory, to enquire into,

and decide upon the elections; these presented a list in which all those favourable to the Directory were declared valid, those opposed to it cancelled.* A more barefaced annihilation of the electoral power could not be imagined. The *Cinq Cents* and the *Anciens* since the scheme of these *Seissions* had been sanctioned in Floreal, and since the previous *coup d'état* of Fructidor, could be regarded in no other light than as the nominees of the Directory.

Foreign affairs were conducted in the same cavalier manner as domestic administration. Bonaparte, before setting out for Egypt had offered to go to the Congress of Rastadt, and remove the difficulty that Bernadotte had created. The Directory would not permit him to do so. They feared he would conclude peace, and peace they did not want. War alone brought plunder and spoil. The proceeds of Italian ransom, church plate and robbery had been already dissipated. Bonaparte had required the treasure and the contributions taken from the unfortunate Swiss. Fresh countries to revolutionise and rob was all they wished.

Their chief eyesore was England. Bonaparte had declared their scheme for invading it vain, unless they were first masters of the sea, and of this there were less hopes every day. They made use of their military superiority to dominate over states which possessed navies. Holland they had conquered. Portugal they tried to bind by treaty. But the English soon annihilated the Dutch fleet at Camperdown. And their presence in the Tagus kept the court of Lisbon true to the maintenance of its own independence.

But if the Directory were averse to peace, the Continental powers, even those who had suffered most by the last war, grew less and less inclined to make sacrifices for it. Each day's news brought fresh provoca-

* The list is in Buchez et Roux.

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tion. The conquest of Switzerland, the republicanising of Rome as well as Lombardy, alarmed Austria, Sardinia, and Naples. The capture and appropriation of Malta was another cause of offence; whilst the departure of Bonaparte and his victorious legions, left the Directory without what seemed most formidable to its foreign enemies. This temptation to the courts of Vienna and Naples to break with the Directory was increased when news arrived of the destruction of the French fleet at Aboukir, and the isolation of Bonaparte and his forces in Egypt.

But what gave the strongest impulse to a new coalition against France was the change in the policy of Russia. The Czar Paul had brought a violent and capricious temper to influence affairs of State in lieu of the mild temporisation of Catherine. He embraced the project of restoring the Bourbons to their throne and their emigré followers to their possessions in France, and moved Austria and Prussia to join him in this new crusade. Emboldened by such offers the negotiators of Austria no longer lent an obsequious ear to the imperative demands of the French plenipotentiaries at Rastadt.

All at once the directors were alarmed by the prospect of the hostile coalition of Europe being renewed against them. A Russian envoy had come to persuade the court of Berlin. Siéyès offered to proceed thither. Bonaparte had been known to lean to an Austrian alliance. The Directory hoped to succeed better with a Prussian, and Siéyès went to Berlin. But no influential person, save the young king, would speak with a regicide envoy. Prussia would not coalesce with the enemies of France, but was determined to retain a neutral position. Another envoy, the ex-director, Francois de Neufchateau endeavoured then to renew Bonaparte's negotiations with Cobentzel, but without a victorious army at his back, his assumption of the dictatorial tone of the victorious general failed of its purpose (July, 1798).

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In a fortnight after the departure of Bonaparte and his army for Egypt, it became evident that war was impending. The French government took steps to be prepared for it. The principal one was, the Law of Conscription. It had been often proposed. Jourdain had introduced it at the commencement of the year. In July, the necessity of adopting it was felt, and the law, subjecting every male of France at the age of 21 to a compulsory enrolment, was passed. It was acted upon by a decree to raise 200,000 men. The French population accepted the decree, but the Belgian provinces arose in insurrection, and had the European coalition been in time to support them, France would have found itself reduced to its ancient limits on the North. To employ the English at home a division of troops under General Humbert was sent to Ireland. More enterprising than Hoche, Humbert contrived to land, but it was only to be made prisoner with his little army.

The crime of the Directory in sacrificing the old republic of Switzerland to its rapacity met now with its punishment. The Grisons were not then numbered amongst the cantons, but formed a league apart. French agents laboured to persuade the more democratic of the Grisons to annex their valleys to Switzerland, now become French, whilst the Valteline, also appertaining to them, was to be left to the Cisalpine.

As violence and threats were employed to induce the vote, the Austrians from the Tyrol opposed it, and at last occupied the Grison territories: this was war. The Directory did not at once accept the challenge; they had armies to prepare not merely for the Rhine and for Italy, but for Switzerland, whose neutrality had hitherto rendered such augmentation of forces unnecessary.

Switzerland in fact became a kind of centre to both contending armies; those on the right of it being occupied with the attack or defence of Lombardy, those on the left with the campaign beyond the Rhine. The

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command in Italy was offered to Bernadotte. There were upwards of 100,000 French soldiers there, but scattered at all points between the Adige and the Bay of Naples: a sufficient army according to Bernadotte's opinion could not anywhere be collected to resist, not merely the Austrians but the Russians, who under Suwarrow were marching to take part in the renewed conflict. Bernadotte refused the command in consequence.

The first outburst of war, however, came from the court of Naples. It had been rendered exultant by the victory and subsequent presence of Nelson and his fleet, and had rushed into extensive military preparations. Those inhabitants of the Roman states who disliked the republic established there, began to collect in bands and prepare for insurrection. If the Neapolitan court was rude to French agents, the French official journals menaced the court of Naples with still less courtesy. Recriminations followed. Naples asked the French to evacuate Malta and Rome, which was tantamount to a declaration of war. General Mack took the command of the Neapolitan army, and towards the close of November pushed it in three divisions upon Rome and upon Ancona. General Championnet, who commanded the French, flung a garrison into the castle of St. Angelo, and retreated to Civitá Castellana, where he hoped to be reinforced. The King of Naples entered Rome on the 29th. Meantime the Neapolitan division that was advancing towards Ancona was met by the French, beaten and driven back into the Abruzzi, and Championnet was reinforced by the victors. Mack had not 30,000 men in Rome. He left a large garrison there and dividing the rest into several bodies, as if he were hunting game, not pursuing soldiers, he allowed each to be fallen upon separately by the French, who in fifteen days totally defeated the Neapolitan army and drove it in disastrous retreat from Rome.

Championnet decided to pursue them at once. The

King of Naples no longer putting faith in his army or his Austrian general, summoned the peasantry of the Abruzzi to resist the French in a guerilla war. But at the same time the middle class of Naples, disgusted with their monarch, resolved to imitate Rome in proclaiming a republic. The advance of the French encouraged them, whilst the flight of king and court on the 21st of December, to Sicily on board two English frigates left them no other alternative. The lazzaroni, however, would not submit; they determined on resistance and the citizens on submission, a civil war and massacre would have followed, had not the French taken advantage of these divisions to penetrate into the city, and by affecting a great respect for St. Januarius, allayed somewhat the fury of the mob. The Parthenopæan republic was thus established at Naples.

In March 1799 war was solemnly declared. The French army under Massena instantly entered the Grisons, and surprised an Austrian division in Coire. Jourdan, simultaneously passed the Rhine at Basle, and marched by Schaffhausen to the northern end of the Lake of Constance, putting himself in communication with Massena. The latter hoped to penetrate into the Tyrol by the Vorarlberg, whilst Jourdan in concert with him might advance across South Bavaria. In both these purposes the French generals were baffled. At Feldkirch the entrance to the Vorarlberg, and at Mayenfeld, Massena met with a resistance that he could not overcome, whilst at Stochach north of the Lake of Constance, Jourdan and the Archduke Charles fought a memorable battle on the 25th of March.

Stochach, the position for which both armies fought, is the point where roads and rivers meet, both leading or flowing from it towards the Lake, and towards the Danube. The French had some 40,000, the Austrians some 50,000 men. Jourdan had been already driven back with loss on the 22nd; on the 25th he attacked,

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directing his chief efforts to carry the heights of Nellemberg, near Stochach. But the brunt of the battle was not there. On the northern wings of both armies, Soult was victorious, driving his enemies before him through the woods of Liptingen. This endangered the Austrians' centre, and the archduke flew to his right with reinforcements, charging in person at the head of his cavalry, and not only drove in Soult, but completely routed that wing of the French. The rest of Jourdan's army was obliged to retreat: the loss was great on both sides. But the result of the engagement of Stochach was that Jourdan retreated to the Rhine; indeed had the Archduke Charles followed him, he would in all probability have destroyed the French invading army. But the Austrian court peremptorily enjoined him to turn his efforts against Massena in Switzerland.*

It would require descriptions very minute and detailed to render intelligent the military operations through the valleys and over the passes of the Alps. They were unimportant in their results, except so far as that Massena was driven finally from the valley of the Rhine to that of Zurich and the lakes, and even there, though he fought a successful battle in defence of his positions, he found it necessary to abandon them, and withdraw further westward.

The main struggle was in Italy. There were 120,000 French soldiers in the peninsula; a third occupied Rome and Naples, under Macdonald, Championnet having been dismissed by the Directory for doing what Bonaparte had often done—slighted its agents. There were not more than 50,000 men on the Adige, opposed to a number of Austrians under Kray, somewhat superior. Bernadotte having refused the command in Italy, Joubert having resigned in consequence of Championnet's disgrace, and Moreau being suspected of *moderantism*,

* Clausewitz, St. Cyr, Archduke Charles's Feldzug.

Scherer obtained the command at the instance of Barras. The Directory thought they might order him to perform what Bonaparte alone could have attempted, cross the Adige in face of a superior enemy, that enemy possessed of Verona. Scherer had to obey, and first penetrated between Verona and the lake, attacking and carrying a fortified camp which the Austrians had formed at Pastorengo; but afraid to follow up his own movement, he retreated, leaving one of his divisions to be severely handled and in part made prisoners. He then tried to pass the Adige on the other side of Verona, when he was attacked by Kray on the 5th of April at Magnano, a little to the east of Villafranca. A smart action resulted in the loss of several thousands on both sides. But it was no longer Austrian but French divisions which remained prisoners. Such was the difference between Bonaparte and Scherer. The latter was panic stricken, he gave orders for retreat, not only behind the Mincio, but the Oglio and the Adda. All the fruit of former victories was lost.

The French public received the news of these losses and reverses without surprise. Nothing better could be hoped of a government so contemptible. Soldiers said it was all owing to the reign of the *avocats*, constitutionalists alleged it was the natural fruit of tyranny, the patriots attributed all to lukewarmness and moderantism. There would have ensued a general outburst of discontent had not an event occurred to influence the national passions and turn them for the moment from the domestic to the foreign enemy. The French plenipotentiaries still continued their residence at Rastadt; though at war with Austria, they hoped to make peace with Germany, a hope and pretension which greatly provoked the spleen of the Austrians. As their armies overran the duchy of Baden in consequence of the retreat of Jourdan, they interrupted the communication of the French plenipotentiaries, and obstructed

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their efforts at negotiation. To persuade the German powers not to take part with Austria in the war, the French revealed to them that the court of Vienna had agreed to secret articles in the Treaty of Campo Formio, which made over Mayence, the bulwark of Germany, to France, in order to facilitate its own appropriation of Venice. The Austrians vowed vengeance. They compelled the French plenipotentiaries to leave Rastadt, and when they did so on the 28th of April at night they were, at a short distance from Rastadt, waylaid by Austrian hussars; two of them, Bonnier and Roberjeot, murdered, the third, Jean Debry, escaping badly wounded back into Rastadt. The resentment of the French at such an unparalleled outrage may be conceived. The Archduke Charles disowned it. The Austrian government aimed no doubt at seizing the papers of the plenipotentiaries, but that murder was also intended as well as perpetrated was but too clear. It proved a God-send to the Directory, changing altogether the object of popular animadversion and exciting once more in the whole nation that ardour for prosecuting and sustaining the war which had begun to flag in consequence of the incapacity and unpopularity of the Directory.*

Such rekindled enthusiasm was too late to save Italy. Suwarrow had joined Kray with a corps of 30,000 Russian soldiers, and forced the passage of the Adda, in the battle of Cassano, towards the end of April, one of the French divisions being cut off. Moreau, who had served as a lieutenant under Scherer, took the command. Instead of falling back upon Turin, Moreau betook himself to the Apennines towards Genoa, where he hoped to await the arrival of Macdonald with his fresh army from the south. In this object he altogether failed. Instead of remaining in the line by which Macdonald must emerge from Tuscany, Moreau kept too

* Mém. d'un Homme d'État, French Procès Verbal of the circumstances, &c.

much to the westward, himself at Novi, and some of his forces, scant as they were, down in the Riviera by the sea coast. Macdonald in the mean time descended from the Apennines into the plains of Piacenza, and approached the Po, placing the three streams of the Nura, the Trebbia and the Tidone between him and Moreau, Suwarrow having mustered his army behind these very streams. Could Moreau and Macdonald have communicated they might have attacked simultaneously from east and west, but they were unable to do so; and Macdonald with about 50,000 men fought a three days' battle on the Trebbia with Suwarrow on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of June, in which the French were completely worsted. Macdonald lost some 15,000 men and retired to Genoa, leaving Moreau to make some similar movement. Italy was lost.*

A new government, be it the produce of a constitution or of violence, or both, as was the Directory, could not survive such disaster and disgrace. It had gagged the press, decimated the assemblies, shut up the clubs, and terrorised society. But the administration of the Directory was so weak and so corrupt; its policy such an accumulation of blunders as of tyranny that every voice and every look condemned it. It had provoked the war gratuitously, for all European nations had been inclined to peace. The armies had not been recruited, and were in men and horses far inferior in number to the accounts furnished, and the pay demanded.† Then the armies were scattered at a time when expected onslaught from the enemy peremptorily required their concentration. The Directory had disgusted or dismissed every commander of talent, and entrusted to generals of no ability critical positions and superior command. The finances were in no better state, the revenue being totally inade-

* Clausewitz, Jomini, St. Cyr, Archduke Charles.
† Report of Genissieux.

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quate to meet an expenditure of 800,000,000 francs. And when the government proposed to add to the burdens of poor and rich, throwing upon the former a new salt tax, and extorting from the latter a forced loan, both classes murmured. Lucien Bonaparte opposed and defeated the salt tax. The conduct of affairs by the Directory had been in fact so bad, so miserable, that no one, not even those members of the Assembly who had been forced into it by the Directory itself, would act as its supporters or confess themselves its partisans. This manifest and open want of adhesion, rendered the directors powerless to operate another *coup d'état* to falsify the elections of 1799. Public opinion was allowed to predominate and the public choice to prevail, unresisted and undisturbed. The consequence was that the new Third was composed of ardent liberals and revolutionists, for amidst the military reverses and dangers which menaced, the electors looked to revolutionary energy to save them.*

The spirit which animated not only the lately elected Third but the majority of the Assembly, began to show itself in motions hostile to the government. The *Cinq Cents* addressed an injurious message to the government, complaining that it had not been informed or consulted respecting the dangers which threatened the republic. This was followed by an Address to the French People, which accused the Directory of rapine and dilapidation. Within a short space of time the most scandalous fortunes had been made by contractors and jobbers, the aim of the acquirers being to spend and display rather than hoard or conceal. The Revolution had spoiled and slain the aristocracy of birth; that of wealth now sprung up as proud and as influential, but far more immoral. Nor was this disguised even from the people. The dress of the fashionable female imitating the nudity and

* Thibaudeau, Gohier, Moniteur.

looseness of those habits which the Roman matron wore when in the seclusion of her palace, was seen not merely in the Directorial saloons, but in the public theatres. There vice no longer affected decorum.

To have got rid of the whole of the Directory would then have been a just and a popular measure, but to effect this without open and military revolution, it was necessary to make use of at least one of that body, as a support for the lever which was to displace the others. For this part they chose Barras, the worst and most corrupt of the lot, but the most pliant. Barras promised to get rid of the other four. It was the turn of one to go out, the lot fell or was made to fall upon Rewbell, unpopular from his connection or relationship with Rapinat, the plunderer of Switzerland. Many were for filling his place with a military man of eminence. This the civilians deprecated, and Boulay de la Meurthe, the foremost man of the majority, recommended Siéyès who had been his ally in the endeavour to ostracise the noblesse, and who was considered to have achieved a diplomatic success in securing the neutrality of Prussia and preventing its king from joining the coalition. Siéyès, who so often during his long career had refused to take place and associate with those in power, now considered his time come. What were his aims? According to some, he admitted the restoration of the monarchy as inevitable, not a prince of the Bourbons, but of a foreign prince of gallantry and genius, like the Archduke Charles, who might espouse the daughter of Louis the Sixteenth.* He could not have entertained such a scheme, except in the contingency of the French being completely beaten. He told Gohier that the government of which they had both just become members was an ice-field about to break up, out of which, however, it would not be difficult to save one's self.

* Letter of Louis the Eighteenth to St. Priest.

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At all events Siéyès co-operated with Barras for the removal of the remaining directors, and for renewing the government in accord with the majority of the Assemblies. To this Treilhard, La Réveillère and Merlin offered a stubborn resistance. The assemblies assailed them all the month of May with messages and representations. They took advantage of an informality in his election to cancel the rights of Treilhard to be a director. He had been elected within the period required to elapse since his previous hold of a seat in the legislature. Gohier, a lawyer and a nullity, was chosen in his place. The majority of the Assembly pressed the more the resignation of La Réveillère and Merlin. Boulay accused them of plotting to mutilate the Assembly.* In order to prevent it, a Commission of Eleven was formed, and the *Cinq Cents* declared themselves *en permanence*, until they received an answer from the directors to their complaints. These were addressed solely to Merlin and La Réveillère. The former especially was accused of keeping the army at Paris to be employed against the Assembly, instead of sending it to combat the enemy. There was no alternative for the two obnoxious directors save resignation or impeachment. After much obstinacy and many struggles they consented to withdraw. They were replaced by Roger Ducos and General Moulins, Siéyès being answerable for the former, Barras for the latter. New ministers were at the same time appointed. Talleyrand was superseded by Reinhard, a native of Wurtemburg, Cambacérès became minister of justice. Robert Lindet took the finances. The most important appointment was that of Bernadotte to be war minister; and, after a time, of Fouché to be minister of police.

The party which had struggled to establish the direct influence of the Assembly in political conduct was thus

* Debates, Gohier, Thibaudeau, Thiers.

triumphant in what was called the Revolution of the 30th Prairial. To restore superiority to the army, and as introductory to it, vigour to finance and administration, was the paramount aim. The spectre of Bonaparte suddenly rising up from the other side of the Mediterranean, was present to the minds of both Assembly and directors. To conjure the apparition could only be done by success. The Directory or at least Barras looked to Joubert to redeem the late reverses in Italy. He was at once appointed to the command. Unfortunately for the new Directors and their party, Joubert resembled Bonaparte merely by his youth and his courage. Had the latter been at this time appointed to defend Italy against the victorious Suwarrow, he would have shown activity as well as a fixed and able plan of campaign. His whole soul would have been in his task. But Joubert with all his zeal, chose the moment to marry, and to spend his honeymoon in Paris.* When he did reach Italy with less than 50,000 men, Suwarrow had reduced the fortresses of Alexandria and Mantua and was able to bring 60,000 men into the field against him. Joubert was recommended to stand on the defensive in the Apennines. But he had come to fight a battle; and fortune favoured him at first, for, whilst with his whole army in position on the semicircle of heights around Novi, he was attacked by Suwarrow, before that impetuous general had all his force under his hand. Melas who commanded his left wing, was not able to take part in the action till the afternoon. Hence the French having but to defend their centre and right, succeeded fully in doing so, and in repelling the Russians in all their attacks either to gain a footing on the heights, or to penetrate behind them. Joubert perhaps might have taken advantage of the superiority thus left him, had he not fallen early in action, whilst mingling amongst

* Moreau's words to Bonaparte, preserved by Gohier.

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the skirmishers. Moreau took the command. And when in the afternoon the Russian forces were complete and their attacks general, the French were driven in and Moreau ordered retreat. Even this was too late, for many of the French divisions were broken. The Russians had at last penetrated to the rear of the heights, and converted the retreat from thence into a rout, where guns, horses and men were intermingled.*

It was now fortunate for France that one of its armies under an able general held strong positions in the mountains of Switzerland. The other commanders of the republic had suffered signal defeats both in Germany and Italy, and both countries had been cleared of the French. Nothing remained for the victors but to march into France where their superiority in pitched battles and in open fields might result in the final subjugation of the republic. It was, however, first indispensable to clear the Alps. For this duty it was thought best to employ the Russians. The French had not been able to resist them in the plains of Italy. How much less would they be able to resist the hardy sons of the north in their own climate of snow. So reasoned the Austrian court of Vienna, when it ordered Suwarrow to take the place of the Archduke Charles on the line of the Alps, bidding the latter lead his disciplined Austrians to form the nucleus of an invading army on the Rhine. These military councillors forgot that decisive actions amidst the Alps are almost impossible, they offering such facilities for defence; and moreover that the Russian troops accustomed to stand like rocks and bear any amount of fire in the plain, were not accustomed to climb or perform the feats of mountain war, in which the soldiers of Massena had grown expert.

But indeed no superiority or excellence of troops could repair or compensate for such a defective plan of operations, as that ordained from Vienna, which drew

* St. Cyr, Jomini, Clausewitz.

away the greater part of the Austrian army from the Upper Rhine and the Limmat, with the intent to supply their place by two Russian divisions marching from different points. Massena of course seized the opportunity of the diminished force above and below Zurich to attack, whilst Suwarrow was forcing his way over the St. Gothard. Why he crossed that Alpine pass, no geographer, much less tactician, could divine, since the road over it led not to the contested valley of the Rhine or Limmat, but to the Lake of Lucerne, whose waters completely blocked up farther advance. The result of such complicated blunders was that Massena defeated Korsakoff under the walls of Zurich and nearly made him prisoner, the Russian general only cutting his way through with the loss of his artillery and baggage. The Austrians were driven up the valley of Glaris. And Suwarrow, after gallantly driving the French down the valley of the Reuss, was obliged to climb over a pass of 9,000 feet to descend into the Muotta Thal and Glaris, which he reached after the decisive battle had been fought and the superiority of the French decided. Suwarrow tried to redeem the terrible defeat, but, worsted himself at Nœfells, he was forced to escape by another mountain pass into the upper valley of the Grisons.*

This success of Massena, achieved towards the end of September, somewhat redeemed the disaster of Novi, whilst, in another quarter, the failure of an English expeditionary army threw a gleam of success over the last days of the Directory. Some 18,000 British troops with 12,000 Russians landed at the Helder, early in September. The project was to capture Amsterdam, an aim to be only accomplished by celerity; for the French and Dutch, commanded by General Brune, though unequal at first to the 30,000 invaders, were certain to be reinforced largely in a few days. The Russians and

* Jomini, Archduke Charles.

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the English, however, did not well agree. The Duke of York had no plan of campaign, and was incapable of forming one. He fought an indecisive battle, feeling unable to force his way farther, retreated, and in the end capitulated, stipulating to evacuate the peninsula within a certain time, if allowed to do so. Such was one of the many abortive schemes of the British Government to gain military footing on the northern continent.*

Whilst the Directory were trumpeting the successes of Massena and Brune, Bonaparte anchored in the Bay of Fréjus, on the 9th of October. Soon after his defeat of the Turkish cavalry on the beach of Aboukir in July, he was furnished by Sir Sydney Smith with a file of European journals, revealing to him the state of the war, and of the Directory. He instantly embarked, leaving his Egyptian army to Kleber, and in six weeks' voyage succeeded in crossing the Mediterranean to the coast of Provence. The Directory received him in appearance fraternally, but with ill-disguised mistrust.† He strove at first to remove it by declaring that his sword should never be drawn but for the republic. Yet, whilst he received his brethren in arms with cordiality, he was cold towards the Directors. He expended caresses on Moreau, whilst he scarcely deigned to speak to Siéyes. The government took umbrage at this kind of semi-hostile attitude, and lost no time in putting the intentions of Bonaparte to the proof. They offered him the command of the army, or of any army. This offer he coolly declined, on the pretext that he had need of repose. To Bonaparte's credit it may be observed, that he first had offered his alliance to Gohier and Moulins, the moderate and most constitutional members of the Directory. He merely asked to be elected a member of their body. They at once

* Sir Henry Bunbury's Campaign in Holland.
† Gohier.

showed their affright, in lieu of confidence, and pointed out the law requiring the age of 40 in a director.

He then turned to Barras, Fouché acting as intermediary, and taking the utmost pains to make them understand each other. But Barras was too cunning, and declined to speak first, except in terms little to the purpose, on which the general said nothing, and went his way. In fact, Bonaparte had determined to do the thing by himself, or with the aid of the generals attached to him. The greater part were prepared to uphold his authority; others, such as Moreau and Augereau, hesitated, but did not oppose. There was no commander whom the Directors could set up in opposition to him. It was, however, necessary that his usurpation should have a civilian aspect, and that government and governors should wear a constitutional garb. For this the co-operation as well as the ideas of Siéyes was requisite. Had the latter any hope or aim of effectually controlling the military power which was about to take possession of the state, he would have first laid down the foundations of a constitution, and stipulated the observance of certain principles. Siéyes did nothing of the kind. He agreed to resign with Ducos, and to force the resignation of the other three directors. Siéyes was assured of the Council of the Ancients. The resistance of the Cinq Cents was to be forcibly overcome. As the result, three consuls were to be proclaimed in the place of the five directors, and the assembly suspended till a new constitution could be prepared and promulgated.*

According to Bonaparte, Siéyes proposed commencing by the arrest and imprisonment of the ardent republicans. The general shrank from any such revolutionary or violent measures. He knew that the overthrow of the Directory, and the substitution for it of a

* Gourgaud, Gohier, Bourrienne.

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government of which an able general was at the head, would be popular except among the actual legislators themselves; and thus, not fearing public opinion, he wished the revolution to have the appearance of being in accordance with it, and doing it no violence. It was therefore arranged, that the sitting of the Cinq Cents should be transferred to St. Cloud, and that the more violent republicans should *not* be served with letters of convocation. On the morning of the 18th Brumaire, the day fixed for the revolution, whilst generals and troops mustered at Bonaparte's small house in the Rue Chantereine, the Council of the Ancients was assembled; and it was announced to them that a conspiracy had been discovered, which it was necessary to defeat, the best mode of doing so being to transfer the sitting of the Cinq Cents to St. Cloud, and to entrust Bonaparte with the military command. In despite of some opposition, the Ancients passed the decree, which was fully within the limits of their authority.

A deputation immediately brought this decree to Bonaparte, and hailed him as the saviour of the country. "Save it we will," was the reply; "the troops shall instantly take the oath." "You had better take it at the bar of the Cinq Cents, to whom we go to announce it," observed the deputation. Bonaparte then addressed the numerous generals present, none of whom objected, save Bernadotte. It was at first thought it would be necessary to arrest him, but he gave his word to remain neuter, and was allowed to depart. Bonaparte then proceeded to show himself to the soldiers, and proceeded not to the Cinq Cents, but to the Senate, before which he took the oath. He then returned to review the troops and address them:

"In what state did I leave France, and in what state have I found it? I left peace, and I find war. I left the country victorious, and I find the enemy pressing on

our frontiers. I left millions, the spoils of Italy; I find nothing but misery and spoliation. What has become of the 100,000 companions of my glory? They are dead."

Whilst Bonaparte made sure of the troops and their commanders, Fouché and Talleyrand were equally adroit in winning or in silencing the municipal bodies, and keeping the capital calm. The Cinq Cents met for a moment, to be told of the transfer of its sitting to St. Cloud, where it was to assemble on the following day. Bonaparte had appointed Moreau to the command of the Luxemburg, the residence of the Directory. Strange that, with his opinions, he should have accepted the duty! Siéyes and Ducos had resigned. Barras, who had tried to bend Bonaparte, remained in the Luxemburg. Talleyrand undertook to alarm and persuade him. They offered him any amount of money, and no pleasing alternative if he refused. The Cerberus swallowed the sop, and went off escorted by dragoons to his country house at Grosbois. Gohier and Moulins were, on the contrary, obstinate. They counted on Bernadotte, and came to brave Bonaparte. Gohier was enabled to do this by his familiarity with the general and his family. They were indeed to have dined with Gohier on that day. The general tried to pacify his friend. Moulins he threatened. "Santerre is your relative," observed Bonaparte; "I am told he is trying to raise the Faubourg St. Antoine. Tell him I shall have him shot." Gohier and Moulins refused to resign, and withdrew to the Luxemburg. Whatever their intention, they were prevented by their instant arrest and seclusion.

The revolution, consummated or at least not opposed in the capital, had still to triumph over the councils. Before midday on the 19th, the members had collected in the gardens of St. Cloud, the Orangerie and the other hall destined for them not being yet fitted with benches and chairs. The members of the Cinq Cents were furious, the Ancients uncertain. The troops and generals

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were for Bonaparte, save two or three, who, whilst adhering in appearance, were ready to welcome an opportunity of declaring for the republic. In such opinions were Augereau and Jourdan. The sittings opened at two o'clock; the clamorous of both assemblies dominated there. They voted a message to the Directory. They were told it no longer existed, and Barras's letter of resignation was read. The Bonapartists proposed a commission to report on the state of affairs. The opposition, on the contrary, demanded and carried the motion for renewing the oath to the constitution. To put a stop to this Bonaparte resolved to address each council.

He first appeared before the Ancients, towards four o'clock. He told them, with some truth, that they were standing on a volcano. He had been summoned to save the republic, and would do so without being either a Cæsar or a Cromwell. He was determined to respect liberty and equality. "And the constitution?" cried out several voices. "How can you invoke the constitution," continued Bonaparte—"you, who have violated it on three several occasions, and in the name of which the most disgusting tyranny was established? Content yourselves with securing liberty and equality. I will help you, and abandon power when my task is done." Bonaparte concluded by saying he counted on the Ancients, and not on the Cinq Cents, who wanted to reconstruct the Convention, and who had already sent to excite an insurrection in Paris. "These people talk of proscribing me, putting me *hors la loi*," added he. "If so, I will appeal to my companions in arms."

Having made an impression on the Ancients, Bonaparte hastened to the Cinq Cents; but he no sooner showed himself at the door, acccompanied by his aides-de-camp and followed by grenadiers, than a terrible tumult arose. As the general advanced, the deputies surrounded, apostrophized, and hustled him. "Down

with the dictator!"—"Death to the tyrant!" were the exclamations. Overtopped by men superior to him in stature, Bonaparte was more stifled than confounded. The soldiers, who had remained at the door, perceived their general disappear, whilst poignards were brandished in more than one hand. They rushed into the hall immediately, and extricated him from the crowd. It was then proposed to draw up an accusation, and vote the general *hors la loi*. His brother Lucien, who presided, resisted to the utmost of his strength, but was obliged to desist, it being necessary to send soldiers to rescue him also from those who threatened and surrounded him. Both brothers appealed at once to the troops, Bonaparte declaring that the members had attempted to assassinate them. General Leclerc, at the head of some grenadiers, was then ordered to clear the hall. This he proceeded to do, with beat of drum. The explosion of rage was great amongst the members when the grenadiers with fixed bayonets pressed forward. In vain they appealed to the soldiers, and equally in vain did some generals. Jourdan, for one, protested. The members, to avoid the points of the bayonets, were obliged to escape by the large open windows of the Orangerie, which feat, performed by legislators clothed in long togas, provoked more ridicule than commiseration. The most part of the deputies dispersed for Paris, but some fifty were retained, brought again together, and induced to vote the adjournment of the councils and the formation of a Consulate. Commissioners from both chambers, twenty-five in number each, were appointed to prepare, with the aid of the consuls, a new constitution.*

The Revolution, which had run a ten years' career, was thus brought to a conclusion. A fortunate soldier stamped out its last embers with his boot, amidst the

* Gohier, Bourrienne, Napoleon; Notice Historique published in Buchez and Roux, Lavalette, &c.

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indifference of the population. Most of the actors in the commencement of that fearful drama had disappeared in its convulsions. Saturn, as Vergniaud said, devoured his children. They had embraced it as the religion and regeneration of humanity. Such illusions had long vanished from the minds of the few survivors, who looked for security from anarchy and repose from strife as boons for which all else might well be sacrificed. The nation had certainly thrown off a dreadful *incubus*, consisting of the privileges and prejudices of a dominant class, royal, aristocratic, sacerdotal; and if again obliged to bow to one, it was at least to one who wielded power first for the defence, and then for the grandeur and glory of the country, and who, in exchange for representative government and individual liberty, communicated the largest satisfaction ever given to national pride. The economical existence and relations of every class had been completely overthrown during these years of convulsion, and the dominant desire was to put an end to these oscillations of the social earthquake. By it the agricultural classes had enormously profited, provided they were allowed to enjoy their profits in security. Farmers and tenants had become proprietors. The middle class, which used to risk its savings in the purchase of government place, had since the Revolution vested in land, and, order and peace being now restored, were ready to do so in industrial enterprises. Those who had embraced the military profession and survived its dangers dazzled other classes by the brilliant career they had run. More civilian tempers were eager to rival them in peaceful walks, and the reorganization of the administrative hierarchy by Bonaparte soon opened for them the way. All this, indeed, was not in the sense of either liberty or equality. The Revolution forsook that road, almost as much as the ancient monarchy itself. There was no such thing as a free and public forum opened, either for law or

for letters, for politics or for trade. Men were allowed to institute nothing of themselves, but to take their place in the regiment or the rank that government assigned. There was no press, no association, nor anything that was not reached by the long arm of the minister of police. No one invoked liberty—that was sacrificed to glory. But Frenchmen still boasted of equality, as if there could be equality between that portion of the population which, from chance contact with the government, wielded administrative power, and the larger portion, which had but to doff the hat to every functionary, from the great ruler to the rural guard. A functionary aristocracy took the place of an hereditary one; a military court superseded a feudal one. Centralization and domination formed the spirit of both. And the survivors of 1789 saw the régime they had overthrown stand up once more erect before their eyes and upon their necks, with merely colours, customs, and titles changed. What animated both was the same old spirit of absolutism.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE CONSULATE AND EMPIRE.

1800—1814.

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No better pretext or excuse for getting rid of the Directory and suspending the Councils need have been given than that they left unfulfilled the first duties of government. The representative body had discovered this failure on the part of the Directors, and had sought to remedy it on the 30th Prairial by renewing the members of the government, and taking political management into its own hands. The result was all the same. Scarcely any revenue reached the treasury, so that the most necessary officers of the administration received no salary; whilst the armies were left to starve, or to try to escape starvation by mutiny or by begging.*

The attempts, in fact, to govern France as a republic had completely failed. No matter what the form of constitution, the politicians put forward by the popular choice were unable to work it. After a few weeks' trial the machine stopped, and its parts fell asunder. The country was too rustic, its interests and ideas too divergent, for provinces and capital to hold together of themselves. And as in the olden time the only link to bind them was the absolute power of the king, so under the republic the only power that could suffice to hold together

* Thiers.

the scattered members of France was that acme of tyranny called the Terror. When the Thermidorians and the Directory tried to govern without that, their efforts were as feeble and as futile as those of Louis the Sixteenth. They could no more raise a revenue to meet the exigencies of the state than he. And the disjointed absolutism of the old monarchy did not call more loudly or more effectually for the Revolution of 1789, than the effete republic of 1799 called for and obtained a military dictator.

When the three members of the consular commission, Bonaparte, Siéyes, and Roger Ducos, met in the council-room of the Luxemburg on the 20th Brumaire, (11th November), Ducos was the first to break silence, which he did by telling the general to take the chair. Money was the first question. The Directors had a secret *caisse*, or fund for emergencies. It contained scarcely 300,000 francs, and to the demand of Siéyes, what was to be done with this, Bonaparte replied, "Divide it between you, and set it down to the account of the expenses of the 18th Brumaire!" * A more important question was how to pay the armies when 100 livres 5 per cent. were offered at the Bourse, and not taken for eight livres! Siéyes recommended Gaudin to manage the finances. He had offered this humble clerk the place of finance minister six months before. Gaudin would have none of it. "If you do not accept," said Siéyes, "Robert Lindet will be appointed, and you know he is utterly incapable." "He will but the better suit the government," thought Gaudin, who persisted in refusing. But when now told that General Bonaparte had taken in hand the reins of the state, he accepted.†

The first measure of the new finance minister was to annul the forced loan, and to add $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. to the

* Memorial de Ste. Hélene, Thibaudeau, and Gohier.

† Mémoires du Duc de Gaëte.

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direct taxes, half of which were to be paid in coin. On the strength of this 12,000,000 livres were borrowed. The Directory had met the necessary expenses from day to day, by giving orders or *delegations* upon the returns in coin which came into the provincial or metropolitan treasuries. Gaudin suspended such payments, and when the holders applied to him, he compelled them to advance each an amount equal to their claims, in return for an order engaging definite payment of both. He thus obtained 50,000,000 livres.* The same rule was extended. The receivers-general were obliged to pay again their securities in money, and to sign bills at fixed epochs for the coming revenue. All this was high-handed, and severe especially to those who dealt with or were employed by the government. But they and capitalists in general began to have faith in its capacity and resources, and consented to make sacrifices to maintain its favour. At the same time, government assumed more direct power to ascertain, distribute, and enforce throughout the provinces the quota and payment of the direct taxes.†

If the abrogation of the forced loan restored confidence to the rich, that of the cruel law of hostages served to pacify the royalists, and to quench the rising insurrection in La Vendée. The relatives of nobles seized and imprisoned, as well as the unfortunate priests and *émigrés* whom the Directory had incarcerated, were set at liberty. Those transported in Fructidor were allowed to return. The churches were restored to the clergy, on condition of their promising obedience to the consti-

* Mémoires du Duc de Gaëte.

† The Constituent Assembly having abolished all taxes on consumption, direct taxes alone remained. For the nine years between 1791 and 1800 they produced not more than 300,000,000 livres a year, or about three milliards in that time. The sale of national property produced three millions and a half. Calmon (*Finances de l'Empire*) calculates that about one milliard taxes and one milliard loan were raised each of these years. The issue of assignats was four milliards and three-quarters nominal.

tution. It was bold to show this spirit of clemency and fairness to the aristocracy and priesthood, whilst ordaining the *déportation* of thirty-seven members of the democratic party, opposed to the late revolution, and the confinement at La Rochelle of twenty-eight more. This, to be sure, was but a threat, uttered too in answer to threats from the republicans, to hoist their flag in opposition to the consulate.* Strange to say, they fixed on Toulouse, the headquarters of every sanguinary fanaticism, as the place of their assembly. But their menaces evaporated, and so did that of the new government. Republicans and royalists both submitted, the latter with the vain hope of finding in the new ruler a Monk for the restoration of the legitimate monarchy.

When the three consuls first met, and when, Bonaparte taking the chair, the two others took the money, it was plain who was to be the master. Still Siéyes was left to produce his model constitution. No one more fully concentrated in himself the experience of the Revolution. It had left no basis of power save the sovereign choice of the people. This, however, was a wild beast, which it was requisite to muzzle. Siéyes managed on this wise. The men of each district were called to elect one-tenth of their number, out of which all municipal councillors were to be chosen. These district colleges in every department were again to elect one-tenth, which was to furnish departmental authorities; and these again a third list of one-tenth, out of which all higher functionaries were to be taken. The two former categories Siéyes prepared to leave altogether to election. But it was settled that all higher functionaries were to be chosen by the Senate, with the

* On the list of *déportés* was Jourdan. General Bonaparte addressed to him a most conciliatory letter on the 24th of November. He must have sent a rude answer; for on the 25th his name was in the second category, then ordered to proceed to La Rochelle. The difference was soon made up, and after Marengo, Jourdan was sent as envoy, or rather proconsul, to Piedmont.

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exception of ministers, military officers, ambassadors, councillors of state, upper judges, and members of local administration. There was to be a legislative body of 300 members, elected by the Senate, and comprising at least one citizen of each department. Their sole duty was to pass and promulgate laws, which a tribunate of 100 members were previously to discuss. It will not surprise an English reader to be told, that these pale ghosts of representative assemblies were not destined long to move or to live. But by their side was placed an assembly of councillors of state, which did and does still live. The system that was founded in 1799, and soon grew into the empire, was, in fact, that of absolute rule, with a functionary aristocracy. The Council of State was the House of Peers of that aristocracy. To it all veteran officials were promoted. To it was entrusted the real work of legislation, and a great portion of jurisdiction. For it came to be ruled that no functionary could be accused without the permission of that council, which meant to say, otherwise than before it.

There remained but to constitute the executive. Siéyes proposed a grand elector, who was to choose a war consul and a peace one—in fact, two ministers. Who was to be the grand elector? Siéyes had thought on himself, but durst not propose it. Bonaparte presumed such office as intended for him, and declined at once, observing, "Do you take me for a pig to be fattened?" He soon set aside the grand electorate, made himself first consul, lord of peace as well as war, for ten years, with two shadows, called second and third consuls, with consultative powers. Cambacérés and Lebrun aptly filled these subordinate places. Bonaparte, as first consul, endowed with full regal authority, took up his abode at the Tuileries. He had, even when general, assumed the superiority of more than military rank, keeping his aides-de-camp and generals at a

distance, and being careful whom he invited to his table. Neither did he disguise his ambition. As far back as 1797, he observed to Melzi and Miot, "What the French want is glory, and to have their vanity gratified. As to liberty, they don't know what to do with it."*

As he exchanged his private abode for that of the Tuileries in town, in the country he removed from the Malmaison to St. Cloud. He at the same time banished the classic frippery which the Revolution had introduced and the Directory patronized. Togas and tunics were declared no longer the fashion, and military uniform became the court costume. Far more serious changes than these were effected by a law reorganizing provincial administration. If Siéyes had, by concentrating power in the hands of a body of notables, favoured despotic power, he had contemplated counterbalancing this tendency by leaving *communes* and municipalities free. This indeed he sought to insert in his constitution, which Bonaparte insisted on omitting, and in its place soon inaugurated the imperial system of centralization. He appointed prefects in every department, subprefects in every district, and kept to himself the nomination of mayor in every *commune*. If the republican government had stricken root and worked beneficently in rural districts, such a complete reversal of it, as well as of all local authority, would not have been possible. But, unfortunately, the rustic and provincial authorities sprung from election had abused their power as much as conventionalists or directors. Entrusted with the levy and repartition of the public contributions, they had exercised this duty as violent and selfish partisans, and in such a way as to stop all flow of revenue from the provinces to the capital. The confiscated property of *émigrés* and clergy had been as badly dealt with. Mayor and council obeyed the terrible commissioners of the

* Mémoires du Comte Miot de Melito.

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Convention, who came with the guillotine in their train. But they would obey nothing less, and decentralization came to be synonymous with disorder. After such unhappy experience, it was easy for Bonaparte to suspend communal and municipal liberty, allowing the assemblies indeed to remain, and to elect *juges de paix*; but all real power in province and district was transferred to the prefect, and to the herd of political, fiscal, and judicial functionaries which soon invaded the provinces. If the disorder and embezzlement traced to the municipal authorities during their revolutionary reign rendered the re-establishment of the old monarchic intendants easy, under the name of "prefects," the prevalence of factions in the provinces, either Chouan or republican, served as a pretext for the extension of police superintendence over the country. A minister of that name and functions had been created by the Directory, but his authority and exertions were confined to the capital. Now, however, the police minister (Fouché) was empowered to appoint commissaries in every provincial town, and thus envelope the future empire with a network of police. Fouché, indeed, was as greedy of power as Napoleon himself. Lucien Buonaparte, as home minister, offuscated him, and he having committed the blunder of publishing a pamphlet entitled "Monk and Napoleon," well intended but premature, was obliged to quit office, and abandon the field to Fouché.*

Stern republican as Lucien had been, the public liberties did not lose by his resignation. He sanctioned and executed a large proscription of the press, the first consul having inaugurated his reign by the immolation of all the journals save thirteen. And these existed under the permission of the police. Individual liberty need not be mentioned, although each successive code appeared to secure it. The jury, which was promised,

* Miot. Thibaudeau.

was soon set aside. And the military ruler had always courts martial or special tribunals at his command, when it was his object to avoid or supersede the regular courts of justice.

The tribunate which commenced its sittings and orations with the new year raised a feeble voice against the worst of these dictatorial acts, and merely attacked the less consequential. The revolution had abrogated the right of willing property, by establishing a fixed and forced division. The First Consul sought to restore parental authority somewhat, by allowing it to bequeath a larger portion to one child. This supposed attack on equality, this tendency to aristocracy, was a fertile subject of declamation, which indisposed rather than hurt the First Consul. He was, in fact, obeyed as no monarch had ever been, not even Louis the Fourteenth. One left as little liberty to the population as the other, but the chains and the burdens of Frenchmen in the nineteenth century were equally borne by all. There were neither corporations, nor professions, nor class, nor institutions, that could resent or even show discontent. If there was a murmur it must be a general one, and the mass of the people were too well pleased to have escaped, some from the starvation, others from the extortion or the tyranny, of the republic, to repine either at the revival of the worst taxes of the monarchy, salt and drink duties included, or at the new burden of the conscription, far more onerous than the *corvée* or any feudal exaction. All this went to throw power into the hands of the government, power unwisely spent, first in the domination and subjection of other countries and races, but soon used to teach them the selfsame modes of concentrated administration and levyings of men and resources, which the conqueror employed. The conscription first tried in France was soon applied to the German and Sclavonic races. And Napoleon at last did but create a military world, intended to combat for

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him, but quite certain to combat against him, sooner or later. It was impossible to organise the modern world into dominant and subject races. No event so efficaciously contributed to this as the French revolution. Yet Napoleon was induced to attempt to apply the old feudal law of domination and subservience to Europe. He failed and must have failed. Although the world is so tardy in perceiving the true cause of his fall, or deriving the true lesson from it.

This iron sceptre required to be gilt with glory, no easy achievement even for Bonaparte. The French armies had been beaten upon almost every field. The loss during 1799 was estimated at little less than 200,000 men.* Massena's reduced army was menaced with capture in Genoa, the remains of the Egyptian expedition in the same predicament. The Russians, to be sure, had retired in disgust from the war, but Austria had a powerful army on the Rhine, and a veteran one in Piedmont. Had the Austrians acted fairly and wisely, they would have at once restored his dominions to the King of Piedmont, and made him raise a native royalist force to defend them. But Austria had determined on keeping Piedmont, thus rivalling the foe in rapacity, and throwing away the natural support that might have swelled their armies.† The principal desire of Bonaparte was to reverse the triumphs of the latter. His reputation, and consequently his power, were built on his Italian conquests. To recover these was the surest mode of dazzling the French, and making them acquiesce in his government. With this aim it was also necessary to free Italy by one decisive blow, not by a long campaign, during which the absence of the First Consul from the capital would give an opening to a host of dangerous conspiracies and intrigues. His plan was therefore not to fight his way over the Alps, or through

* Enquête. † Castlereagh Correspondence, vol. v. p. 3.

their passes from Provence, but to convey an army *en masse* through Switzerland, at once into the plains of Piedmont. This could not be attempted at a very early period of the year, nor at any time whilst the Austrians had a large army in Swabia. To drive them behind the Inn became his first object. Moreau was given the command of the army in Alsace, and his mission was to force the Austrians back into Bavaria, whilst an army destined for Italy was mustered and equipped at Dijon. But Moreau was cautious. He himself had failed in a previous attack of the same kind, Jourdan had suffered a defeat from the Archduke Charles, whilst engaged in a similar enterprise. But the archduke no longer commanded. He had recommended the emperor to make great reforms civil and military,* as well as to observe peace for the present, but the court with its wonted fatuity replaced him by Kray. That general spread his 100,000 men in an extended line from the Maine to the Tyrol, the French were far more concentrated near Basle. Bonaparte wished Moreau to pass the Rhine at Schaffhausen, to get in the rear of the enemy's centre. But Moreau insisted on moving straight forward, and he succeeded in beating Kray in three successive actions, the principal one being at Moeskirch, and obliging that general to shut himself in the entrenched camp of Ulm.†

Some 40,000 men had, in the meantime, been collected and equipped at Dijon. And no sooner did Bonaparte learn that Moreau had driven the Austrians so far eastward as to break off their communications with the Lake of Constance and Switzerland, which was effected towards the middle of May, than he ordered the army at Dijon to proceed round the Lake of Geneva, and reinforced by 20,000 men, which had formed the right

* For the reforms, proposed by the Archduke Charles, see Springer, Geschichte Osterreichs.

† St. Cyr, Napoleon, Archduke Charles.

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wing of Moreau's army, to cross the Mont St. Bernard. Lannes led the way. May is early for these high passes. To drag artillery over them was a Herculean labour. It was successfully performed by Marmont.* When embedded in the trunks of trees the cannon were found easier to pass than the ammunition waggons. The army descended to Aosta, from whence the valley leads down to Ivrea. It was stopped half way by the fort of Bard, which at first Napoleon made light of. Its Austrian commander held out, and though infantry and cavalry could get round by another path, there was none for the artillery but under the guns of the fortress. The army, however, pushed on to the capture of Ivrea, and the guns were dragged by night through the narrow street of Bard, piled thick with straw, and so escaped the fire from the fort, which if vigilant might have pulverised everything attempting to pass beneath it.† From Ivrea the French marched eastward by Vercelli to Milan, which they reached on the 1st of June. Massena surrendered in Genoa on the very day previous. There were many circumstances, however, to compensate for this bad news. The French troops in the Riviera above Savona, and on the Col di Tende, had resumed the offensive and were fast driving back the Austrian advanced divisions, in that quarter, as well as from Turin. Melas was at Alexandria with little more than 30,000 men, but as the French crossed the Po at Piacenza and elsewhere, the Austrian corps in that direction fell back towards Alexandria, and were joined by the corps which had reduced Genoa. Between this portion of the Austrian force commanded by General Ott and the leading divisions of the French under Lannes was fought a severe action on the 9th of June at Montebello. Lannes attacked the enemy on the

* His memoirs give the best account of the campaign, but he represents the great effort as needless; the artillery might have passed by the little St. Bernard.

† Mémoires du Duc de Raguse.

heights and carried these, but was repulsed as fresh Austrian regiments joined. The French, however, reinforced by Victor, renewed the struggle, and each side had the better, as long and as often as fresh troops could be brought up, but this at last failing Ott, he was obliged to retreat. Some thousands fell on both sides. This was the field on which Lannes won his title.

The French pursued the retreating enemy to the Bormida, in front of Alexandria, and occupied the immense plain eastward of that river, known as that of Marengo. The military genius of Bonaparte showed itself chiefly in offensive war. He seldom waited for the attack, in this conforming to the spirit of the nation which he led. The movement, however, by which, having dropped down the Alps, he succeeded in driving the Austrians into a corner, and depriving them of all means of retreat, had the effect which nearly proved fatal to the French commander, of rendering his enemies desperate. It was not the French who attacked on the memorable 14th of June, in the battle of Marengo, but the Austrians, who, though counting few more than 30,000 men, poured over the Bormida in early morning. The French made a gallant resistance, but were completely overpowered, and driven from the village of Marengo, along the two roads leading from it, the one to Voghera, the other to Tortona. Bonaparte did not reach the field till eleven o'clock, when he endeavoured with the regiments of the guard to stop the backward movement. In this he failed; under the frequent charges of the Austrian horse, the retreat became a rout. The French indeed rallied: four times, said Napoleon, they advanced and as many times fell back.* The battle was, in fact, lost, and Bonaparte, flinging himself under a cherry tree, admitted it. The Austrian general, however, instead of completing his victory, abandoned it.

* Napoleon Correspondence.

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Being very aged, he could scarcely hold on horseback, and withdrew towards four o'clock, leaving Zach to direct what he thought was but a pursuit. By that hour, however, Desaix, despatched on the previous day on the road to Novi, arrived on the field, attracted by the cannonade. The timely succour brought by him stopped the enemy at Castel Ceriolo on one road and at San Guliano on the other. Desaix clamoured for artillery to play upon and break the advancing column of Austrians, ere it could be charged with effect. The greater number of the French guns had been dismounted, but some fifteen were collected and made to play with grape. Kellerman with the fresh cavalry was ordered to keep on the flank and charge the Austrian column, as soon as he saw symptoms of its wavering. Zach, at the head of the Austrian grenadiers, advanced in despite of the fire of Marmont's guns and Desaix' division. The latter, indeed, was for a moment paralysed by the death of its general. Kellerman seeing the Austrians by no means wavering, but on the contrary within three minutes of overpowering and capturing the French guns, whilst Desaix' fresh division showed manifest signs of weakness, charged into the flank, and through the column of Zach, cutting it in two, and both encouraging and enabling the French infantry opposed to it, to rush on and accomplish the Austrian rout. Zach and those about him were taken prisoners. Several of the Austrian generals had been disabled, and there was no one to take the command or retrieve the day. The discomfited troops retired behind the Bormida, and left victory to the French.*

Not two-thirds of the Austrians recrossed the river. To those who consider the great events of the world as the result of mere fortune, the victory of Marengo serves

* Moniteur. Memoirs of Napoleon. Berthier's report. Geschichte der Krieg. Mémoires du Duc de Raguse. Mem. of Crossard, &c.

as a powerful argument. Neither the genius nor the previsions of Bonaparte had certainly anything to do with the triumph. His army was dispersed in the face of the foe, and severely beaten, when a caprice of fortune, in the shape of a cavalry charge, led not by him, but by Kellerman, altered the entire aspect of affairs. Men are not unwilling to accept the award of war, in the supposition that the victorious country has brought a greater amount of manly courage, with military genius and renown to the encounter. But here was the fate of Europe decided, or reversed, by what might be likened to the cast of a dice box. Bonaparte had himself well said that he was accompanied by the goddess of fortune as well as by the goddess of war.*

Some German writers† severely censure Melas for giving up all as lost at Marengo. But why did the Austrian government appoint a general, whose strength could not go through one day's battle, much less provide for the retrieval of defeat? Melas offered to surrender all north Italy, west of the Oglio, with the fortresses, Genoa included, himself withdrawing behind the Mincio. Bonaparte consented. He was anxious for momentary peace, in order to return to Paris, and consolidate his government. He even indulged in his mania of writing to sovereigns, and forwarded an argumentative epistle to the Emperor, in which he pretended that the balance of power in Europe was menaced not by France but by England. He pointed out the conditions of Campo Formio, as still forming the best base of an agreement.

* The Austrian defeat at "Marengo," wrote Sir Arthur Wellesley to Lord Castlereagh, "was occasioned and aggravated by the situation in which it was placed by its operations against Massena at Genoa. If these operations had been brought to a conclusion earlier, or been discontinued, the Austrian army might have been placed in a position where it would not have been obliged to fight to regain its communication with Germany. In that case, even if defeated at Marengo, the reverse need not have been followed by the loss of Italy."

† Bulow, Hardenburg.

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The victory of Marengo, and the capitulation which followed it, were not the only events that inclined the Emperor of Austria to listen to the French overtures for peace. Moreau had succeeded in dislodging his adversary Kray, from his entrenched camp of Ulm, by pushing beyond him, occupying both banks of the Danube, and thus threatening his communications with Vienna. During the operation some brisk cavalry engagements, to the advantage of the French, took place on the celebrated field of Blenheim. Kray found it necessary to evacuate Ulm. The French then advanced to the Iser. And it was near Munich at Parsdorf, that an armistice for Germany was concluded in July, in accordance with that which had already taken place in Italy.

Two Austrian diplomatic agents were at the same time despatched to Paris, where General Bonaparte had himself returned, to be welcomed with a degree of exultation and submission which no republican general had as yet succeeded in obtaining. This increased the difficulties of San Julien, the Imperial envoy. He had come to gain time and avoid such hasty conclusion of any treaty, which must be a flagrant breach of the Austrian compact with England.* The Emperor had solemnly stipulated not to make peace without that power. To own this at once was to continue the war, not to avoid it. San Julien allowed himself to be overpersuaded by Talleyrand to sign a preliminary agreement. It had the desired effect of warding off hostilities and of enabling Joseph Buonaparte and Count Cobentzel

* This compact, by which Austria engaged not to make a separate peace until the end of the following February was signed after the battle of Marengo, but before the Austrian court was informed of it. To avoid the extremity of war, Cobentzel offered, whilst carrying on a feigned negotiation in presence of an English envoy, to enter into a secret understanding for a separate peace with France. Bignon, tom. i. p. 358. Bonaparte would not listen to the proposal, but offered to leave Mantua to Austria, and give the Legation to the Duke of Tuscany.

to meet at Luneville for the purpose of concluding a definitive peace. But Austria was not prepared to abandon England and break its solemn word. So that the preliminary treaty signed by San Julien was disavowed, and Bonaparte put his armies in motion both in Bavaria and on the Adige.*

Moreau commanded some 120,000 men, which were posted north of Munich between the Inn and the Iser. The Austrians had mustered an army scarcely inferior, but, instead of giving it to the Archduke Charles, they entrusted it to the young and inexperienced Archduke John. He proposed to pass the Inn, and turn Moreau's army so as to get into his rear, and in fact mimic Marengo. But the difficulty of the way stopped him. Stumbling in his progress on the left wing of Moreau, he drove it in. The momentary success emboldened the young commander, and he marched forthwith to the attack of the main body of the French. This was stationed in a clearing of woods, an open space around the village of Hohenlinden, surrounded by those thick pine forests without much underwood, through which infantry and especially skirmishers could penetrate, but where artillery and cavalry must pursue the straight and narrow roadway. To direct an attack along such a causeway resembled conducting it over a bridge. The French being marshalled opposite the outlet of the wood, every gun was of course directed towards it, and for a column to issue from it and deploy was next to impossible. Yet this was what the Archduke John endeavoured to do. In the attempt his several columns were foiled. And their retreat was cut off by two divisions of the French army, the chief one under Richepanse, which had deen ordered to seize the villages and the road behind the Austrians and cut off their retreat through the wood. The Archduke's lieutenants extri-

* Napoleon Memoirs and Correspondence.

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cated, as best they could, the soldiers from the trap, but left some 20,000 behind, slain or captured. It was a defeat more fatal than Marengo. Moreau crossed the Inn, and advanced up the valley of the Danube to Vienna. The Archduke John tried to make a stand at Saltzburg, but found it impossible. Moreau advanced as far as Steyer, and his cavalry occupied Ips, upon which the Baron de Meerveldt, sent by the Archduke John, arrived to demand a suspension of hostilities. This was granted on Christmas-day 1800, the truce extending to Italy, where Brune had forced the passage of the Adige, and where other French troops had occupied Tuscany and flung back the Neapolitans.*

If the Austrian plenipotentiary at Luneville was ready to treat separately from England, but in secret, before Hohenlinden, after that catastrophe he consented to do so openly. Austria had not an ally, Russia turned its back on her misfortune, Bonaparte released the Russian prisoners, and adroitly made a present to the Czar Paul of the island of Malta, just as it was captured by the English. Although the French Consul had neither the right nor the power to cede Malta, and the chiefdom of the Order of St. John, to Russia, the Czar snatched greedily at the gift, demanded it of England, and was of course refused it. This was precisely what Bonaparte desired. Paul sent an envoy to Paris and became a decided enemy of England and of Austria.

Bonaparte's views with respect to the latter power were to confine the Emperor to his hereditary dominions, and deprive him of all influence beyond them, either in Germany or in Italy. In pursuance of this he now insisted on excluding from the peninsula all princes connected with Austria, such as the Dukes of Tuscany and Modena. Austria, he said, must indemnify them in Germany. It had already been agreed with Prussia and

* Napoleon, Dumas.

accepted by Austria, that those German princes who were deprived of territories west of the Rhine by the French, in extending their empire to that river, should be indemnified in Germany, at the expense of the ecclesiastical electors. Their possessions not being hereditary, there was less injury and difficulty in dispossessing them. Bonaparte now proposed indemnifying the Duke of Tuscany in the same way, by giving him Salzburg. Austria was equally injured and mortified by this secularisation of the ecclesiastical electorates, which had escaped the Thirty Years' war, and which maintained Catholic preponderance even in the north. But Bonaparte struck this strong blow to Catholic sacerdotalism in Germany. He even promised the bishopric of Bamberg and Wurzburg to Prussia, if it would occupy Hanover. Cobentzel was no Melas, he fought to the last, but it was in vain; the treaty of Luneville was signed on the 9th of February 1811. France took the boundary of the Rhine, and even dismantled all the fortresses on the right bank. Mantua it equally insisted on. Tuscany was given to a prince of the Bourbon family of Spain, the Duke of Parma, afterwards King of Etruria.* The royal family of Naples were left unpunished for its late attacks, Russia strongly interceding for it and for the King of Piedmont. Rome too was respected. Bonaparte, however, cutting down the high prelates in Germany, determined to respect the Pope in Rome, and already looked to make the Church and its head at least the spiritual allies and supporters of his future sovereignty.†

The main thought of the First Consul was England, and how to overcome its resistance. It was impossible indeed to reconcile any minister of that country to the terrible and now accomplished fact of France remaining

* For a personal account of this idiot prince, see the Memoirs of Madm. D'Abrantès.

† Martens, Reuss Deutsche Staatskanzlei, Gagern.

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mistress of the whole of the western continent. Not merely the glory but the very existence of England was threatened by it. All the diplomatic logic of Bonaparte, the un-English sophisms of the British opposition, were idle froth slavered vainly on that fact. England, however, was still supreme on its own element, the sea, and the efforts of Bonaparte to dispute its naval power were as ill-imagined and unsuccessful as English attempts to raise and uphold continental resistance to France. Pitt's repeated efforts to galvanise by subsidies the old governments of Europe to take the field proved futile against French armies and commanders, both sprung from a people animated by the energy which the revolution had given, and the genius which it had called forth. From one mistake of this kind to another the English government floundered, until chance or a more provident cause than chance led the French ruler into the blunder of attacking not merely a court but a people. In trying to crush the Spaniards they turned against him, and proved as indomitable as the French.

In his struggle to combat his foes by sea, Bonaparte was not so fortunate. In 1801 his object was to unite all the countries with ports and navies against England. He had a vague idea that the revenue and power of the latter state depended on its trade with the Continent. To exclude English vessels from the Baltic, from the Elbe, from the Tagus, from the Spanish and Italian ports, became thus his great aim. For this he flattered the court of Madrid, by giving Tuscany to a Spanish Bourbon, and with the same view he compelled the Spanish court to invade Portugal.

A most important ally and aid in these designs was the Emperor Paul, who in spite to England for being refused Malta, and for other reasons, laid an embargo on British vessels, and in conjunction with France obliged the small powers of the Baltic—Sweden, Denmark, and also Prussia—to join in reasserting the old pretensions of

neutral powers to carry on trade with belligerents without being searched or stopped. This was the *quondam* league of Catharine the Second called the Armed Neutrality. A power of equal importance with Russia was the United States, and with them Bonaparte had made a treaty which denied provisions and marine stores to be contraband of war, and which claimed the right of importing into France any commodity, save guns, powder, swords, and bullets. Paul and his allies adopted the same view of what was contraband of war, and England was thus threatened with being deprived of the means of making any serious or effective use of its power of blockade. The rights and claims of neutrals, and the grave events connected with them, belong more particularly to the history of England than to that of France. They produced the invasion of Portugal by a Spanish army under the Prince of the Peace, at the dictation of Bonaparte, as well as the attack upon Copenhagen by the British fleet, ending in the destruction of many of the Danish vessels, and the submission of the Danish government. The assassins of the Emperor Paul about the same period (April, 1801) came to defeat the scheme of armed neutrality; and as it caused France and England to despair each of them, of the power to inflict any mortal wound upon the other, the event led to peace.*

The foreseen conclusion of the struggle in Egypt offered the way for overtures from both sides. In January, 1800, Kleber, who had succeeded to the command in Egypt, and who was no little disgusted with it, concluded with the Turkish vizier at El Arisch, under the suggestion of Sir Sidney Smith, a treaty, by which the French troops were to evacuate Egypt, and be transferred to Europe; such a stipulation was against the express orders of the English government, which, however anxious to expel the French army from Egypt,

* Bignon, Thibaudeau.

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could not be a party to bringing it within a few marches of the Austrians, when these were about to fight a decisive battle for the possession of Italy. Unfortunately the Turkish vizier had acted upon the convention, and brought his disorderly army of horse to the gates of Cairo, which he expected to be delivered to him. Kleber of course refused, and a battle ensued between the French and Turks at Heliopolis, near Cairo (20th March). The French infantry in squares defied the Turkish horse, which, far superior in numbers, galloped round them in vain, to be finally shot down and routed by destructive volleys of grape. But Cairo itself had risen in insurrection. And it proved a far more perilous and difficult work for the French to subdue this. They succeeded however. When a fanatic Arab assassinated Kleber a few weeks subsequent to his victory (June 14th).

The command then devolved upon Menou, a French general not unwilling to enact the part of Sultan of Egypt. From this dream he was awakened at Cairo by the news, that 15,000 English had landed in the bay of Aboukir, on the 8th of March, 1801. He instantly marched to encounter them, and was able to bring up a force about equal to that of the English general, Abercrombie. The landing at Aboukir resembled the recent landing at the Helder; the English had * then to advance along a narrow peninsula to attack Amsterdam, now to capture Alexandria. Had Menou acted like Brune in Holland, that is, stood on the defensive, he probably would have proved victorious. But having an undue contempt for his enemy, he attacked them on the 21st. He soon found the British soldier indomitable in defending his positions. The French were repulsed and lost the action,† Abercrombie was killed.

* Bunbury's Narrative.

† Bunbury, Moore, Regnault, &c.

He was excessively short-sighted, and his successor, Hutchinson, was equally so, a proof of a similar defect of vision in the English war office. Hutchinson, however, made the most of the victory; he succeeded in separating the French army, and in compelling one after the other to surrender, one half at Cairo, on May the 22nd, the other in Alexandria, August the 31st, on condition of being transferred to France. The battle of Marengo had been fought, the peace of Luneville concluded, there was no longer a reason for objecting to the return of the survivors of the French army of Egypt to their homes.

Negotiations for peace between France and England had long preceded the catastrophe of Egypt, or the fall of Malta. To restore the former to the Porte, but keep the latter as a stepping-stone to recapture it was the first desire of Bonaparte. But he soon found it impossible of accomplishment. He continued therefore to threaten England in Portugal, in Hanover, and in the Channel by the construction of an invading flotilla at Boulogne. Nelson, in August, made a vain attempt to destroy it. Portugal, invaded by the Prince of the Peace, acceded to his demands in the treaty of Badajos, which the First Consul rejected as not procuring him the chief object, for the moment, of the war—a Portuguese province to restore, and thus serve as an equivalent in the making of peace. England, however, defeated this design by seizing Madeira. Negotiations nevertheless proceeded, and the difficult question of Malta was solved by the compromise of restoring it to the knights. France demanded of England the restoration of all her colonial conquests. This being refused, the French consented to her keeping Ceylon, formerly appertaining to Holland. The English also desired to keep Martinique or Trinidad. On this there ensued another dispute and stand-still. But being or pretending to be dissatisfied with the Spanish court, Talleyrand gave up also Trinidad. The preliminaries of peace were thus signed on the 1st of

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October, 1801, and Lauriston, who brought them from Paris, was drawn in triumph by the mob of London, partly glad of peace, partly in admiration of Bonaparte.

The signing of the preliminaries scarcely facilitated that of the final peace, as the hostile parties were thus enabled to know each other better and divine each other's motives. English politicians were sore and mortified, Bonaparte exultant and too ardent to condescend to the necessary decorum of diplomatic hypocrisy.

One of the first acts of the French government after the signature of the preliminaries was to despatch an expedition under the brother-in-law of Bonaparte for the reconquest of San Domingo. So mistrustful were the English of the object of the expedition that they despatched a fleet to watch it. Complete success at first attended the enterprise, and could the French commander have respected and conciliated the able coloured chiefs, who, like Bonaparte himself, had been thrown forward by the revolution, he might have succeeded in recovering the colony. But General Leclerc kidnapped Toussaint, and sent him prisoner to France. And hence when war with England subsequently broke out, the French had not a friend. With a similar view of resuscitating French colonial power, Bonaparte negotiated the retrocession of Louisiana by Spain to France. An expedition for the purpose of occupying it was subsequently prepared, and in the ports of the Low Countries, which inspired the English government, unaware of the object of the expedition, with fresh mistrust. But what alarmed it, more than efforts or designs of this kind, in the East or West Indies, was the persistence of Bonaparte's views upon Egypt, and the prospect of replacing Malta in the hands of a weak and neutral power. One of the great links between the Emperor Paul and the First Consul had been the project of a combined invasion of India, Egypt being

the first stage, and the first conquest of France. This chimera of subduing India inflated the hopes of the French government, and the fears of the English during these years, as much and even more than the many real and substantial causes of rivalry between them.

In England the anti-Gallican opposition were loud in denouncing these forward steps to domination, which the First Consul did not shrink from making even between the signatures of the preliminaries and of the peace itself. His assuming the Presidency of the Italian republic, his seizure of Elba and progress in San Domingo, offered fertile themes for declamation. But the British government were determined on making the experiment of peace. Accordingly it was agreed that England should restore Malta to the knights, of whom none should be French or English, within three months, or to a Neapolitan garrison if the knights were ready with no other. In this way the treaty was patched up and signed at Amiens at the end of March, 1802. It was popular with the masses, but no more. Every gentleman was against it, and every blackguard for it, wrote Fox. There were loud rejoicings on the part of both peoples. "We shall have peace in a week, and war in a month," observed an English statesman, and George the Third considered the reply to be truthful and just.*

The First Consul had thus some leisure allowed him for that rearrangement of civil government which suited his position and his designs. He had assumed power with a sincere desire to make use of it for the reconciliation of parties, and the oblivion of past quarrels. A large amnesty was extended to all the proscribed. Not only those moderate politicians, Constitutionalists or Royalists, imprisoned or transported by the Directory, had leave to return, but the obnoxious men of extreme parties such as Barrère and Carnot, as well as noted

* Twiss' Life of Eldon, Moniteur, Bignon.

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Chouans, were allowed to tread the soil of the republic. The list of *émigrés* was closed, and the Council of State declared them as apt for employ as other citizens. The Royalists indeed were so encouraged by these favours, that some of their chiefs ventured to ask the French Consul to restore the Bourbons. He replied, that their only path to the throne lay over half-a-million of corpses. But whilst rudely rejecting the demands of the Royalists, the government sought to remove all the grievances of their humble followers. The churches were reopened, full liberty of worship restored, and every indulgence announced in a proclamation to the departments of the West. These concessions did not satisfy the fanatics of either party, who, denied the means of open insurrection, had recourse to secret plots. In October, 1801, the police discovered, and itself assisted to mature, a plot of some ultra-revolutionists to assassinate the First Consul. Those who meditated it, Ceracchi, Arena, and others, were arrested and sent to be tried.

Two carriages left the Tuileries for a concert at the Opera-house on Christmas-eve of the same year, 1801. In the first were Bonaparte and his aide-de-camp, in the second Josephine. In the narrow rue St. Nicaise, the escort pushed aside what appeared to be a water-carrier's barrel, drawn by one horse, and the horse held by a girl. The consular carriage drove rapidly past, whilst Josephine's was at some distance behind. Between them the machine exploded, driving horse and girl into fragments, killing seven persons, one of them a cavalier of the guard, and wounding twenty-seven others. The First Consul was welcomed at the Opera with acclamations of sympathy; he had most narrowly escaped destruction. Who had done this? Bonaparte said instantly, it was the Jacobins. The previous plots corroborated this opinion. But Fouché declared it must be the Chouans or dregs of the Royalists. And there ensued a long dispute between the

First Consul and the minister of police. Bonaparte's idea prevailed, and 130 individuals, those best known to have been ultra-revolutionists and terrorists, were ordered to be seized and transported without trial. Amongst them were nine known murderers of September, with whom were included such men as General Rossignol, Charles de Hesse, and the Conventionalists, Choudieu and Talot. There was a long debate in the Council of State, whether the sentence on these men should be passed simply by government, or by the council. The former opinion prevailed. It was a repetition of the summary justice of the Committee of Public Safety or the Directory. About the same time, Arena, Cerrachi, and the first batch of conspirators, were executed.*

Scarcely had these acts of severity been accomplished, when Fouché brought forward proofs that the infernal machine was the result of a Chouan plot, and that George Cadoudal was privy to it. The immediate actors in it, San Regent and Cambon, were seized, the formers till suffering from the wound inflicted by the explosion. This discovery shook the convictions, and modified the purposes, of Bonaparte. He had been allowing the *émigrés* to return and resume such of their property, chiefly in forest, which had been unsold. He now issued contrary decrees. The *émigré* was again considered to be civilly dead, whilst those who obtained permission to return, no longer recovered their property sold or unsold. Bonaparte had been much inclined to restore some of the old institutions of the monarchy. He deplored the want of an aristocracy, even in a republic. Intermediate grades and ranks between the supreme magistracy and the people were indispensable, he said. It was disgraceful to see those who had held the highest authority in the state descend to poverty

* Thibaudeau, Rapp's Memoirs, Bourrienne.

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and neglect. War of course would produce a military hierarchy. But if society was not to be overshadowed and browbeaten by it, a class of civilian dignitaries were required. With this view the First Consul created the Legion of Honour, loudly and most inconsistently denounced, even by the democratic wearers of epaulettes, as an aristocracy.

But neither his Legion of Honour nor his Senate, nor aught that Bonaparte instituted, succeeded in forming a civilian body, like the noblesse, to counterbalance the high ranks of the army. And the result was that the Imperial system remained essentially a military one. The court was a camp, and the council, such as the government formed and presided, was one of war, not peace.

To restore the landed aristocracy was indeed impossible. The peasant had become proprietor even in La Vendée. There were no elective rights left to the people, no judicial or administrative privilege to the locality. A landed gentry thus, whatever its wealth, could have no influence. Functionaries might have replaced it, but functionaries, like gentry, require independence to command respect. The service of the State, the Law, and the Church formed three professions into which had liberty been infused, the civilian element might have risen to counterbalance the military. But without freedom of speech, what was the bar, that freedom of speech developing liberty, and talent in its turn commanding place? Bonaparte would have none of these things.

He sedulously undertook to reform the Code, a task which the lawyers of the Convention had commenced. At first, its articles when framed were laid before the tribunate to be discussed. But the First Consul was irritated at any opposition, and disliked all discussion, save in his own presence and under his own control. He therefore withdrew the Code from the tribunate, and settled the disputes on different points in the Council of

State. It was no doubt a boon to the population, subject previously to many conflicting laws, half feudal, half revolutionary. But the promulgation of the Code almost superseded the science of law, and promised to render legal learning useless, until difficult questions arose requiring reference to the principles and precedents on which the Code was founded. Thus deprived of freedom of speech, and of learning, or of winning its way by talent to office, the legal profession became a nullity.

The Church was not more fortunate. Bonaparte restored it as an element of order, and as providing for a numerous class of clerical functionaries, performing the ceremonies and maintaining the appearance of religion. What he established, however, was mere form. He furnished but the shell, in which the dead body of the defunct Church was laid, and respected if not revered. He promised that he himself and his chief functionaries should attend and bow to the usual ceremonies, but the Pope must dispense him and them from what was essential either in faith or practice. Bonaparte declined confession and communion as indecorous and unsuited to the spirit of the age.* In other words he re-established the Church, partly as a decoration, partly as a moral police. The bishops, appointed and paid by the government, formed a portion of its functionary aristocracy, and at the same time the lower clergy were placed completely under the jurisdiction and at the mercy of the prelates. He was enabled thus to render the clergy subservient to him by the low state to which the political and military events of Italy had reduced the Pope. That pontiff he was at first inclined to respect and restore, but he soon found that the spirit of the old ecclesiastical body was radically hostile to his system of government and to what the revolution had consummated. He saw, in consequence, the necessity of depriving the

* Thiers.

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pontiff of all temporal power, which at a time when spiritual power was in abeyance was tantamount to a dethroning of the pontiff altogether.

It would be unfair to blame the First Consul for what was either lukewarm or ultra-sacerdotal in these arrangements. He did what was possible, and restored the old religion of the monarchy, whilst preserving the preponderance of the lay authority. He re-enacted the old laws of the Gallican Church, declared dissident creeds entitled to tolerance and the right of worship, and maintained the revolutionary prohibition against monastic institutions. Upon one liberal principle he largely insisted, the freedom of education from ecclesiastical dictation or control. With this view he proscribed the Jesuits altogether, and established a University under the most eminent and enlightened men that could be found. If he preferred the teaching of science to that of literature or philosophy, it was that he feared the resuscitation of doctrines and sentiments which had produced so much disgust and anarchy. But the chiefs of his university did not proscribe philosophy for all that, and founded a school between the materialism of the eighteenth century and the bigot theology of the seventeenth, which, though it produced its chief results and professors after the fall of the empire, still remains indebted to Napoleon for its birth and its development.

The Institute formed the Senatorial Body of Learning. Its members, chiefly men of science, did not shrink from ridiculing the First Consul's scheme of resuscitating religion and the priesthood. But he fought his battle well with them, and demonstrated priests to be as useful as philosophers. Far from taking revenge, he on the contrary protected his little aristocracy of science, and when a journal ventured to mock them, Louis Bonaparte, as Minister of the Interior, suppressed it, thus assimilating the Institute to the Divinity or the Sovereign, whom it was not permitted to ridicule. The

government retained full power over the press, as over printing and publishing. They were reduced to utter nullity.

This reversal of the principles of the revolution, save the much prized one of equality, even that being but equality of prostration, required that the forms of government should be changed to suit it. Even Siéyes' ingenious system of removing the legislature from the people and carefully separating the right to vote from the liberty to speak, was too liberal. That Solon had, however, rendered it easy to emasculate the republic altogether. With the senate rested the powers of election. It was made to eliminate and rechoose one-fifth of the tribunate and the legislative body, and the government managed that the one-fifth chosen to go out should precisely be the liberal party. It was the old system of ostracism of the Directory. The conduct of the tribunate had rendered this especially necessary. Consisting of young and clever men chosen by the senate merely, it would appear, to show their oratory, it at once eschewed all moderation and rejected everything, codes, treaties, the most useful as well as most objectionable of measures. In one treaty the people were styled in diplomatic language *subjects*, and this raised a terrible storm. Bonaparte's temper and language were quite as menacing, and he proposed no less than a repetition of the 18th Brumaire. But Cambacérès dissuaded him from a *coup d'état* so violent, and invented the mode, which was adopted, of getting rid of the troublesome members of the Assembly by the elimination and re-election of one-fifth, for which the constitution had provided.

This veiled *coup d'état*, at which Siéyes grumbled, was followed by a formal abrogation of his constitution. His permanent list of notables was suppressed, and an election of two degrees was ordained; those whom the people chose were to form a college, and this college was to present a list, from which as before the senate

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was to choose. There was little difference betwen the two systems, save the semblance of popular election. The tribunate was reduced to fifty members, to be subsequently abolished altogether, the senate to eighty. The latter was endowed with the power of prolonging the executive, in other words of declaring the First Consul to hold his office for life. But whilst endowing the senate with these powers, the jealous ruler would not commit to it the examination or vote of treaties. This he reserved to a Council of State of his nomination. The senate sought to retain a shadow of power by voting the prolongation of the consulate for only ten years. Bonaparte, dissatisfied, instantly resolved to do without that senate which he had just created, and appeal to a *plebiscite* or general vote of the population to sanction his consulate for life. Of course the people voted for the conqueror, and the senate was allowed to *proclaim* what they could not oppose. August, 1802, was the date of the re-inauguration of absolute sovereignty in France.

Whilst the base and summit of the new structure were thus made to proceed from the same forge with the most rude and antiquated fetters of tyranny, elaborate care was taken to adorn and gild the edifice with the most decorous and even gorgeous externals. Splendid museums were opened and filled with works of art taken from every capital in Europe. Architectural plans for the renovation of palaces and the beautifying of the metropolis were ordained and acted upon. Gardens were opened, triumphal arches erected, fountains made to spout. Everything that could efface the memory of freedom, and substitute gaping admiration for it, was created. And whilst the tendency of laws and institutions was seriously to degrade the spirit of man and convert him into a mere servile machine, ingenuity was tasked to flatter his vanity and please his eye.

Yet it would be unjust to attribute this to any deep-

laid scheme of tyranny and deceit. Bonaparte knew nothing of freedom, but its shameful and sanguinary excesses. His political education had been scant. He had never learned either to revere the principles of constitutional freedom or to appreciate its happy results. His idea of order was to enregiment mankind, and his scheme of national happiness to dominate. He knew nothing higher, nothing better, and he proceeded to apply these narrow principles, with the conviction that he was a Solon as well as an Alexander.

Such a system of government and such a character in a ruler, rendered any lasting agreement difficult, if not impossible, with other and neighbouring countries possessed of a vestige of either freedom or pride. The Cisalpine republic soon found that it was but a republic in name. It was not permitted even to be Italian, and was compelled to elect Bonaparte its first magistrate. Piedmont about the same period was annexed to France, and divided into French departments. Tuscany was styled the Kingdom of Etruria, under a young and imbecile Spanish Bourbon, but the French General Clarke ruled at Florence in his name. Elba was seized by the French, evidently for the sake of encircling and closing the port of Leghorn. The Pope Pius the Seventh had accepted with the Concordat the loss of the Legations, and could be looked upon as little more than a French bishop. The First Consul was supreme in Italy.

In Switzerland he was no less so. Geneva formed a French department. The Valais was destined to be another, as through it ran the great road which the French Consul was opening over the Simplon to Milan. The Vaud, which lay between Geneva and the Valais, was scarcely less French from gratitude. It was necessary, however, to make a show of Swiss independence, and the French ministry avowed it. The moment it did, a national party arose within the Confederation, and the French government sent an army to put it

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down. Bonaparte in a courteous despatch, whilst declaring that Switzerland must remain federal and neutral, added, that its government must contain nothing hostile to France; the Swiss, in fact, must support whatever was French policy.* And this despatch was published in the *Moniteur* of January the 2nd, 1803.

More galling to England and other independent governments than even the annihilation of Swiss independence were the French projects for redistributing and reorganizing Germany. The task imposed by treaty, of indemnifying the German and Italian princes, who had been dispossessed by France, might have been left, one should think, to Germans. But Bonaparte undertook this himself, Prussia earnestly abetting him. A German power might, it was alleged, have shown a way more patriotic. But what Napoleon was executing was greatly advantageous to Prussia. He was destroying those ecclesiastical Electorates, which had been the support of Austrian influence in North and Central Germany. Thus showing himself the foe of the court of Vienna, Napoleon would gladly have conciliated that of Berlin, not only by giving it Hanover, but also the Mecklenburgs, the Dukes of which Duchies he would have transferred, like so many cabbages, into the interior of Germany.† Napoleon thus dreamt in 1802 that which his nephew has allowed to be accomplished in 1866. But Prussia was as fearful of his pretensions, as greedy of his gifts. Bonaparte in consequence turned to Russia, and for a time did receive its sanction. But Russia under its successive rulers was continually alternating from fanatic hatred to fanatic admiration of Napoleon.

Although the completion of these French designs upon Germany was subsequent to the peace of Amiens, still the aim and assumption of domination on the left

* Une Suisse amie de la France, ou point de Suisse du tout.

† Hardenberg, Stein's Leben.

as well as on the right bank of the Rhine, were evident and present to the alarmed vigilance of English statesmen. The First Consul indeed took care that they should be aware of it. In the *Exposé* of the State of the Republic laid before the Assemblies and published in the *Moniteur* of February the 11th, 1802, it was pointed out that England had no longer an ally on the Continent, and that whatever the success of intriguers in London they could not influence any continental power to join them. The consequence was, that England stood alone, and could not now maintain a struggle against France. Such a taunt appearing in a week or two after Sebastiani's Report upon Egypt and the East, full of vulgar abuse of the English, their armies and their government, excited great exasperation in London.

The English anti-Gallican opposition naturally made the most of such grievances, and the French *émigré* press in London took the opportunity to shed its gall on the First Consul. He had complained of a certain Peltier and of his journal, even before the conclusion of the peace, and was especially mortified by the continuance of his diatribes. Coupling this with the effort of certain French bishops in England, and the presence there of George Cadoudal still in the pay of the British government, he made angry remonstrance against the hostility thus kept up. The English ministry observed, that the French government might prosecute the libellers, but that England could not deny hospitality to the exiled princes and other French *émigrés*. It could not silence the press, that spared neither the English ministry nor the royal family—such was the legal license of journalism in England. At the same time Mr. Addington pointed out to the French envoy, M. Otto, how peace could be strengthened. He enumerated all that had been done in Italy, in Switzerland, and in Germany to extend French predominance, and added, "We will pass over all this,

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but for God's sake leave Holland alone. Do not make its ports altogether your ports. And do not manifest fresh designs upon Egypt or Turkey. If you do, public opinion in England will set in once more for war and we shall be unable to resist it. Make a treaty of commerce allowing us to trade with the countries you have placed in your dependence, and above all things settle the affair of Malta by procuring the guarantee of neutral powers."

This fair and pacific advice of Addington, M. Thiers records from Otto's despatches, and he admits that M. de Talleyrand did not take the pains he ought to have done to have procured the guarantees for Malta. The French historian then proceeds to state that though Addington was anxious for peace, Pitt was for a renewal of the war. Pitt, however, was at first as much for peace as Addington. It was he who caused the order to be sent for the evacuation of the Cape, nor was it till the opening of 1803, and after the publication of Sebastiani's report, that Pitt considered peace to be untenable.* The fears of the English statesman that the French might recover Egypt and thence march to India, was indeed as chimerical as Bonaparte's undoubted aim of accomplishing such results. But Pitt's fears, as well as those of English politicians, were serious. It pleases M. Thiers to describe this as jealousy. But a victim is not jealous of an enemy which threatens to devour it, and daily acquires additional strength for that purpose. M. Thiers also describes the reluctance of the English to part with Malta as ambition. But this term is equally inapplicable to the mingled sentiments of mistrust and self-defence which animated the English. We have quoted Addington's language to Otto, let us complete this by an answer of Lord Whitworth's to General Bonaparte. When this envoy enumerated to the French ruler the great

* Stanhope's Life of Pitt.

superiority and numerous additional advantages which he had seized in Germany and elsewhere subsequent to the peace, Bonaparte replied, that it was quite in the power of England to participate in these advantages. Russia and Prussia did so. Prussia acquired territory and why should not Hanover, if England would as cordially unite with France?—he meant, "become its satellite." To this Lord Whitworth observed, "that the ambition of his British majesty was to preserve what was his own, and not to rob the property of other sovereigns."

Notwithstanding the indefeasible pride and independent bearing of the English, peace might for a time have been preserved, had George the Third been as absolute as Bonaparte. But the forms and necessities of parliamentary government shocked the First Consul, whilst they held out a dangerous subject of comparison and of envy to the French, who were totally deprived of such liberties. The mistrust of France, showed first by the Grenvilles and by the followers of Pitt more ardent than himself, forced Addington not only to take but to avow certain precautionary measures of armament and defence. Although Bonaparte had done, as was announced, the same in his *Exposé* to his legislature, he was deeply offended with the display of English distrust, and which, coupled with the retention of Egypt and Malta, he denounced as war. The English, however, withdrew from Egypt; and Malta they had a fair excuse for not evacuating, in the fact that there was no independent power or force to which they could deliver it.

A circumstance worthy of note was, that when England signed the treaty of Amiens, she considered Russia an independent power anxious to preserve the monarchs of Piedmont as well as Naples in their dominions, and prepared to withstand French encroachments either in Germany or in the Mediterranean. In this it was soon perceived she had made a great mistake. Russia not only abandoned Piedmont, but ended, instead of tempering

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French dictation, by joining in the First Consul's partition of Germany. To give Malta to the Russians, or accept its mediation, was consequently felt to be giving up all to France under the name of Russia. This increased the difficulties of peaceful arrangement; and perhaps what most shook the English government from entertaining belief of it, was the discovery that the commercial agents sent by the French government to Dublin and other ports, had instructions and views similar to those of Sebastiani, to espy out English weaknesses, and to report all that might serve future invasion or attack.

The determination of the English government not to evacuate Malta, and at the same time to prepare for the contingency of war, aroused all the irrepressible ire of Bonaparte. Towards the close of February, 1803, the First Consul invited the English ambassador, Lord Whitworth, to a private interview at the Tuileries. In the altercation which was about to ensue, Bonaparte had this great advantage, that he was observing the treaty of Amiens to the letter whilst totally disturbing the balance of the arrangements. Thus after recapitulating his formal acts in execution of the treaty, he asked whether it was the intention of England to evacuate Malta or not? And whether there was to be war or peace? Without waiting for a reply, he launched forth into a burst of passion, which he terminated by saying that he had rather see the English in possession of Montmartre than Malta. "A fearful word," exclaims M. Thiers, "but too terribly realised to the misfortune of our country."

Lord Whitworth explained, that much of what the First Consul complained, such as the virulence of journalism and the vivacity of popular debates, was but the inevitable consequence of English liberty. English generosity at the same time could not allow the French exiled princes to starve, or those French who had served England in war to go without reward. As to Malta,

his lordship observed, it would have been long since vacated, but for the report of Sebastiani, and of the changes which had been violently made in Europe. "You speak of the Italian republic, of the kingdom of Etruria, of Piedmont, of Switzerland," observed Bonaparte. "In all those what is there that you must not have expected?"

Lord Whitworth here no doubt shook his head.

"And Sebastiani's report, which has so alarmed you on this subject. I will speak plainly," said the First Consul. "I confess that I did, and do think of Egypt. It must be mine one day or other, as the Turkish empire cannot last. But I would not provoke war by attacking Egypt at present, nor do I desire war with you at all, for I have no means of striking at you but by a flotilla of invasion, of which I admit and fully discern all the difficulties and dangers. If you provoke me, however, to this invasion, I will attempt it, and to it will devote all the power I possess. How much better far that the two countries should unite for the subjugation of the world."

That the First Consul at this interview was the man of passion, rather than of policy, is plain enough. For the avowal of his ulterior designs upon Egypt was alone quite sufficient to deter the English government from granting the first and chief demand of France, the evacuation of Malta. If such language used to Lord Whitworth indisposed the English government to peace, the address of the First Consul presented to the legislative body immediately after alarmed and incensed Parliament and the nation. He described English parties, as some of them inclined to peace, but others actuated by mere hatred to France. He must therefore have 500,000 men ready to avenge the republic. As to England, it could find no allies in Europe, and was quite unable single-handed to enter upon a war with France.

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A royal message to the British parliament was the too natural answer. Increase of army and navy was voted, and Fox himself joined in approving them. This retaliation produced a more violent altercation with the British envoy, whom the First Consul assailed at his levee, March 14, in the following words :—

"You are determined to go to war. After fighting ten years, are we to fight ten years more? The English government talks of my armaments. Where are they? I have not a vessel in my ports. Let treaties be henceforth covered with a black crape, since you will not keep them. You may destroy France, but you cannot intimidate her." In closing this speech, the violent gestures of the First Consul made the ambassador think that personal violence was intended, and the diplomatist put his hand to his sword.

The anger of the First Consul was sincere. He really desired peace, not with the hope of English amity, but to have time and make preparation for meeting his arch-enemy on England's own element, the ocean. His restless aggression in Italy and elsewhere first disturbed the treaty he had concluded, and finally his temper broke it. Two months, however, still elapsed before war broke out. During these, Talleyrand certainly laboured his utmost to preserve peace. Everything turned upon Malta. To give it up to the Maltese or to the knights. was illusory, to Prussia or Austria equally so. The same might be said of Russia, but Russia declined taking it. England offered to give up Malta in ten years, provided the island of Lampedousa was then to be assigned to her. After passionately rejecting such a compromise, the First Consul at the last moment* offered to leave Malta in English possession if he were allowed to keep Tarentum and Otranto, with the positions which he held in the kingdom of Naples at the time of the signature of the treaty of Amiens.

* Letters of May 18. Napoleon Correspondence.

This certainly might have prolonged the peace. But Lord Whitworth had no longer the powers requisite to entertain a new proposition. He took his departure, and war was declared.*

From the middle of May, 1803, when hostilities were renewed between England and France, Bonaparte confined his military efforts during two years to the heights and the port of Boulogne. There he collected gradually more than 150,000 men, with light boats to transport them, their horses, and their artillery. The English made many but unsuccessful attempts to destroy the fleet of transports. But, on the other hand, the French commander would not trust his embarkations to the sea till he was the assured master of the channel.

What most prominently and seriously occupied the last months of 1803 and the commencement of 1804, was the conspiracy which the emigrant and violent partisans of the House of Bourbon had prepared. George Cadoudal, the Breton and the Chouan, who had failed in the terrible enterprise of the infernal machine, conceived a new plan. This was to attack, in company with some score of desperadoes, the carriage of the First Consul between the Tuileries and his country residence. He generally had but a guard of twenty horsemen, whom George thought to easily overpower, and then achieve his purpose of killing Bonaparte. This scheme of assassination, Louis the Eighteenth repudiated and condemned, but the Count d'Artois was weak enough to countenance it, as a feat of war, and not an attempt to murder.

It was part of the scheme of George that the prince should sanction it by his presence. Whilst Cadoudal was thus to make away with the First Consul, General Pichegru, who had escaped from the place of his deportation, came with him to Paris, to take advantage of the deed, and turn it to the profit of the Bourbons.

* For Lord Whitworth's orders, and the determination of the British government, see Castlereagh Correspondence, vol. v.

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Discredited himself, Pichegru sought a more powerful name and support in Moreau, who hesitated, however, gave but half assent to the plot, and disapproved of the Bourbon restoration altogether.

The French police, in the hands of Regnier and Real, was so ineffectually managed, that the conspirators were several months in Paris without being discovered. Fouché at length, though out of office, got wind of the plot, and set the First Consul on its trace. Pichegru, the Polignacs, George himself, were arrested, as well as Moreau, who, refusing to make any confession, even of weakness, was brought to trial.*

The French government had thus discovered and defeated this ill-conceived and criminal conspiracy, and could the First Consul have enjoyed his triumph with calm and honourable dignity, he would have derived countless advantages, with an increase of authority and power. But with very many great qualities Bonaparte had also some very small ones. He retained of his Corsican nature a thirst for vengeance, as unscrupulous in its daring as that of George Cadoudal, and wreaked it too often upon victims who had no share whatever in the supposed crime with which the French ruler charged them. What could exceed in petty malevolence the order for arresting and imprisoning all English travellers in 1803? What more puerile than his persecution of Madame de Staël, and other women, simply because they would not flatter him? What more infamous in the annals of crime than his extinction of the House of Condé by the murder of the Duke d'Enghien? That prince inhabited the Duchy of Baden, held there by an amour more than by a political design. Because George and his accomplices covered their villany by asserting that a French prince was to accompany and sanction their project, the erring malevolence of the

* *Moniteur* Procès, Desmarets.

First Consul would have the Duke d'Enghien to be that prince, despite not only truth but probability. And with no graver charge against him than this suspicion, Bonaparte ordered the seizure of the prince upon neutral and German territory, and his instant transferral to the Donjon of Vincennes. There the young duke was hastily brought before a military tribunal, condemned, and, without delay or mercy, shot in the fosses of that château. Criminal still, if exercised towards a prince who had plotted against him, it was as iniquitous as any act of Danton or Robespierre, with respect to a victim as innocent as he was illustrious.*

This outrageous act so shocked the court of St. Petersburg, that it put on mourning, and in that reprobatory garb received the French ambassador, Hedouville. The Czar, too, joined King Gustavus of Sweden in forwarding remonstrances to the German diet. It was not only the Duc d'Enghien's death that irritated Russia; the Emperor had thrown his protection over the royal families of Naples and of Sardinia, and deprecated altogether the French occupation of Hanover and its Baltic shores. The Czar had even come forward as a mediator to remedy and reform such anomalies. France, to gain time, had at first consented to this mediation, but soon showed that she regarded its result in no serious light.

The death of the Duke d'Enghien made an impression as profound on the court of Berlin, though it refrained from manifesting its displeasure. It had leagued with France so far as to promise to look on in neutrality whilst Austria was crushed. Hanover was to be its reward. But French troops had taken possession of that electorate after the rupture of the peace of Amiens, and the First Consul hesitated transferring it to Prussia on other terms than those of an active and offensive alliance. From this the King of Prussia shrank, and in the spring

* Bourrienne, Rovigo, Mémoires sur la Catastrophe.

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of 1804 began to lend an ear rather to the suggestions of Russia than to the menaces of France.

Whilst foreign powers were thus alienated from the French ruler by an act which bespoke the terrorist, the nation, except perhaps its high society, were little affected with what was but another enormity of the time. That the object of murderous plots should avenge himself in the same spirit in which he was attacked, was allowed as revolutionary logic. The public interest was kept alive by the trials which ensued, those of George, the stubborn Chouan, who refused every offer of life accompanied with the condition of his serving another master, of Pichegru and of Moreau. The tragic end of Pichegru, found strangled in his prison, as well as the murder of Captain Wright, an English officer engaged in the landing of the conspirators, are reckoned by his enemies amongst the crimes of Napoleon. And it is to be feared that his police was not all guiltless. Proofs, however, are wanting. As for Moreau, he had no doubt wished well to the enterprises against Napoleon, though refusing to join in them. His was a weak head, that knew not how to be either republican or monarchist, Frenchman or foreigner, one of those characters which Dante depicts as neither *rebelli* nor *fedeli*, and unworthy of sympathy or attention; Moreau was pardoned and exiled.

To foreign enmity and domestic foes the First Consul opposed the assumption of permanent and imperial dignity. To provide for his succession in the government by creating it an empire, and thus rendering assassination plots bootless, was a natural policy for Bonaparte. It was, however, no easy one. He was without a direct heir. His wife was barren. His brothers openly put forward their claims to succeed, whilst Napoleon was convinced of their incompetence. The question had been mooted at the time when the Consulate was decreed to be for life. Josephine had

then proposed that the future empire should be settled upon the son of Louis by Hortense; and the First Consul approved the arrangement. To make compensation to Joseph, he was offered the crown of Lombardy. But he scorned the compromise. And Louis, instead of approving the choice of his son for heir, opposed it with all his might. Napoleon therefore contented himself with the clause, that he should have the power of nominating his successor.*

This even Louis the Fourteenth had not believed himself sufficiently powerful to impose. And Napoleon likewise was so conscious how feeble his authority would prove beyond the tomb, that especially after the death of the young prince whom he at first declared to be his heir, he conceived the idea of his divorce with Josephine and subsequent marriage. It showed what little faith he had in the senate, or in any of his institutions. Yet M. Thiers, likening them to the constitution of Venice, regards them as possessed of vitality, and as capable of germing into liberty, when the iron sceptre had been broken. M. Thiers thus considers a mere salaried functionary aristocracy as equivalent to the old and wealthy patriciate of Venice. But the Napoleonic senate fell far short of the Venetian in independence or influence. Even the Venetian Assembly with its lion's mouth and its *sbirri* could not have lived in the open air of the nineteenth century. It could never have borne the modern development of liberty. Still less could an aristocracy of pensioned functionaries have either originated, or amalgamated with, the new era of freedom.

In May, 1804, the senate proclaimed Napoleon Bonaparte Emperor of the French, the scene in which he accepted and his court acclaimed it, being the retired château and groves of St. Cloud. The capital and the multitude were both set aside. And yet the coronation

* Mémoires du Comte Miot de Melito, who best describes the quarrels of the brothers.

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was not unpopular. The functionary aristocracy was enthroned along with the new empire. Not merely a well-endowed senate, but grand dignitaries partaking partly of Byzantine, partly of feudal greatness, were appointed in the persons of Cambacérès and Lebrun the Consuls, transposed into Arch-Chancellor and Arch-Treasurer. Joseph was named Grand Elector, a manifest sinecure, and Louis, Constable, another. Talleyrand and Berthier, dignitaries subsequently, were merely styled Grand Chamberlain and Grand Veneur. All the court places swept away in the first years of the revolution were more than re-established.

As a sanction to all this Napoleon resolved, that he should be crowned by the Pope, *after his conquest of England.* That was an important feat, which the new Emperor arranged along with the other requirements of etiquette. The coronation, however, took place without that formidable preliminary. The Pope and his cardinals hesitated long, and obviously objected sanctioning a ceremony in which the Emperor proclaimed tolerance to the different sects of Christians. But Pius was led to hope that the Legations might be the price of his acquiescence, a hope which, subsequently disappointed, led to his future resistance and captivity. The Pope came to Paris in December, 1804, and from the altar of Notre Dame looked on approvingly whilst Napoleon placed successively on his own head, and upon that of his wife Josephine, the crown of empire.*

Had the new emperor clearly and sincerely manifested, that his assumption of even an imperial crown was merely adding one to the fraternity of European monarchs, with whom he was prepared to live in equality and amity and in the observance of mutual respect, the crowning of the first Napoleon might have formed a new and pacific era for himself and for Europe. And this

* Thibaudeau, Pelet, *Moniteur.*

indeed was probably his first idea. On the 1st of January, 1805, he took the occasion of the day to address to the emperors of Russia and of Austria letters in which he declared his purpose of confining his ambition to France, and of transferring Italy to the sovereignty of his brother Joseph. At the same time (January 2) he addressed an epistle to the King of England.* In that the new Emperor said truly, that the world was wide enough for the two powers of France and England, without their quarrelling. The answer of the British government was by no means in so conciliatory a spirit, and hinted, that being united with Russia and other powers in a more confidential manner, England must consult them, ere it hearkened even to words of peace.†

This announcement that Europe was once more leagued against him threw the Emperor out of all the paths of moderation. Instead of transferring Italy to his brother Joseph, he proceeded to Milan, and caused himself to be there crowned with the iron crown as King of that country, and appointed his stepson Eugène Beauharnais, soon after adopted by him, to be his viceroy beyond the Alps. The King of Piedmont got none of his promised indemnities. Two Italian duchies, Piombino and Lucca, were given to Napoleon's sisters, and created fiefs of the empire. These acts bespoke so strongly the policy and pretensions of Charlemagne, as to increase the fears and irritation of the still independent sovereigns. And these fears were raised to the highest pitch, when Napoleon declared Genoa as well as Pavia and Piacenza united to France. Subsequently he proclaimed that the Adige and the Rhine were the natural boundaries of that country. On the 11th of April, 1805, a treaty was formally signed between England and Russia, for the liberation of the Continent. Pitt was justly of opinion that it would require half a

* Napoleon Correspondence.

† Stanhope, Life of Pitt, Napoleon Correspondence.

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million of soldiers to match those of France with any success, and offered that England should pay a million and a quarter sterling for each 100,000. Austria could chiefly be depended on to furnish the greater part of them. And on such terms she did join the alliance some three months later. The efforts of Russia to win over Prussia to the alliance failed. The French, who at first offered to give Hanover as the price of adhesion, gave it at last as the price of neutrality; and so Prussia, as it afterwards proved, became neutralized indeed.

Whilst the plans and forces of the third coalition were thus forming and mustering, Napoleon was employing all his ingenuity to pass his flotilla of boats with their freight of 100,000 men over the Straits of Dover. The attempt might have been made, it was thought, under the cover of a dark night, or a foggy day. But Napoleon required a preliminary more difficult, the command of the channel. He had hoped to obtain this in August, 1804, by the sudden junction of the Mediterranean and Ocean fleets. When this was given up, through the death of the admiral chosen to execute it, the Emperor thrust forward Spain from its position of occult enmity to England, to that of open hostility, which would enable him to make use of the Spanish fleet (December, 1804). It became then possible to outnumber that of England, even in the channel.

To do so with effect it was imagined to decoy Nelson into a wild-goose chase to the West Indies. Either France or Spain had vessels at Cadiz, at the Ferrol, at Rochefort, and at Brest, as well as the Dutch vessels in the Texel. A French naval force, by sailing to the West Indies, and apparently threatening them, might draw Nelson thither, and, leaving him there, might escape and hasten back to liberate, one after another, from blockade the fleets at Ferrol, Rochefort, and Brest, and with them appear in the channel. If they were thus masters of the straits for three days, "England," added Napoleon, "would have ceased to exist."

Admiral Villeneuve escaping from Toulon with some thirty sail, fully succeeded in that portion of his task which was to decoy Nelson to the West Indies. But even whilst overreached, the English commander was able to foresee what might be the French tactics, and he warned his government of their probable purpose. A British fleet under Calder therefore awaited Villeneuve on his return to the coast of Spain, and though inferior in number fought an action with him in which two Spanish men of war were captured, and by which the French admiral was deterred from directly following his instructions. Instead of rallying the squadrons at Ferrol and Brest and proceeding with them to the channel, Villeneuve first delayed in the Spanish ports to refit. Nelson, he felt, must have returned from the West Indies, and joined by Calder, would meet him in the channel. In lieu of seeking an encounter with them, Villeneuve in consequence merely quitted Ferrol to proceed to Cadiz. No one indeed was sanguine of the success of his great naval scheme, save Napoleon himself. His admirals and even his marine minister doubted the possibility of executing on sea those successful combinations and manœuvres, which the genius of their ruler had accomplished upon land.

The recently published correspondence of Napoleon contains the full record of his plans and instructions to his admirals, as well as of his own fluctuating views. Aware that Russia and Austria were preparing to attack him, he addressed a deprecatory letter to Vienna on the 3rd of August. But on the 16th he concluded a treaty with Bavaria, offered Hanover to Prussia as the price no longer of active alliance but neutrality, and challenged Austria to declare her intentions, threatening that if the reply was not satisfactory he would be in Bavaria in three weeks at the head of 200,000 men. On August the 22nd orders were sent to Ganteaume to rally Villeneuve off Brest. But on the next morning arrived

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tidings that the latter was at Cadiz. On the instant Napoleon abandoned his idea of invasion, and issued multiplied orders for the transport of the entire Boulogne camp to the Rhine.

The Austrian army under general Mack crossed the Inn into Bavaria on the 10th of September. The Archduke Charles had recommended the principal concentration of forces to be upon the Danube. But his court despatched 100,000 men to Lombardy, and Mack with about an equal number advanced to the Black Forest, unsupported by the Russians, who to the number of 80,000 were only then passing into Moravia. Napoleon, who crossed the Rhine with nearly double Mack's forces, took advantage of this division of his enemies, and sent half his army round by Franconia to the rear of Mack, whilst other French corps advanced against him through the Black Forest. The Austrian general was ill-supplied with information. His outlying divisions and his communications with Vienna were soon cut off. Obliged to fall back upon Ulm, the cavalry with one of the Archdukes made their escape from being besieged. In a short time after which the Austrian general was obliged to surrender in Ulm to the French (October 20). He had but 20,000 men when he capitulated. But this, added to the loss in partial actions, made up 50,000. And in fact the Austrians, so lately 100,000 strong upon the Danube, could bring but 20,000 into the field of Austerlitz, so completely and so fatuitously had their forces been frittered away.

South of the Alps the army commanded by the Archduke Charles waged a far more difficult kind of warfare with the French under Massena, driving them back from Verona, and but for the disaster of Ulm, the Archduke might have advanced into Lombardy. But this event compelled him to proceed to the succour of Vienna, to which Napoleon marched with all expedition. The Austrians made ineffectual resistance, allowing the

forces they had left in the Tyrol to be cut off either in Carinthia or the Tyrol itself. The only spot, indeed, in which the French met with resistance was at Thierstein or Durrenstein, the seat of Cœur de Lion's captivity. Marshal Mortier was there pressing on with a division to the left of the Danube, when a large body of Russian troops abandoning the right bank and the defence of Vienna passed over the bridge of Krems, fell upon Mortier, inflicting upon him severe loss, and would have destroyed his division, had it not been seasonably succoured. The French entered Vienna on the 13th of November. This would have been of little purpose, since they had been driven from the left bank, had they not contrived by rapidity and cajolery to deceive the simple Austrians and seize the great bridge over the Danube north of Vienna. Master of this they were at liberty to pour into the high plain of Moravia.

The appearance of the French in the Marchfeld was nearly accomplishing for the Russians a similar defeat to that inflicted upon Mack, one half of them being upon the Danube, the other only advancing into Moravia. Kutusoff, however, was a more active as well as a more tough adversary than Mack, and by sacrificing one of his divisions in a severe engagement, as well as by amusing the French with an armistice, he succeeded in concentrating his forces in the vicinity of Olmutz. They were 80,000 strong, supported by 20,000 Austrians full of ardour.* The Emperor Alexander, surrounded by young aides-de-camps of his own age, entertained no doubt of being victorious, and thought far more of cutting off the retreat of the French upon Vienna than of compelling them to it by defeat. This confidence of the Russians in victory was augmented by Napoleon's sending to them Savary to treat of peace.

* Thiers calculates 75,000 Russians, with 15,000 Austrians.

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Whether his motive was to increase their confidence, or really to avoid an engagement, Prussia being about to enter the field against him, may be left to conjecture. The Czar sent young Dolgorouki to state his demands. As these amounted not only to the independence of Germany and Italy, but even of Belgium, Napoleon's ire was awakened. But still concealing his sentiments, he gave orders for a backward movement of his whole army to the position of Austerlitz. This corroborated the belief of the Russians that their antagonist was meditating a retreat upon Vienna, and they accordingly pressed forward to fight a battle.

The line taken by the Russians in front of the French had the hill or plateau of Pratzen in its centre, which was thus the key of their position. Their first move on the morning of the battle (December 1, 1808) was to abandon it and descend into the marshy plain, so as to turn the right of the French and cut off their retreat upon Vienna. The counter-move of Napoleon was to rush forward to take possession of this height, which was accomplished, and the Russian line thereby broken. There was a great deal of hard fighting both on right and left. On the latter it was almost altogether a cavalry engagement. The Russians soon perceived that the manœuvre of Napoleon to seize and keep the plateau in their centre would be fatal to them if successful, and all the force they could dispose of was directed to this point. Napoleon met them with his reserves. The Russians brought up their guard, and the French guard under Rapp galloped up to oppose them. There ensued a fierce collision, in which the Russian guards were routed and all their cannon taken. Rapp's feat was the decisive one of the day. And the famous picture which records the victory of Austerlitz represents him as bringing the tidings to the Emperor. The battle was soon a rout, the Russians fled everywhere;

one division in striving to escape over one of the frozen lakes of the marsh, sunk into it and perished.*

The Russians lost half their force in killed and wounded, with their guns to the number of 180. The Prince of Lichtenstein came immediately after the battle to the castle of Austerlitz where Napoleon was quartered, demanding an armistice. When the latter required some promise of concession on the part of the enemy, it was agreed that the Emperors of Austria and France should have a personal interview. The potentates met accordingly at a mill between the two armies, and Napoleon was satisfied with the concessions which his adversary was prepared to make. For all this, negotiations for a final peace were complicated and tedious. Napoleon demanded more than the Austrians however vanquished were resigned to give. In Italy he insisted upon the cession not only of Venetia, but of Istria and Dalmatia to Cattaro. In Germany he required not only that Austria should resign its possessions in Suabia, but the Tyrol and Voralberg, countries of which the population were most attached to the House of Austria. The minister and negotiator, Prince Talleyrand, deprecated this severity of the Emperor towards Austria, which if he thus broke in sunder, its fragments would go to increase the power of Russia, henceforth the only state to be feared by France upon the Continent. Instead of mulcting Austria of Dalmatia or the Tyrol, Talleyrand would have given it Moldavia and Wallachia, as an indemnity for the loss of Venetia and its Suabian dependencies.

About a month before the battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon, then on the Danube, had received tidings of the battle of Trafalgar. He must have congratulated

* The military writers who describe the battle of Austerlitz are many, especially French. But the best idea of the engagement, and of the skill that decided it, is to be obtained from Kutusoff's account of it, accompanied by the remarks of Napoleon. See the latter's Correspondence.

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himself upon having abandoned his scheme of invading England. And no doubt his appropriation of Dalmatia and the mouths of the Cattaro was the first point of some great scheme for overrunning Turkey and reaching the British dominions in the East, through that country. The importance placed upon Cattaro by Napoleon was so strong, that when he heard of its being given over to Russia, he threatened Austria with a renewal of hostilities. In his subsequent treaty with Russia, Napoleon received back Cattaro, ceding Corfu to the latter. However fatal to his naval hopes, Trafalgar at least produced one result of which Napoleon gladly took advantage. This was the encouragement it gave to the Bourbon court of Naples to embark in hostilities with him. He replied by nominating his brother Joseph King of Naples, and placing under his command an army for the conquest of that country. It was soon achieved.

When Talleyrand recommended the aggrandizement of Austria, he was not aware of the expansion which his sovereign meditated giving to his scheme of reducing the greater part of Germany under his own empire. As the immediate result of Austerlitz, he had rounded the territories and augmented the dignities of the three sovereigns of South Germany, Bavaria, Wurtemburg, and Baden, uniting all by marriages with *his* imperial house,* and severing the links which had previously bound them to Austria. Other German states more central, such as Darmstadt, seeing Austria prostrate and Prussia set aside, demanded a similar treatment. And thus was Napoleon led and enabled to form the Confederation of the Rhine, which made him the protector of the minor States of Germany and President of their Diet, all uniting to form a military League of which France was to furnish 200,000, the rest, some 30,000,

* Prince Eugène Beauharnais married Princess Augusta of Bavaria, Jerome espoused the Princess Catherine of Wurtemburg, and the grandson of the Duke of Baden became the husband of Stephanie Beauharnais.

some 12,000, to the amount of 60,000 men. The liberties of Frankfort were annihilated, and the city given to the Duke D'Alberg, as Prince Primate of the new confederation. Austria, under the menace of war if it opposed, sanctioned the new Confederacy by waiving its supremacy over the old and its sovereign's title of Emperor of Germany.

These were grave events for Prussia, which was as much set aside as Austria. France, to be sure, had given Hanover in a treaty concluded soon after Austerlitz, but it had at the same time taken Anspach to give to Bavaria, with Berg and Cleves to form a Grand Duchy for Murat. Hanover, too, had scarcely been made over to Prussia, when there was a talk and more than a talk, an intention of recalling it, and restoring it to England,* in the negotiation which then opened with Lords Yarmouth and Lauderdale. Peace with Great Britain was not indeed far from conclusion; Sicily which the English would not give up being the only obstacle.

French historians, and Napoleon himself, represent Prussia as actuated by mere court caprice and fatuous folly when rushing into war at this epoch. They depict the quarrel as one inspired by the beautiful and indignant Queen of Prussia, and the young princes in her confidence. But war had been long counselled to Frederic William by his wisest and best statesman, Hardenburg—not war, indeed, after Austria had succumbed in the battle of Austerlitz, but before it, when Russia and Austria were in arms, and when Prussia could have brought 150,000 men to their support. The King's slow and hesitating character, as well as his honourable scruples, allowed the time to pass, and prevented his acting against the French, as he had promised the Emperor Alexander. Napoleon, after Austerlitz, was willing to pardon this weakness, but it

* Napoleon no sooner heard of Fox's accession to office than he countermanded the transference of Hanover to Prussia, in his hope of coming to an accord with the Whig administration.

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was only on the condition that Prussia should at length cordially ally with him, and break decidedly with Russia and with England. Here, again, the King's scruples interfered to prevent his joining France, as it had just prevented him attacking that power. The court of Berlin rejected or sought to modify the first treaty concluded with France after Austerlitz. It shrunk from accepting Hanover, even when greedy to get it. A harsher treaty was sent from Paris and accepted. But all kinds of slights, especially the arrangements respecting the Confederation of the Rhine, were put upon Prussia, which maddened the war party, and enabled it to over-rule the King. Napoleon's bulletins issued after the commencement of hostilities with Prussia, give no untrue account of the manner in which they were precipitated.

"The peace signed with Russia on the 10th of July, the negotiations almost brought to a successful conclusion with England, excited the utmost alarm at Berlin. Rumour ran of secret articles in these treaties, that Constantine was to be declared King of Poland, that Austria was to have Silesia instead of Gallicia, that England was to have Hanover." It was also said that Murat was to be King of Westphalia, to which the negotiations of France with regard to Germany, without in the least consulting Prussia, lent probability. Accounts of this nature, brought, not by common fame, but set forth in the despatches from Paris of the Prussian minister Lucchesini, by no means without foundation, notwithstanding the contradiction of the bulletin, reached Berlin on the 11th of August.* This produced an explosion of war resolves, menaces, and preparations. Somewhat calmed by the subsequent intelligence that Russia had not ratified the treaty with France, the Prussian king wrote on the 23rd an

* Mémoires tirés des papiers d'un homme d'État.

explanatory letter to Napoleon. It was too late. Prussia had armed. Napoleon at the same time had lost all hopes of peace by the death of Fox and the rejection of the scarcely signed treaty by the Emperor Alexander. He preferred war with Prussia as the means of at least cutting that knot with the sword.

The Prussians were able to muster 180,000 men, of which about one half advanced to oppose the French if they attempted to force their way northward. Erfurt they selected as the best position whence to observe their enemy. The French, with a force fully equal to the Prussians, occupied Wurzburg. From this town Napoleon resolved to push his way towards the Saale and Leipzig by the eastern roads and passes of the Thuringian Forest, whilst the Prussians lay westward of it, vainly guarding the great northern road, which runs from Frankfort to Leipzig. Some cavalry encounters on the 9th and 10th of October at Schleiz and Saalfeld, in one of which Prince Louis of Prussia was killed, first gave warning not only of the French march, but of their having attained the Saale. The Prussians instantly turned back in haste from Erfurt to that river, and both arrived in approximation one to the other near Jena, the Prussians occupying the heights on the left, or westward of this river, the French those on the right. The Duke of Brunswick, who commanded the chief force, and who heard of the approach of the French lower down the Saale, feared that they intended to cut him off from the Elbe, and to prevent it, hurried away with the greater portion of his army in that direction, leaving the rest under Prince Hohenlohe on the heights above Jena.

There ensued on the following day, the 14th, a double engagement: one between Prince Hohenlohe and Napoleon on the heights of Jena, the other at Naumbourg four leagues distant, between Marshal Davoust and the main army of the Prussians under the Duke of Bruns-

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Empire in its worst elements and characteristics, and surpassing it in despotism and *faste*.

The excuse he gave for this was, the necessity of combating England. Yet at Berlin, lord of the continent, he might have shut England from his thoughts. She had swept from the seas all his remaining fleets and vessels. But she was as powerless on the continent as he was at sea, provided the conqueror, even in declining to do anything for its people, had shown anything like a fair spirit to the vanquished. He offered in those days, indeed, his alliance to Austria—Austria whom he had curtailed of half her empire. To which Austria could only reply by observing, that he surely could not be serious.* North Germany he determined to keep in his own hands. And this was his first serious error. For by keeping it in his jurisdiction, and treading down its population by the hoofs of his cavalry, and the exactions of his generals, he not merely made the government and officials his enemies, but the people. His conquest of Italy and of South Germany did not lead to this. If he oppressed and despised, he gave compensation, with a show of consideration and glory. But his occupation of Prussia was a galling tyranny, felt by the lowest as by the highest. And then he entered into his paper war with England. The cabinet of St. James's published about this time the documents relative to the late negotiations with France. This revealed the intention of Napoleon to give Hanover back to England instead of ceding it to Prussia as promised, and in fact showed that the distrust of Prussia, which led to the previous war, was well founded, the French Emperor manifestly playing fast and loose with Berlin. This with the advent of the Tories to power swelled his irritation to the utmost. He declared England in a state of blockade, or rather in a state of political and commercial coventry, and he not only confiscated and imprisoned, but pro-

* Hardenberg.

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wick. French bulletins and history chiefly magnify what took place at Jena, and the immense labour and activity by which at night the French dragged up their guns to the height in order to be in a condition to fight on the morrow. The Germans however say, that Prince Hohenlohe had little more than 40,000 men, and that his defeat by the superior force of Napoleon was not any wonderful achievement. Davoust had a far more difficult task in repulsing the main Prussian army, where the King himself was present, as they give the Marshal but 26,000 men whilst the Prussians were between 40,000 and 50,000. The resistance of these was consequently stubborn, and even at the last it is thought, that had Blucher's advice been adopted of making a last effort and a general attack, the battle of Auerstadt, as it was called, might not have been lost. Bignon attributes this victory to the superior discipline, experience, and steadiness of the French. Their cavalry broke into the Prussian squares, whilst the Prussian cavalry never could penetrate or disperse a French one. The King, however, having given ample proofs of personal valour, ordered a retreat, and both Prussian armies were mingled in a confused rout. Of this double victory, Auerstadt was far the greatest, and Davoust the real conqueror of the Prussians. The imperial bulletin, however, represents Jena as everything, Auerstadt as a skirmish. And Davoust durst not contradict it by an official report or despatch.*

In two days after the battles of Jena † and Auerstadt, Napoleon was at Berlin. The scattered Prussian divisions were defeated and made captive, Magdeburg

* Bignon excuses this unfairness by alleging that Napoleon was not at first aware of the gravity and importance of Davoust's victory at Auerstadt. His excuse thus admits the unfairness whilst giving a lame explanation of it.

† For the battle of Jena, and the incapacity of the Duke of Brunswick, see Hopfner, der Krieg von 1806 and 1807.

and Spandau surrendering as well as the strong towns on the Baltic, with the exception of those of East Prussia, whither the King had retreated. The tomb of the Great Frederic at Potsdam, where the Prussian King and Russian Emperor had so lately pledged alliance, was visited with emotion by Napoleon, who seized and bore away in triumph the sword and star which lay on the hero's tomb.

Napoleon hitherto was like the traveller who limits his exploration by his view, and is contented with having reached the summit of the nearest mountain. To be sure, when one was surmounted, another rose up to tempt his ambition. Italy first, Austria next; but when the last kingdom of Germany, Prussia, so renowned in arms, lay prostrate before him, with no military power beyond it, save that of Russia, which he had already beaten in the field, Napoleon felt as if the world was his. Another campaign might be necessary to humble Russia into due subservience. But this, he wrote, was child's play. The French Emperor was not wrong in the persuasion that Europe lay prostrate before him. He did not perceive, however, that its prostration was that of sovereigns and governments, not of peoples. He professed to be the representative of the great principles of the French Revolution. Were this true, he was in the fittest position to display and to prove it, by breaking the shackles which everywhere fettered the people, and by endowing them with that equality, that liberty, those rights which the Revolution promised. Had he done so he would have been greater than Charlemagne, his throne and European influence founded on the gratitude of millions. But the representative of the great popular Revolution never thought of the people, except of that at home, to feed its vanity, to give it fêtes and edifices, museums and triumphal arches; whilst amongst his military aristocracy he distributed fiefs and titles, principalities and appanages, mimicking the ancient

scribed everything English. He accused the government of that country as barbarous for seizing and capturing persons unconnected with war and solely devoted to commerce, forgetting the number of English travellers whom he had seized and still detained without any reason, but the merest spite. England replied to the Berlin decree,* first by stopping the coasting trade between one continental port and another even in neutral vessels, and later by an Order in Council declaring all these ports to be in a state of blockade. Moreover, the decree went to regulate and order in its own fashion the entire trade of the ocean, forbidding any vessel to approach or trade with France, unless it first traded at an English port. One extravagance was thus made to meet another. The Berlin decree, said Mr. Lafitte, though it did not prevent an English ship from putting to sea, prohibited every continental ship from leaving its port. One of the first effects of the prohibition was to place Holland and its king, Louis Bonaparte, in direct opposition to the French Empire. This rage, rather than enmity against England fell not so much upon it as upon all the maritime and even inland powers of Europe, which he undertook to coerce in the most extravagant manner for the accomplishment of this fantastic blockade. A more serious consequence was the invasion of Portugal and conquest of Spain by Napoleon, as well as his future invasion of Russia, the pressure of his arms being alone capable of forcing those countries into antagonism with England. Had he merely aroused the impatience and hostility of the governments of those distant lands, it would have been bad enough. But his usurpation and his armies provoked the people against him. And this present

* See Bourrienne's account of the absurdity of the Berlin decree of the 21st of November 1806. Napoleon punished with death the North Germans who smuggled a pound of sugar, whilst he gave permits for passing in all kinds of prohibited goods and English manufactures.

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epoch marks the change in his fortune. Successful as long as he merely combated governments and their armies, he soon met with reverses when he began to array his legions against the European people.

Yet at Berlin Napoleon had one great and generous thought, that of re-erecting and reconstituting Poland. Could he have persevered in it, he might have found at Warsaw what he subsequently found nowhere, a faithful ally and an attached people. Napoleon's first intention at Berlin was no doubt to punish Russia and Prussia by the restoration of Poland. "Let the Poles," wrote he to Murat, who had entered Warsaw, "show a firm resolution to be independent and engage to support the king, whom I shall give them." To reconcile Austria to this change he made offer to it of Silesia in lieu of Gallicia. Determined on this he would grant no terms or armistice to Prussia, and went into winter quarters along the Vistula, intending to continue the conquest of East Prussia and the reduction of the Russians in the spring. The latter gallantly determined not to allow him the repose which he thought requisite. Benningsen with some 80,000 men advanced towards the Vistula, near the close of January 1807, hoping to get between the French corps and raise the siege of Dantzig and Gaudenz. Napoleon roused his army from their winter quarters to meet or rather to intercept him, proceeding from Warsaw in the direction of Konigsberg. Benningsen, well informed, retreated in time, and fought several engagements with the French, until on the 7th of February, both armies were in each other's presence at Eylau. The French were somewhat but not much inferior to the Russians. Benningsen determined to defend the village. And with this view his troops first occupied a hill in advance of Eylau, and then the church and cemetery of the place. In both positions they made a most desperate resistance, far more obstinate than the French had yet encountered, and were not dislodged till 10 at night.

On the following morning, the 8th, the ground being covered with snow, Benningsen massed his forces in front of Eylau and commenced his attack upon the French there. After a murderous cannonade, Napoleon ordered forth two divisions to the attack, but they soon lost all direction amidst a blinding shower of snow. The Russians were preparing to take advantage of this error, which must have resulted in the destruction of the two divisions, when the emperor launched almost all his cavalry under Murat to make a circuit, fall upon the enemy, and disengage the two columns of infantry. Napoleon in one of his letters attributes this operation almost solely to Murat. It was completely successful, and the Russians checked in the midst of their victory. Yet one of their divisions, in Murat's absence nearly became masters of Eylau, and of Napoleon himself, who was in the cemetery. And it was not without the greatest difficulty that they were repulsed. At last the Russians gave up the attempt to force the town, the carnage was immense. "Fancy," wrote Napoleon, "10,000 corpses in the narrow space of a league square." He owned to 6000 wounded. The Russian loss was no doubt also great. But Benningsen, though he failed to retake Eylau, still claimed the victory. And the French by following him no further, but retiring to winter quarters, gave some colour to his exaggerated boasts.

This was the first serious check to the arms of Napoleon;* he called it a victory; and had a right perhaps to do so, but it was no victory for *him*. An engagement of an entire day with an enemy but little his superior in numbers, maintained by fearful loss on his side, was very different from the previous results of his military genius. His letters indeed record the great

* The combat of Maida in Calabria during the previous July, a little before Jena, in which the English overcame Regnier, was also a serious check in another quarter from another foe.

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effect which Eylau had upon him. He called from all sides recruits and reserves,* and laboured to represent the battle in the most favourable light. But in France, where the funds fell prodigiously, as well as in foreign courts, the impression was that the French had at last met their match in the field. A week after the battle Napoleon sent general Bertrand to the King of Prussia to offer terms of peace, and to assure the monarch that he abandoned all idea of reconstituting Poland.† On learning later that Austria had begun to arm, he sent offers of a part of Silesia in order to keep her quiet. When Austria in reply proposed to mediate between France, Russia and the other powers, Napoleon at once accepted (April 16th), which was very different from his language before Eylau.

That battle, however, inspirited his enemies as much as it had mitigated his own pretensions. In the several negotiations which took place in the spring of 1807, the Czar could not consent to see his ally, the King of Prussia, deprived of one half of his dominions. The war accordingly recommenced. By the month of June Napoleon had mustered 180,000 men, which the Russians with all their efforts could by no means equal in number. Napoleon took the road from the Vistula to the Niemen. His first encounter with his foe resembled Eylau, far more than it did Austerlitz. On the 10th of June he attacked the Russians in their entrenched camp at Heilsberg, in which enterprise all the daring efforts of generals and soldiers failed. Instead of surmounting its embankments, the French left thousands of dead at their feet. The Russian commander Benningsen, at Heilsberg as at Eylau, showed all the talents, and seemed attended by all the fortune, of a

* He demanded of the Senate an anticipated conscription of 80,000 men, only due in 1808.

† Bertrand *laissa entendre que, quant à la Pologne, depuis que l'Empereur la connait, il n'y attache aucun prix.* Correspondence.

great general. But as the overwhelming forces of the French continued to advance, Benningsen's skill and fortune abandoned him. Before such an army and such a general as Napoleon, his better plan would have been to keep on the defensive. But he was always for falling upon single divisions of his enemy, a vain attempt, as the French generals were too wary and experienced to allow themselves to be beyond reach of succour. In an ill-judged sortie of this kind, Benningsen led his whole army across the Alle, and exposed it to the attacks of Napoleon at Friedland on the 14th of June. The battle did not commence till the afternoon, and the field was fiercely contested by the Russians, inferior in number to their foes, and one of their divisions separated from the battle by the river Alle. It was soon evident that they could not sustain the shock, and to avoid destruction the Russian divisions either flung themselves into the Alle, or tried to reach Friedland and its bridge even through the masses of the enemy. Either attempt was fatal to them. The Russians saved their guns by the most desperate efforts, and died rather than surrendered. But they left an immense and signal victory to Napoleon at the very time that he most wanted it. Defeat would have been total destruction to him. Victory gave to him the disposal of Europe.

The surrender of Konigsberg followed the defeat, and on the 18th the Russians demanded an armistice. As a condition the French required the surrender of Gaudentz and other Prussian fortresses, so that the suspension of hostilities was not signed till the 22nd. Alexander then proposed a personal interview, which took place on a raft in the Niemen before Tilsit, the 25th of June 1807. Almost the first words of Alexander announced his more than disgust of England, which meant that he was prepared not only to conclude peace, but an active alliance with France. Napoleon

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accepted the offer with eagerness. He could not hope to dominate the world alone, and wanted an ally, which he had never found, or could not keep when found. The ideas of the monarchs were thus in such accord, that from enemies they became more than friends. Alexander and Napoleon took up their joint quarters in Tilsit, freely using each other's articles of toilette, and were inseparable. The King of Prussia was invited to the meeting, but he was not in the secret of the friendship and soon found himself in the way.

It was indeed difficult to communicate or render acceptable to the vanquished monarch the harsh terms which the victor was determined to impose upon him. Napoleon took from the King of Prussia half his dominions, and made pecuniary demands almost equal to the other half, whilst the country and its fortresses were to be held till their ransom was paid. In the west Prussia was deprived of all left of the Elbe, which with Hesse was to be formed into the kingdom of Westphalia for Jerome. In the east Frederick William lost his ill-gotten spoil in Poland, which with its capital Warsaw was added to the dominions of the King of Saxony. Alexander, apparently to avoid this spoliation, seems to have suggested that Jerome should have the duchy of Warsaw, and be declared king of it and of Saxony, the dynasty existing at Dresden being of course provided for elsewhere. This flattering proposal Napoleon declined, and adhered to his first arrangements, alleging that the direct influence of France should not pass the Elbe.*

Here, perhaps, may best be mentioned the question which has arisen, of whether Alexander was sincere in his sudden conversion to Napoleonism. The above would lead to the persuasion that he was not. The proposal to place Jerome at Warsaw, another brother in

* See Napoleon's *Note* of July the 4th in his correspondence.

Spain, as well as to subject the West of Germany to the French emperor, could not have been the advice of a well-wisher, but only of one not displeased to see ambition rush into the impossible and the exorbitant. Although the subsequent motive with Alexander for remaining attached to Napoleon, was no doubt their joint plan for dividing the East, this could not have been the first impulse. The desire of extricating himself from a position of humiliation and defeat, by representing the new alliance as in accordance with his interests and his predilections, was probably the prime inducement. But from first to last, there was too much utter selfishness in the calculations of the two monarchs to render it possible to give either of them credit for a nobler sentiment.

On one point Napoleon, as was usual with him when released from the active duties of war, seemed altogether *mad*. This monomania was to acquire maritime power and possessions, and to push his conquests over the world's hemisphere to India. For this purpose he was not only to keep the southern shore of the Baltic, but the Atlantic ones of Portugal and Spain. To the coast of Dalmatia already acquired he was to add Greece, the Morea and the islands with Egypt, as if he could possibly keep or make use of such territories, were they in his power. For this dream of Oriental dominion, Napoleon gave up to Russia the far more feasible conquest of the Danubian Principalities, and North Turkey, with the exception of Constantinople. It proved indeed eventually that Russia was no more able to conquer even the Danubian Principalities than Napoleon was to land soldiers in Egypt. So that the two mighty potentates, with Europe at their feet, were indulging in an Arabian Nights' dream about the Levant and Asia, with no more reality in them, than in the stories of Scheherezade.

What was most marvellous in this carving and apportioning of the Ottoman territories, was that the

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Ottomans had been the zealous and faithful allies of France during the late eventful years, England and its protection having been spurned by the Grand Seignior; and when a British fleet forced its way into the Sea of Marmora, to remonstrate, it found Napoleon's envoy, General Sebastiani, completely master there, and not only dictating Turkish replies but pointing Turkish cannon. The reward which Napoleon destined for the Turks in return for such conduct was the conquest and division of their empire by him and Russia. The pretext given for this treachery was, that Sultan Selim had perished in a popular tumult. But surely there was something more to be considered in Turkey than the ephemeral life of a sultan.

The rest of Europe was as cavalierly treated by the two potentates at Tilsit. Not only did Alexander receive for himself a portion, a small portion certainly, of the Prussian dominions in Poland, but he accepted Finland, the most essential part of the Swedish monarchy, that monarchy which, like Prussia, had been Alexander's faithful ally against France. Moreover all powers were to be awed into open war with England. Russia promised this for itself in case England should refuse its mock mediation. Such powers as Denmark were to be compelled to declare war against Great Britain, and on refusal France and Russia were to declare war against them. In joining this insolent scheme of forcing their vindictive policy upon all other powers, Russia did not see or foresee that Napoleon was really forcing the same upon the cabinet of St. Petersburg, and that on the first symptoms of its wincing or proving reluctant, Russia would be menaced by French legions, just as little Denmark was.

Notwithstanding Napoleon's declaration that French influence should terminate at the Elbe, he erected Dantzic into a republic, dependent evidently upon France, thus rendering himself as much master even of

the Vistula as he was already of the Elbe and the Rhine. If the minor powers of Oldenburg and Mecklenburg were restored, it was only on the condition that their ports should be garrisoned by French in order to enforce the active English blockade. Portugal was at the same time summoned to close its ports against the arch enemy Great Britain, and in the prevision of its refusal, a French army was immediately ordered to be assembled at Bayonne.

It may be questioned whether Napoleon had reached the zenith of his power and glory in 1807 after Tilsit, or two years later, when, after having overcome Austria in the field of Wagram, he took for his empress the daughter of the Cæsar. We are inclined to consider 1807 as forming the culminating point of his career, his hold over the continent becoming after that period, despite of Wagram, insecure by the gradually increasing estrangement of Russia, and the open resistance of the Peninsula, where English courage and resources enabled Spanish nationality to hold its ground against the French. In 1807 also Napoleon completed the edifice of his internal government. The foundation and the walls were indeed of simple construction, that of absolute power and centralized despotism. The peculiarity, if there was any, lay in the exorbitant cost of the decoration. On this his efforts were chiefly lavished; nor did he seem to care from what school or what epoch his ornaments were borrowed. Thus there was the semblance of a constitution, it being thought decorous to preserve the ghost at least of that modern requirement. There was a Senate, which obsequiously registered imperial decrees for the levy of men and money. There was a legislative assembly, which was forbidden to discuss legislative measures. There was still in 1807 a body called the tribunate, but as it criticised his acts, and as critics were held in horror by the emperor, the tribunate was suppressed,

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and its members consigned to the same mutism as the legislative corps.

The political drama in France being thus confined to pantomime, it was necessary to supply the want of words and of action by dresses and decorations. For this purpose Napoleon deemed that an aristocracy was required. The French indeed would not feed, much less respect an aristocracy of and on their own soil. A noblesse then of either the middle ages, or of the Versailles epoch being impossible, the emperor went back to the days of Charlemagne, and resuscitated the grand dignitaries and feudal dukes of ten centuries previous, their titles taken and revenues derived from foreign and subject lands. Italy furnished some half-dozen, Germany as many more. By the side of these grand dukes, half barbaric, half Byzantine, some offices were taken from the middle ages. One of Napoleon's young brothers who had never wielded a sword, had that of Constable thrust upon his hands, and Louis Buonaparte was to have figured in the character of Duguesclin. The efforts to found a patriciate were not confined to the Byzantine model, or to that of Charlemagne. An imperial decree declared such titles to be hereditary, and gave the founder or the wearer the right to create a *majorat*, that is, to entail a certain amount of property upon the title. Nothing so glaringly offensive to French prejudice could be imagined. But the entails were built on the quicksands of foreign conquest, and people consoled themselves for what was unequal and unjust by the conviction that it was also ephemeral.

That the revolution might be represented, there was a grand elector in memory of Siéyès, and a most fit personage was found to accept the empty title, being no other than the cynic Talleyrand, whose destiny it was to survive and to bury all the friends, the policies, the dynasties and constitutions that he had served or

known.* Then there were chancellor and treasurer, each and all with an "Arch" before their titles, their persons empurpled and embroidered and befeathered, far surpassing the aspirations of any noble of the old courts. Kings too formed portions of the imperial circle. Louis had long been King of Holland, a king with enough of the republican in him to kick against imperialism. Joseph was for the moment King of Naples, out of which realm he had expelled the Bourbons. Jerome was enthroned at Cassel. All of these, however, sovereigns and dignitaries, were mere pillars hanging from the roof of the edifice, and leaning upon no foundation whatever in the soil to support it.

It is with regret that we speak thus slightingly of Napoleon in his greatness, for he himself was a great man. Neither can we attribute altogether to his character the institution or the crime of tyranny. The freedom of which he had deprived France was worse than anarchy, it was misery and bloodshed. By concentrating power in his own hands, he had not only restored peace to the country, but in a great degree prosperity too. It is no wonder therefore that a soldier little read in historical or political science, should make the mistake of considering his dictatorial rule as the best not only for France but for all subject countries; and indeed it may be admitted, that absolute power wielded by a first-rate intellect, succeeding to an epoch of great freedom, in which ideas have been largely ventilated, national defects and aspirations and tendencies fully made known, can by taking for its mission the realisation of these ideas and hopes, do more for a people, and for an age and their requirements, than a constitutional executive could do. The mistake lies in supposing that

* There were six Grand Dignitaries, or functionary Grandeeships, borrowed from the old German empire; The Grand Elector; two Archchancellors, one of the Empire, one of the State, an Arch Treasurer, a Constable, and a Great Admiral. They each received upwards of 12,000*l.* a year.

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a dictatorship, good for fighting a battle, or driving a nail, can be aught but an extinguisher, an oppression and a curse, when rendered the permanent and normal régime of any country. But Napoleon knew no other mode of government. With more enlarged knowledge of political science, he might, beyond or within his frontiers, have attracted the populations to their new rulers, and endowed them with governments so far superior in freedom as well as in energy to what they had before known, that no reverses or misfortune would have shaken them. Instead of this, not only was such science foreign to his thoughts, but he was indignant when any of his relatives, like Louis, King of Holland, attempted to consult the interests of his subjects, or deserve their esteem. His whole system was thus essentially ephemeral, and even if military disasters had not befallen him and exploded his power, his government could not have survived. The French would have no more borne absolutism for succeeding generations, than Europe would have submitted to be deprived of men, money, independence, and honourable existence, for the glorification of even an heroic idol.

Yet that Napoleon thought his own system the best, is evident from his letters to Jerome and the Constitution which he devised for his brother's new kingdom. As his system was the same everywhere, we may describe his arrangements for Westphalia. In the first place, the new king chose throughout his provinces the men of wealth and consideration likely to be faithful to him. These he formed into colleges of departments, which elected 100 members to form the Estates, 70 of whom were to be landed proprietors, 15 commercial men, 15 professional or literary. They answered to the *possidenti*, *commercianti*, and *dotti* of his Italian dependencies. By the side of this mockery of representation was a Council of State, which with the government, its ministers and prefects, wielded all authority. As to freedom of speech

or printing, Napoleon would tolerate none; and although he pretended to allow the sovereigns of the Confederation of the Rhine full independence, he insisted on the proscription, or even execution, of such book-makers or book-publishers as called his omniscience in question. But with all this Napoleon insured the solid benefits of the revolution, the abolition of the privileges of nobility, and the equality of the entire population before the taxation and the law. Whilst thus abrogating fiscal or other advantages to natives, he unfortunately intruded an equally onerous burden upon subject countries, by taxing them for the support of France. Half the State property, including the Church domains of Westphalia, was confiscated and applied to the dotation of the French army and its generals, in other words to the aristocracy of the French empire. Napoleon enforced everywhere the introduction of the *Code Napoleon* with its important conditions for the division of property; and whilst he created, and even endowed, an hereditary aristocracy of his own at home, he destroyed abroad the old aristocracy, that which alone had any root for keeping life in the institution.*

He thus hoped that the new states and their governments would present a favourable contrast with the old. At home, indeed, he was able to present a most flattering contrast between his own government and that of the republic. The reformation of the country's finance was, as we have seen, his first object of attention on attaining the Consulship. And he never lost sight of it. His task was in one respect facilitated by the bankruptcy and cancelling of two-thirds of the debt under the Directory. But, on the other hand, such a fact precluded the possibility of borrowing. The interest of the debt (the consolidated third) and of arrears founded by the government amounted to

* Memoirs and Correspondence of King Jerome.

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53,000,000f., the current expenditure to 450, pensions to 60. The revenue was only sufficient to cover the amount of current expenditure. In each succeeding year, however, the taxes became more productive. The conquered countries were made to furnish their quota. (Italy, for example, a million sterling, and Spain was soon after condemned to furnish two.) And there being no great war till 1805, the first consul was able to appropriate large sums to the completion of roads, to opening of canals, and to a host of necessary public works, neglected or suspended for nigh a quarter of a century. In 1804, the Imperial government re-established that indirect taxation which the revolution had abrogated. Salt, wine and brandy, became again subject to the exciseman. The burdens were cheerfully borne in those localities where industry revived. The severance of France from all colonial trade or foreign supply, gave birth to new manufactures in the great centres, for which the victories of the Emperor procured at least a large continental market. Other parts of the country, the sea-board especially, was depressed by the blockade. If Lyons flourished, Bordeaux fell under a collapse, and the vine growers of the south execrated the exciseman, against whom the silk manufacturers felt no grudge. The budget of 1804 showed 700,000,000 of receipts.*

These augmented revenues were counterbalanced or absorbed by the prodigality of Napoleon himself, his brothers and dignitaries. Taking a million sterling for his own civil list, the emperor gave 80,000*l* annually to each of his brothers. To the grand dignitaries were added eighteen marshals, all largely paid. The senators were well endowed, the ladies of honour equally so. The splendour of large expenditure about his court was what Napoleon looked to. But this obliged the govern-

* Mollien, Nervo, Calmon.

ment to pay out of the taxes the great lords who figured there, as well as the prelates. The state was forced to pay church and aristocracy as well as all else.

These prodigalities, with the sums required for the campaign of Austerlitz, but more especially the habit of supplying the deficiency of French finance by the contributions of dependent countries, led to a crisis and almost to a state bankruptcy, whilst Napoleon was at Vienna. The Spanish government, too poor to pay its subsidy in coin, had given bills or orders for specie in its American ports, the produce no doubt of their customs. It was found impossible to get this coin transported to France through the multitude of English cruisers. And strange to say, when it was at last brought, the transport was effected by a British vessel of war. In the meantime the Treasury in Paris found itself unable either to pay the war contractors or to find money for its own issue of notes. The whole affair forms a long and curious story, down to its development when Napoleon returned to Paris, called immediately a council, and summoning all before him, dismissed his minister, and condemned contractors, including Ouvrard the great capitalist, to have their property seized, till they paid over a certain sum designated by the emperor. This was following the custom of the old monarchy. "You cannot find me guilty of dishonesty," observed the minister, Barbé-Marbois, on receiving his dismissal. "I had rather," replied Napoleon, "that you had shown yourself dishonest than a fool. There is a limit to the one, there is none whatever to the other."

Towards the close of 1807, Napoleon visited Italy. Much as his thoughts and recollections were concentrated on that country, he still does not seem to have considered it for itself. He viewed it as a mere adjunct to France, which it was to furnish with subsidies, whilst its ports and coasts, occupied by French *douaniers*, were to carry on and enforce that prohibition of all intercourse

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with England, which was Napoleon's dominant idea. His first act, on reaching Milan, was, indeed, to issue an aggravation of the Berlin decree. As the English orders in council forced all vessels to touch, and pay duties in their ports, the French Emperor now declared all vessels, that obeyed such an order as piratical, and liable to capture. England alone had the force to execute its decrees. Napoleon had no power at sea, and he could only supply the want of it by seizing and confiscating all merchandise supposed to be English, even in the hands of private individuals, or in use in continental households. The enforcement of such a law was a kind of inquisition, that rendered the French officials odious, and occasioned far more enmity and weakness to Napoleon than damage to the English. To surround Europe with a dike against the ocean was impossible. The tide of contraband always broke in somewhere, now in the north, now in the south, and the vain attempt of Napoleon to obstruct it only embarked him in new wars and enterprises more and more serious. In fact, this continental blockade was the most efficient ally of England, in stirring up the different powers, especially the maritime ones, against France. Nor did any cause more largely contribute to his downfall.*

One of the countries, from which it was very difficult to exclude English merchandise, and English versions of the doings on the Continent, was Italy. The occupation of Sicily by the English, rendered insecure the dominion of France in Italy. This proved the great obstacle to peace with Great Britain, during its Whig administration. Fox could not give up Sicily, and Napoleon could not leave it in the hands of an enemy. By degrees, indeed, he swallowed up all Italy. The queen and little king of Etruria were packed off, the one to Rome, the other

* See Laffitte's arguments against the blockade in the Memoirs of Rovigo.

to Spain, and Tuscany became a French province, ruled by a sister of Napoleon. There remained the pope, who was not contented with Napoleon, and consequently could not be expected to be a zealous prohibitionist of British trade. The pope had gone to Paris to crown the Emperor, in the hopes of recovering the Legations, and mitigating some of the ecclesiastical regulations most distasteful to Rome. The pontiff gained nothing by his condescendence. And he retaliated by refusing to consecrate the new bishops, and by other acts indicative of discontent. The requisitions of the French Emperor were by no means couched in gentle language. He told the holy father that he himself was the modern Charlemagne, and that the pope, like another Adrian, would be nothing but through his generosity. Though not an arrogant pontiff, Pius the Seventh refused to accept any such comparison or position, to dismiss from Rome the English or Russian envoys, or declare himself at war with those powers. Napoleon in consequence occupied Ancona, and threatened to destroy the pope's temporal power altogether. From Milan, at the commencement of 1808, he despatched General Miollis to occupy Rome with a body of troops and garrison the castle of St. Angelo. The pope first made passive resistance. But his palace was entered, his guards disarmed and disbanded, his prime minister arrested and carried off. In June 1809 Rome, like the rest of Italy, was declared annexed to France. Pius replied by a bull of excommunication. Upon this Pius the Seventh was arrested in his palace, summoned to abdicate his temporal sovereignty, and on his refusing was hurried off by French officers to Tuscany. Eliza Bonaparte, who governed it, not liking so embarrassing a guest, despatched him to France, and he reached Grenoble, ere Napoleon was aware of the effects of his own orders. Subsequently Pius was removed to Savona, and thence to Fontainebleau. The later project of Napoleon was to make

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Paris the residence of the head of the Church, whose spiritual authority he thought to curtail but did not dare to abrogate. The events which took place in Spain and Russia, however, encouraged the pontiff in his resistance. Nor was it till 1814 that he was released from captivity.

Whilst Napoleon was meditating his enterprise upon Spain, his relations with the Russian government ceased to be marked with the usual cordiality. Alexander was pressed by his brother emperor to complete his design upon Finland, but for the moment to evacuate the Danubian principalities. But the Czar's ambition was much more incited by Turkish than by Swedish spoils, and his disappointment was great at being told to recoil from the Danube. Napoleon saw the necessity of at least flattering this Russian hobby, if he wished to preserve the alliance; and this was indispensable to him whilst engaged in his designs upon Spain. On the 22nd of February, 1808, Napoleon wrote to Alexander to propose nothing less than an expedition to India. An army of 50,000 French and Russians despatched thither, would frighten England out of her wits, as soon as it reached the Euphrates. Napoleon declared he had troops just sufficient in Dalmatia. By the first of May our troops, he wrote, may be in Asia, as well as yours at Stockholm! A boy could not be more delighted with his first gun and sword, than Alexander was at the visionary scheme. He did not pause to think how many of the 50,000 men were to reach the Euphrates, or how many of those who got thus far, would muster on the Indus. The plan of marching across Turkey, implied the previous subjugation of that power, no light task for 50,000 men, and, moreover, a partition of its territory beforehand, between France and Russia, a matter of equal difficulty. The letter, however, answered its purpose, which was to keep Russia contented and quiet, until the monarchs met, which they did in September at Erfurt.

If there be a country in the world which it would be wise policy to leave uninterfered with, it is Spain. Poor, obstinate, bigoted, shut up in a remote corner of Europe, and unmoved by the current or progressive ideas of the day, Spain has every quality that should deter a conqueror, with little calculated to attract one. The mad scheme of subduing all the coasts of Europe, in order to banish English commerce from them, is scarcely sufficient reason. It merely compelled those populations living by the sea to try to exist, that is, suffer and starve, without it. Such were the effects of Napoleon's enforced exclusion of English, which then implied all, trade or navigation upon Holland and the Baltic provinces, Russia included, as well as those of the Mediterranean, Italy suffering as much as Holland. In striving to strike at England the French ruler really dealt blows upon himself. For he created enmity and disaffection towards his government and its tyranny in the breasts of the entire maritime population of the Continent, and by consequence in those of their rulers.

But Napoleon could not believe, but that the possession of the entire peninsula of Spain must give him some prize upon their vast colonial empires. Unfortunately, too, if Spain as a country did not tempt invasion, the character of its government and royal family did. It is difficult to account satisfactorily for the decay of all intellect and all energy in whatever race has had the misfortune to occupy the Spanish throne. The facility with which the people submit to despotism, the incense with which it worships the throne and suffocates its holders, as well as the ignorant and stupid bigotry of the priesthood, which thrive in such an atmosphere and monopolise power and respect, are not sufficient to explain the deperdition of every royal Spanish race. The qualities to be remarked of the Spanish Bourbons at the commencement of the century were those observable of animals in their lair—imbecility, dissoluteness, ferocity,

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mutual hate, intellect never reaching higher than cunning, with a religion that was the fetichism of a savage rather than the creed of the rational being. A paramour, who had been the guardsman Godoy, and was created Prince of the Peace, governed the Queen, who governed the King. All these detested the heir to the throne, Ferdinand, who made ample returns of that sentiment. Napoleon began by cajoling Godoy, and making him an instrument to invade Portugal with the bait of an independent sovereignty.

The Spaniards, as was natural, did not display any great devotion to French interests. And Napoleon resolved to send a French army under a French general, Junot, to the conquest of Lisbon. A treaty was drawn up and signed by the two courts, by which Portugal was to be partitioned. The Prince of the Peace was to have the northern portion as a monarchy for himself. The French were to keep Lisbon and the central provinces. The King of Etruria, a Spanish Bourbon, was to be monarch of the Algarves or south of Portugal, Napoleon, of course, taking Etruria. This was the understanding under which Junot led the expedition. The march of the French army across Spain soon aroused the suspicions of the court of the Escurial. But a sudden and dangerous illness of the King turned its attention to what seemed more pressing, the probable accession of Ferdinand. Godoy sought to avert this and laid plans for the purpose. Ferdinand, to escape them, appealed to Napoleon, and offered to marry a French princess, which his mother and her favourite discovering, Ferdinand was arrested. He was menaced with being put upon his trial, but, on his submission and betrayal of supposed accomplices, was set at liberty.

Napoleon, appealed to by both parties, answered or evaded answer by strengthening Junot's force, and precipitating his march. Yet it was little more than 25,000 men, at the head of which that general crossed

the Pyrenees in mid October. Totally ignorant of Spain, he considered it the fittest period for marching across a southern country. But the French soon found an inclement winter, and no supplies whatever. They managed, however, to approach Lisbon towards the end of November. And the French official journal having declared that the House of Braganza had forfeited the throne in consequence of its refusal to seize all English merchandise, the royal representatives of that house embarked themselves and their valuables and set sail for the Brazils, leaving Lisbon to the French general and his army.

Junot's easy victory and unopposed occupation of Lisbon did not prevent several French corps from passing the Pyrenees after him. Their presence on the Ebro alarmed the Spanish court, which intelligence from Paris augmented. Godoy and the Queen, therefore, seriously determined to imitate the court of Lisbon, fly to Cadiz, and embark for the colonies. It was not so easy for them to accomplish. The court, however, removed to Aranjuez, a palace south of Madrid, for the purpose. When, on the 16th of March, 1808, the people, suspecting the intended flight of the royal family, raised an insurrection to prevent it, plundered the residence of the favourite, and strove to discover in order to kill him. He escaped, but the King and Queen were not the less counselled to sign their abdication in favour of Ferdinand. Murat, commanding the French troops, took advantage of the disorder to occupy Madrid. And Ferdinand betaking himself thither, received, instead of his recognition, orders from the French general to proceed to Bayonne. It was strange, that so mistrustful a personage should have followed such advice. Stranger still, that the King and Queen, who had abdicated, adopted the same resolution. Like foolish birds, the entire royal family of Spain hurried off to Bayonne, to throw themselves into the arms of Napoleon. The Spanish people

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foresaw the result, and divined the trick. They rose in insurrection at Madrid, but were sabred and cannonaded into submission. As for the Spanish King, Queen, and Prince, whilst engaged in their mutual recriminations at Bayonne, they found themselves, one and all, set aside, compelled to abdicate in favour of the French Emperor, and then separate for captivity in different provinces of France.

It seems strangely providential, that Napoleon should have taken the means best calculated to rouse the Spaniards to self-exertion and popular resistance. Had he provoked the royal family to flight, or even flung Ferdinand into the arms of the insurrection, the latter would have had a fool and a bigot to direct it, and the French Emperor would not have been chargeable with a mean act of treachery, that filled every Spanish breast with indignation. Alison describes Napoleon's conduct as wise, so far as human policy was considered, but controlled by the superior wisdom of Providence. We can descry much cunning but no wisdom in Napoleon's treatment of the Spanish dynasty and people. His deepest-laid schemes defeated themselves.

There are several ways of conquering a country. That hitherto practised by Napoleon, was to beat the armies of the ruling dynasty, and so terrify it into submission. In Spain he chose to begin by sweeping the dynasty away, and leaving only the people to deal with. For the people he had a thorough contempt, and knew but the one way of dealing with them—terror.* The Spanish people were too scattered for this. Madrid is a capital merely in being the residence of the court. In Spain each province has its centre and its character, and there is no one spot, the castigation or annihilation of which would terrify the rest. Napoleon therefore embarked upon an ocean when he invaded the Penin-

* His correspondence *passim*.

sula. He might cut through its waters gallantly, but storms and waves rose behind and before him, and even the thunder of cannon could not silence the popular cries.

The first military operations of the French in Spain proved how ignorant they and their commander were of the country. Not content with possessing Madrid and the provinces between it and France, they tried to master the capitals of the eastern portion of the kingdom, meeting with desperate resistance at Saragossa and Valencia, the last repelling them altogether. At the same time a large force was poured into Andalusia to capture Cadiz and reduce the province by a mere cavalcade. The Spaniards were not idle. Their Juntas placed several armies on foot, to the equipment of which England equally contributed, and these soon menaced the communications of the French, both between Madrid and Bayonne, and between Andalusia and the Castiles. The Spaniards had, indeed, small chance in the field against the veteran troops and generals of France, and should have carefully avoided, especially at first, any great action. But General Cuesta was too anxious to measure his strength with Marshal Bessières, who totally defeated him in the battle of Rio Seco (July 1808). Castanos was more successful against Dupont in Andalusia. This general had taken and sacked Cordova, but, instead of marching immediately to Cadiz, had lingered in the conquered town, and, threatened in front by Castanos, whilst his communications with Madrid over the Sierra Morena were equally menaced, thought it prudent to retreat. This emboldened the Spaniards, and encouraged them to assume the offensive. Dupont, moreover, divided his forces, and allowed the Spaniards to intervene between his divisions. The result was defeat, and the capitulation of the French at Baylen, about the same time that Bessières triumphed at Rio Seco.

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This signal advantage in the north of Spain did not compensate for the loss of Andalusia, nor for the complete defeat and expulsion of Junot from Portugal. At the end of July, a British army had landed in that country under Sir Arthur Wellesley, fought the battles of Roliça and Vimiera, and concluded at Cintra the convention by which the French troops were carried in English vessels back to France.

If the English felt humiliated by the bridge of gold thus made for the enemy, Napoleon was still more so at the convention of Cintra and the capitulation of Baylen. He at once resolved to put matters to rights in the Peninsula, by repairing thither in person and draughting at the same time such large reinforcements as would overwhelm Spaniards and English. These reinforcements could only be brought from the French army in Germany. The aspect of affairs there was not fully satisfactory. Austria had been awakened from the passive sullenness or discontent by the account of French reverses in Spain. She began to arm, and evidently to prepare for another conflict. Napoleon saw it, expostulated, and received evasive answers. Several months, however, must elapse ere Austria could be ready. And this would suffice for the complete repression of Spanish resistance.

It was necessary, however, to keep at least North Germany quiet, an aim to be attained by the continuance of the accord with Russia, entered into at Tilsit. To enforce it the French Emperor invited his Russian brother to a solemn meeting at Erfurt. It took place in September, and was as brilliant as it was, to all appearance, cordial. Napoleon encouraged Russian designs of aggrandisement on the Danube and the Gulf of Finland. Russia approved of the installation of King Joseph at Madrid. The French monarch, to be sure, reiterated his objection to seeing Russia at Constantinople. But he gratified Alexander by concessions to

the unfortunate King of Prussia. The French army of occupation was in a great measure withdrawn from that country, the principal fortresses excepted. Napoleon had need of these troops in Spain. And a considerable diminution was made in French pecuniary demands upon Prussia. Notwithstanding these mutual concessions, no progress was made by Napoleon in a scheme which he had conceived, for himself espousing the sister of Alexander, his divorce with Josephine being previously arranged. Alexander, it is said, might have consented, but his mother's prejudice against a French Imperial alliance proved insuperable. However, the sovereigns separated with all the signs of renewed amity, and Napoleon betook himself to Bayonne.

The Emperor had, however, but two months, the last of 1808, to coerce Spaniards and English, and saddle the former with the monarchy of Joseph. He had, however, collected the overwhelming force of 300,000 men, a number quite irresistible. The Spanish armies made gallant resistance, here and there, to the host of French soldiers ere they crossed the Ebro. But their efforts were unavailing. Worsted in every battle, the Spaniards were driven from the plains of Castille; and Madrid was once more occupied by the triumphant enemy. After all was over, and Spanish co-operation impossible, an English army under Sir John Moore penetrated into Spain. It was merely to perceive its mistake, and retreat, as best it might, by the northern provinces to the coast. Napoleon in force rushed after it, and outstripping his main body came within a march of Sir John Moore. The latter was in full flight, however. And Napoleon, receiving despatches that the warlike preparations of Austria were already menacing, he paused, abandoned the pursuit of Moore to Soult, and galloped off to reach Paris and prepare for a campaign upon the Danube. Soult pursued Moore to Corunna, where the latter made a stand in

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order to render safe the embarkment of his army. On the 16th of January, 1809, took place the battle of Corunna, in which the French were repulsed, and the future embarkation left unmolested. A cannon-shot terminated Moore's career, in the moment of victory.

Thus Napoleon, at the commencement of 1809, had redeemed the disgrace and washed away in blood the affronts put upon his arms in Andalusia and Portugal. He still rose superior in the struggle with his arch-enemy, England. For in truth the war, wherever fought, was between these two rivals. Napoleon and our Tory government did not yield to one another in audacity. His, indeed, could only be accounted for by ambitious aims, verging almost upon insanity, yet England's acts, though springing from the necessities of self-defence, were often as outrageous and indefensible. It was thus that the bombardment of Copenhagen and the carrying off the Danish fleet by the English, struck neutral powers, or would-be neutral ones, with feelings very nearly akin to those excited by the invasion of Spain. The decrees of prohibition and blockade, launched by France and England at each other, were of the same kind. Both made enemies; and both, moreover, by this continued enmity, came to task each other's strength and resources to that degree, that the war became a trial of stamina as well as an interchange of blows. England drew upon its credit and internal wealth, an exhausting process. France, without credit, was obliged to live on the spoils of subject countries, but this indisposed them, and, like all oppression, led to schemes of fierce retaliation. Men to Napoleon were as indispensable as money. In the supply of these, France began to fail. The conscription he was compelled to enforce a year in advance, as well as to trust more and more to foreign auxiliaries, and thus fill his armies either with youth, who wanted vigour and endurance, or with men no longer animated with the zeal and spirit

of the French revolutionary soldiers. He contrived, however, to keep up his numerical force, and to count a million of armed men under his banners.

What added to Napoleon's embarrassments was the distance between him and his real enemies. He had to reduce or to awe the powers holding the extremities of Europe—England, Russia, Spain, and Turkey. In embracing Russia at Tilsit, and promising the spoils of Turkey, he had naturally alienated the latter. And thus, whilst endeavouring to close against England the frozen ports of the Baltic, he opened to them the more important ones of the Levant. Tilsit, which, according to Napoleon's views, was to exclude the English from any footing on the Continent, gave them, on the contrary, the most favourable chances of interference and resistance; whilst the vain attempts to close the ports of Spain and Portugal against British vessels resulted in opening to them all those of the New World beyond the Atlantic.

Whilst the French Emperor was dispersing the Spaniards and pursuing the English, the Conferences of Erfurt were bearing their natural fruit. That meeting of the two autocrats was neither more nor less than a joint conspiracy against the rest of the world. It was a pact to rivet the chains on the portion already conquered or attached. Russia, after appropriating Finland, was to go to Stockholm on one side, and the Danube on the other. Napoleon was to crush Spain, and then proceed to take his share of the Ottoman empire. The Turks soon got wind of the spoliation reserved for them, and concluded peace with England in January 1809. Austria was no less threatened. With Russia grasping the Principalities and extending to the Danube, eastward of Hungary, and France advancing from Dalmatia, south of it, Austria would soon have been an *enclave*, an isolated spot in the midst of the allied empires. It precipitated its armaments accordingly, encouraged as

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well as warned by the events of Spain. After Erfurt, Napoleon had summoned the court of Vienna to acknowledge Joseph King of Spain. "We will do so," was the reply, "when you inform us what ye, Russia and France, have resolved together at Erfurt."

Exceedingly displeased at having to provide for another and an immediate campaign against Austria, whilst his veteran legions were still employed in Spain, Napoleon sought to pacify the Austrian court. He offered, in concert with Alexander, to guarantee to Austria its present possessions. But as, in the letter making this offer, no mention was made of Erfurt, or of Russian designs in the Principalities, Austria felt that the allied emperors had secretly agreed upon some enterprise inimical to her, which they durst not divulge, and Austria was right. Napoleon was very indignant at such a suspicion. He had no idea that any power or prince had a right to object to his overweening aggression or ambitious designs, and so blinded was he by anger, that he actually considered England and Austria as criminal in opposing him. "The history of my relations with the House of Austria," wrote he, "is simply that of the Wolf and the Lamb." * He meant himself for the Lamb, and poor, shattered, reduced Austria as the Wolf.

The Austrians, with much more justice, looked upon Napoleon as the Wolf, who was certain to devour them when Spanish resistance was overcome. Many causes, too, encouraged them. England was ready with its subsidies, and they had strong proofs that Alexander, notwithstanding his apparently close alliance with the French, was still fearful of their supremacy, and anxious to shake it off. To these feelings towards France, manifested in the highest quarters, was to be added the leaning of popular opinion in Germany. Prussian statesmen and men of letters were sowing the seeds of that uprising against

* Letter to the King of Wurtemburg, about this time.

the French which came at last. 1808 saw the birth of the Tugendbund, that secret opposition of German nationality against French, and it was the urgent advice of Stein and Scharnhorst to the King to take advantage of Napoleon's absence in Spain, and join Austria in a thoroughly German uprising against France. The King of Prussia, however, put trust neither in his people, nor in Austria. He persisted in hoping everything from Russia, and refused to move without the assent and support of Alexander.*

In 1809, indeed, Austria was premature in either counting on popular insurrection, or royal or imperial defection. Prince Schwarzenberg at St. Petersburg pressed the Czar in vain, and told Alexander, "If you wait and stand by to see Austria crushed once more, it will have no other resource than to throw itself altogether into the arms of France, and then where will you be?"†

The French and Austrians both took the field in April. 120,000 soldiers were with the Archduke Charles upon the Inn and the Isar. The French, he learned, were collected under two of their marshals, one at Augsburg, the other at Ratisbon. The Archduke advanced to interpose his army between them, but in the meantime Napoleon had given orders for concentrating his forces at Abendsburg, a central point between the two cities. Had the Archduke been well informed, he would have exerted himself, and probably succeeded in hindering the concentration. But, uncertain where he might find the French, his own army was scattered. Napoleon attacked one portion of it before Abendsburg on the 20th, defeated it, and drove it back upon Landshut. It proved to be the left of the Archduke's army, who had then to defend himself with his centre and right before Ratisbon. Napoleon attacked him there, that is, at the village of Eckmühl, on the 22nd, and gained a complete

* Stein's Letters. † Mémoires d'un Homme d'État.

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victory, driving the Austrian force into Ratisbon, from which they soon retreated across the Danube into Bohemia. The peculiarity of this brief campaign, as disastrous, though not so dishonourable, as Ulm, was German fighting against German, a great portion of Napoleon's force consisting of Bavarians, Wurtemburgers, and others, who gallantly and mainly contributed to the defeat of the Austrians.

Pausing a moment to decide whether he should pursue the Archduke into Bohemia, or continue his march down the right bank of the Danube to Vienna, he took the latter course. By so doing he intervened between the Austrians in Bohemia and those on the Italian frontier. The Archduke John had there defeated Prince Eugène Beauharnais upon the Tagliamento, but was interrupted in his career of victory by tidings of what had occurred near Ratisbon. He hastened to the aid of his relative, but was too late even to save Vienna, before which the French soon appeared, forcing their way into the unfortified suburbs, and bombarding the inner city to compel it to surrender. Napoleon was besought not to shower his projectiles upon the Burg or Palace, where the princess Maria Louisa still remained. But though the enemy's capital was occupied, the campaign was far from terminated. The Archduke John undertook to march round through Hungary to a junction with the Archduke Charles. The Tyrolese in insurrection had swept the Bavarians from their valleys, and defied the flying divisions of the French. The Austrian commander-in-chief, with the Emperor Ferdinand, occupied the Marchfeld, a high plain, which extends from the Danube at Vienna, north into Moravia, and the difficulty for Napoleon was to cross the Danube and find footing on its northern bank to engage the enemy.

In the previous campaign, the French succeeded in getting possession of the bridge over the Danube. But this was not to be done twice; it was now broken.

Napoleon had to replace it by bridges of boats between the islands of the Danube and either shore. This was first attempted at Nussdorf, higher up the stream than Vienna, but failed. The large island of Lobau, lower down the river, was found more practicable. A boat bridge, with difficulty moored in the rapid current, connected the southern bank with the island, a lesser bridge or bridges were required to connect it with the northern bank. The greater part of the Austrian army was higher up the river, its commander expecting the army of the Archduke John. Instead of their reinforcements joining the Austrians, tidings were brought there of the French crossing the Danube on the 20th of May. The Archduke Charles instantly marched to attack them before all had passed. Not more than 30,000 French occupied the villages of Aspern and Essling, under Lannes and Massena, the garden walls and cemetery offering facilities of defence. Attacked on the 21st by far superior forces, Lannes contrived to maintain his ground in Essling, whilst Massena, after an equally stubborn resistance, was driven from Aspern. But the next morning the French had brought over a larger proportion of their army, which then numbered 60,000 or 70,000 men. The Archduke again attacked them with from 80,000 to 100,000 men. The battle which ensued on the 22nd was perhaps the fiercest of the war. There was no manœuvring, and generalship was out of the question. It was a struggle of infantry soldiers for the two villages, and of cavalry for the ground that lay between. Through this intervening ground Napoleon indeed made one of his usual attempts to break into the enemy's centre, by directing upon it all the force that he could muster. He was at first successful, the Austrians yielding before it; but, equal to the great occasion, the Archduke Charles brought in person fresh troops to the combat, and succeeded, though not without the most arduous efforts, in arresting the

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progress of the French, finally compelling them to fall back to the river. Following up their advantage, the Austrians then forced their way into Essling, which rendered it difficult for the French to return over the bridge. But some of the regiments, rallied by General Mouton, succeeded in reestablishing themselves in the streets and houses. * At the very time of the great attack on the Vienna bridge, the bridge to the island of Lobau was broken by the mill boat which the Austrians had set fire to and launched down the stream. The consequence was that not only reinforcements ceased to arrive, but ammunition began to be wanting for the artillery, which henceforth feared to respond to the enemy with its usual vigour. This circumstance decided the battle of Aspern in the Archduke's favour. The French, as soon as night covered their retreat, effected it to the island of Lobau. In the last hour of removal, the knees of Marshal Lannes were shattered by a cannon ball. As a litter was borne to the bridge, Napoleon perceived it, and came to embrace his fallen lieutenant. It was not the least bitter moment of the defeat. A scene as striking was what has been called a council of war, but which consisted merely of Napoleon, seated on the southern bank of the island, in face of the broken bridge, between Massena and Berthier. Both were for withdrawing the army altogether into Vienna. You might as well advise to withdraw it to Strasburg, was the emperor's rejoinder. For we should soon be there, and the enemy upon us. *

Safety and success he saw only in audacity, and in a renewal of the attempt to cross, notwithstanding the greatness of his loss at Aspern. It was estimated at no less than from 20,000 to 30,000 men, though the French bulletins acknowledge but half as many hundred. The Austrian loss was not fewer. Both sides, however, drew to their support their remote and scattered

* Savary.

divisions, the French with more efficiency and success than their opponents, for the Italian army under Prince Eugène defeated the Archduke John at Raab, and effected his junction with Napoleon, whilst the Archduke John did not arrive till after the coming battle.

The chief fault in the military character of the Archduke Charles, seems to have been want of alertness. He took no advantage of his victory at Aspern to overwhelm his enemies, few and disheartened, in the island of Lobau, nor did he duly watch the movements of his subtle adversary, who, flinging suddenly several bridges of boats over the Danube, in the first days of July, passed his whole army over in one night. The Austrians had thrown up intrenchments opposite Essling and the old bridge—as if Napoleon was likely to take the same road twice. On the morning of the 5th of July, 1809, the French army was marshalled on the Marchfeld near Enzensdorf, opposite to where they had crossed.

The Austrian general was completely taken by surprise. His force was not as yet concentrated, nor could he at first muster on the field more than 70,000 or 80,000 men; the French, even when three-fourths of the army had passed, being fully equal in number. The Archduke Charles had even some difficulty to fall back in proper order to the heights of Wagram. Indeed, so direct was the retreat, that Napoleon, on the evening of the 5th, tried to carry a strong position in the Austrian centre. He suffered, however, from the heterogeneous nature of his own army. Some of the French legions fired upon the Saxons, taking them for enemies, and producing a panic and a rout.

By the morning of the 6th, each general had brought up all his forces. The Austrians' line extended along the ridge between Neusiedl and Wagram, for three leagues, the French in the plain fronting them from Aspern to Glynsendorf. The commanders had different views, the Archduke Charles meditating to direct his

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chief attack against the French right, and cut it off from the Danube, whilst the other wing of the Austrians was to achieve a similar victory over that opposed to it. Whilst the Archduke was thus strengthening his wings, especially his right wing, Napoleon was concentrating the larger portion of his force in the centre. Ere it could act, the Austrian right wing drove in Bernadotte, who was opposed to it, and even placed Massena, posted between him and the centre, in considerable danger. Napoleon came himself to the rescue, and not without difficulty and with shrewd manœuvres restored the field. He had at the same time concentrated the greater part of his artillery to play upon the Austrian centre. It was unable to withstand the fire of a hundred guns; Macdonald throwing himself with his infantry into the breach, which the artillery had made. This was the decisive moment of the day. The Austrian centre gave way irreparably, and the Archduke withdrew from the field.*

His loss was great, and has been calculated at one third of his army, including more than twelve generals. The resistance of the Austrians was most obstinate and glorious, and yet some blamed the Archduke for retreating. He did so, however, with the remainder of his army in good order. There were nine entire divisions cut off and compelled to surrender, as had been the case at Austerlitz. By rallying the Archduke John in his retreat, he could bring a force into Bohemia which it would require another battle to subdue, and a march northwards by the French, which must endanger their hold of Vienna.

Such circumstances considerably mitigated the severity which it was Napoleon's first intention to display towards Austria. This was no less than to dethrone the Emperor. But dethronement was shown in the case of Spain to be a perilous extremity, placing the

* Archduke Charles, Napoleon, Pelet, Thiers, Ruehle von Lilienstern.

victor and his legions in presence of an insurgent population, instead of that of a trembling court. Soult's repulse at Talavera took place in the same month as Wagram. And whilst master of Vienna, the French Emperor feared for Madrid.* But what chiefly influenced Napoleon in granting terms to Austria, was the manifest proof that Russia was false and weary of his alliance.

Whilst the Archduke Charles was opposing Napoleon, his relative the Archduke Ferdinand had invaded Poland with a force greater than Poniatowski could resist. The consequence was the momentary occupation of Warsaw by the Austrians, which the Russians, notwithstanding their promised cooperation, had done nothing to prevent. In addition to this patent dereliction, a letter from the Russian commander to the Austrian had been intercepted, expressing the predilection, common amongst the Russian *noblesse*, for Austria rather than for France, and intimating the desire that their united banners might once more float in active alliance.

A knowledge of this circumstance inclined Napoleon to accept the first offer of an armistice on the part of Austria. The Emperor Francis once more placed himself at his mercy. The conqueror would only grant the armistice on three preliminary conditions; the dismissal of the militia, the reduction of the Austrian army by one-half (eventually to 140,000 men) and expulsion from Austrian service of all natives of France. When the further terms of peace came to be stated, Napoleon stood upon the *uti possidetis*. He had conquered Austrian provinces containing 10,000,000 of population, and 10,000,000 he must have, he did not care where, to add to Bavaria and incorporate with it. The Austrians

* "I fear," wrote Napoleon, two days after Wagram, "the English issuing from Portugal by Abrantes, and surprising King Joseph at Madrid."

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demurred to such hard terms, when Napoleon threatened to put up his eagles in Vienna, the mark of French domination, to decry the Austrian paper money, and divide the three crowns of Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria. He at the same time declared that his chief object was an alliance which he could depend upon, and that if the present Emperor would abdicate in favour of the Archduke Ferdinand, he would not demand the cession of a single province. That offer was not listened to. By August, however, Napoleon had relented and professed himself contented with 5,000,000 of population. He was satisfied at last with 3,000,000, taking Salzburg and Lower Austria to the Enns, as well as Villach and the Carniola, to afford a free passage from Italy to Dalmatia. The salt mines of Wielitza were handed over to Russia. On these terms peace was signed with Austria, October 14 (1809).*

Napoleon had as many soldiers in Spain as he had upon the Danube. They were not of inferior quality, nor were their generals less renowned. If Davoust and Massena were at Wagram, Soult and Ney were in the Peninsula. Yet the results were not decisive or satisfactory. Undeterred by the retreat of Sir John Moore, Sir Arthur Wellesley took another army to Portugal in the spring of 1809, and within a month from his landing had driven Soult from Oporto, which the French marshal had captured after Corunna, and largely plundered. Having thus succeeded in expelling the French from Portugal, the English commander ventured into Spain, hoping for the active and able cooperation of the Spanish armies. These, however, were no match for the disciplined troops of France. When King Joseph perceived that the English and the Spanish menaced his capital, he came with Victor to repel them. This he thought no difficult achievement. But all the efforts of Victor on the 28th of July, failed to dislodge the

* Bignon, Thiers, Springer.

British general from the heights of Talavera. Assault after assault was repulsed, regiment after regiment *culbuté*, as the French say, and the first regular battle between the French and English, with large and equal forces, took place to the advantage of the latter. The scheme, however, of as yet invading Spain with 25,000 English, whilst the French were so numerous and the Spaniards so undisciplined, proved as vain as in Moore's campaign, and Sir Arthur Wellesley retired to Portugal, which he prepared to defend as the basis of future operations.

The year 1809 was marked by the variety of British attempts to distract or damage the conqueror of the continent. The French fleet was destroyed in the Basque roads. The French West Indies and Bourbon, no longer reinforced, were easily reduced by the English, as were the Ionian islands. Instead of the French invading Sicily, the English roamed along the Calabrian shore. The latter, however, were not fortunate in all their undertakings. An expedition to the Scheldt, chiefly for the purpose of destroying the naval preparations at Antwerp, commenced by a landing in the isle of Walcheren. Here the incapacity and disaccord of the military and naval commanders nullified their efforts, and led to the loss of the greater part of the force employed, which sunk under the fever incidental to the climate.

But an event which promised to have greater importance than even victory upon the fortunes of Europe, and of him who bespoke it, was the marriage of the French Emperor with the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria. The campaign of Wagram, it has been explained, had not consolidated the dominant power of France so much as it displayed its weakness. The reverse of Aspern was not quite wiped away by the success of Wagram. The campaign thus victorious was won in some measure by German auxiliaries. Bernadotte, in an order of the

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day, attributed the glory of Wagram to the Saxons. The assertion outstepped even the mendacity of bulletins. Still it went abroad. An alliance was indispensable to the maintenance of French supremacy. And Russia no longer offered a sure support.

Napoleon had for some time meditated a divorce with Josephine. He had at a much earlier period seriously mooted it, the foibles or lightheartedness of his wife having been exaggerated to him by several of his brothers and sisters, who hated her. There were but civil marriages at the time of his union with her, and though he made his sister at a later date add the religious sanction to the civil contract, he avoided this in his own case until the Pope insisted on it as a preliminary to his coronation. But even this was done in secret. He had at first looked to find heirs to the throne in his family. The eldest son of Louis, christened Napoleon, was a boy of promise, but he was carried off early by disease. Eugène Beauharnais was then considered the future heir, at least of Italy. But though of a mild as well as noble nature, he wanted the military talents and commanding character requisite for any successor of Napoleon, who should not be his son. A feud had always existed between the family of Josephine and that of Bonaparte. Future dissensions between them might prove the ruin of the empire. These considerations, joined to the necessities of an alliance, cemented by closer than political ties, decided Napoleon to a divorce with the Empress, and a second marriage with the princess of a sovereign house.

The friendship which the Czar professed for him at Tilsit and Erfurt, prompted him to apply for the hand of Alexander's younger sister. The reply of the Czar expressed willingness on his own part, but a declaration that his mother was complete mistress in this matter. That princess would not hear of it. Yet, though broached at Erfurt, the negotiations lingered, and after

Wagram, when the Russian court continued to entertain the proposal coldly, some diplomatist of inferior rank suggested an Austrian princess. Annoyed at the time by the cooling of Russian cordiality, Napoleon adopted the suggestion of an Austrian alliance. Prince Metternich caught at the idea,* as did Schwarzenberg, and, through the sedulous efforts of both, the negotiation was brought to a successful conclusion. In February 1810 Napoleon made the formal demand of the hand of Maria Louisa. In the last days of March she entered Compiègne and became Empress of the French.

In that year the attention of the French ruler seemed more particularly turned towards the north. He had concluded the appropriation of Italy, and the immensity of the French forces had driven, or was driving, the English within the lines of Torres Vedras. The French Emperor considered the south as actually or virtually his. He proceeded, in consequence, with strange greed to swallow up the north also. Holland he first looked to absorb. The British expedition to the Scheldt had turned his attention to a coast and country so fitted for at least menacing England. He deemed its annexation to France, indeed, a measure so menacing and disagreeable to England, that he empowered the Dutch government or its agents to make proposals of peace in London, the basis of which was a promise to abstain from the intended absorption of Holland, if England would lay down its arms, and sanction the possession of half Europe by the French. Strange to say, Fouché, the Police Minister, set on foot a similar negotiation through the financier Ouvrard. But if Fox could not cede Sicily during his administration, Lord Wellesley could

* Gentz's Tagebüch. Germans, other than Austrians, look aghast at the marriage, that seemed to put a seal upon their servitude, although, by alienating Russia from Napoleon, it was the principal cause of its breaking up. Their remarks on the marriage were bitter: one said, that by the marriage Austria vaccinated Napoleon with its own stupidity and ill-fortune.—Lebensbilder aus dem Befreiungskriege, vol. i.

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not abandon the Spaniards and their independence. And the offers of Napoleon were scarcely noticed on the other side of the Channel. Meantime King Louis of Holland had come to Paris to be present at the Emperor's marriage, in no good humour; he disagreed vitally with his queen, Hortense, the daughter of the Empress Josephine, and even sought a separation with her. He could never hope to conciliate the Dutch, whilst the injunctions of the Emperor were to annihilate their trade, to withhold all communication with England, and make their country and their resources subservient to his hostility against that kingdom. Harassed by the exigencies of the Emperor in Paris, who at the same time prevented his departure, or, as he meditated, his escape, Louis consented to all the demands made of him, one of which was the cession of the Dutch territories south of the Rhine. In this neither Louis nor Napoleon were sincere. The latter looked to absorb the whole of Holland, whilst Louis had gone so far as to send orders secretly to the Dutch government to resist. This state of things could not continue. And Louis, on returning to the Hague, finding that the French armies pressed on to the occupation of his towns and territories even north of the Rhine, abdicated in favour of his son, and fled to Bohemia. Napoleon, in lieu of Holland, which he annexed to his own empire, gave the young prince the Grand Duchy of Berg, vacant by the promotion of Murat to the crown of Naples, and divided Holland into French departments.

Almost simultaneously with the dethronement of Louis Bonaparte, took place that of Gustavus, King of Sweden. He was the only monarch who came forward as the antagonist of the French revolution, and consequently of Bonaparte, on chivalrous principles. He had been the ally of Russia in this antagonism. But when the Czar Alexander and Napoleon met at Tilsit, Sweden

was sacrificed by the former as Turkey was by the latter. Finland soon became the spoil of the Czar. Had Gustavus shown common prudence and moderate skill, he might have delayed, if not defeated, the conquest of Finland. But he left his generals unsupported, and they betrayed him. More obstinate from adversity, Gustavus threatened to jeopardise the whole monarchy, and the Swedes, in self-preservation, deposed him. Another sovereign and heir-apparent was found, but the latter dying, and the new king, formerly Duke of Sudermania, being aged, it was necessary to elect an heir. The son of Gustavus should have been the chosen, but it was feared he might revenge the misfortunes of his father upon those who overthrew him. The election in consequence fell upon Bernadotte, the French commander on the opposite shore of the Baltic. Napoleon, though he disliked Bernadotte, and had sent him to that remote command in disgrace, still abetted and approved of his nomination, on condition that he joined the war against England, supported the blockade, and rendered Sweden as subservient to France as Holland and Prussia.

Whilst the northern monarchies of Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland were thus reduced to French dependence, Napoleon completed his empire in these regions by a decree, which even his chosen historian, Bignon, records with astonishment at its audacity. It came forth in the shape of a *Senatus Consultum* apparently for the purpose of annexing the Swiss Canton of the Valais, and converting it into the department of the Simplon; but as a corollary to this appropriation of a Swiss valley, followed the declaration that the mouths of the Scheldt, Meuse, Rhine, Ems, Weser, and Elbe, with the countries adjoining them, were indispensable to the completion of the French empire and its defence against England, and that they were consequently annexed to it. As the enemy pro-

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hibited all communication by sea, the decree declared it became necessary to supply it by a canal between the Baltic and the Seine. The *Senatus Consultum* of the 13th of December (1810) rendered the whole coast of north-western Europe from the Elbe to the Scheldt French property, curtailing one-fourth of the new kingdom of Westphalia, as well as of the Grand Duchy of Berg. Napoleon's own kindred were under as much alarm and as much incensed at his ever-changing and arbitrary resolves, as were foreign dynasties. "I will have no more petty kings," exclaimed Napoleon; "four of this rank are quite enough."* Murat thus feared ejection from Naples, as Jerome did from Cassel, and Bernadotte from Stockholm. His extension of frontier did not even terminate at the Elbe; the Hanse towns, and consequently Lubeck on the Baltic, being also declared a portion of the French empire.

The rapacity of Napoleon in the north was as fatal to him as his policy founded on the same greediness in the south. One of the princes dispossessed was the Grand Duke of Oldenburg, brother-in-law to the Emperor of Russia. He, as well as the King of Prussia, was not a little alarmed to find the French eagles permanently established on the shores of the Baltic, and worrying them to accomplish the fiscal and commercial death of those regions by the proscription of the vessels of all countries from the ocean. Trade on the Baltic and in Holland was indeed briskly carried on by vessels under the American flag, which, under one subterfuge or another, contrived to introduce English goods, and export the produce of Russia or of Sweden. Napoleon stormed at these interlopers. Nothing less than a seizure and confiscation of all ships showing the American flag would satisfy him; a demand to which Alexander demurred, but in which Holland and afterwards Sweden acquiesced with impatience and remonstrance; the King of Denmark

* Diary of Queen Catherine. Memoirs of Jerome.

did the same at Altona. To some of these countries the injunction of the French Emperor was of the utmost detriment. Holland might be considered as annihilated by them. Sweden and the Baltic countries had no salt, which was an absolute necessity for them in curing their winter provisions: to shut them out from the sea was to condemn them to famine. The result appeared soon after in a general revolt of the Baltic provinces or population against France, analogous to the insurrection of the Spaniards against usurpation and exactions. Whilst compelling other sovereigns to adopt the enactments of his spite against England, he himself relaxed them for his own especial advantage, by the issuing of licences to trade, to those who would export French manufactures, and import in return such commodities as France stood most in need of, naval stores amongst others.

It is astonishing that one so sagacious as Napoleon should have persisted in his course of dictation, aggression, and aggrandisement, offending and provoking princes, whilst grinding and oppressing the populations, and should have had no misgiving as to the dangers which he thus accumulated before him. Neither the finances nor the population of France sufficed to carry out his aims. Each year the numbers of his soldiers were made up more and more of foreign levies, not to be counted upon in case of reverse. Yet he did not stoop to make a friend. Prince Metternich came to Paris after the Austrian marriage, in the hope that he would find Napoleon inclined to make such concessions to his father-in-law as would render Austria a cordial ally. But no; the conqueror was not prepared to abate of his advantages, or provoke Russian resentment by a decided leaning to Vienna.

The friendship and alliance of Russia were indeed indispensable to the maintenance of the rest of the continent in its state of acquiescence or subjection; and yet Napoleon, however anxious for the preservation of

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that friendship, would not make the requisite concessions, or show the necessary forbearance. He had won the Emperor Alexander's alliance at Tilsit by the promise of dividing the East with him. Towards this he had given Finland and the Danubian Principalities in prompt payment. He thought, not without reason, that Russia ought to be satisfied with such palpable and immediate gains. But Russia was not satisfied. The Czar could not but see that the conquest of the East was a dream, adjourned to the far future, and that whilst Napoleon undisguisedly proceeded towards the subjugation of all Europe that was non-Russian, he forbade that empire to pass the Niemen on the west, or the Danube on the south. The Russians thought such a partition of Europe to be unfair. If the French were to have all Germany in a greater or less degree of property or dependence, surely they might have left Poland to the Russians. But Napoleon showed unmistakably that he would no more give them Warsaw than Constantinople. The Duchy of Warsaw, which then included Posen, ruled over nominally by the King of Saxony, but really by the French, had, after the battle of Wagram, been augmented and strengthened by a portion of Gallicia, which betrayed an evident purpose in Napoleon's mind of one day restoring Poland.

This intention was probably formed and acted upon in consequence of the hostility, if not lukewarmness, shown by Russia in the campaign of Wagram. But it was not less a provocation. Alexander was aware how uncertain were all Napoleon's arrangements with respect to kingdoms and frontiers, which he set up and put down, effaced or extended, according to the caprice of the hour. He therefore demanded to have his fears respecting Poland tranquillised, and he requested the signature of a formal treaty by Napoleon, declaring that the kingdom of Poland should never be re-established, and that the very name of Pole and Poland should

disappear. The Duke of Vicenza, French ambassador at St. Petersburg, signed the treaty to that effect, for which he considered he had powers; and the envoy forwarded the document to Paris at the same time that he sent the demurs of the Russian court respecting the marriage. Napoleon refused to ratify it without sensible modifications. In the course of the same year, 1810, the seizure of Holland, of the Hanse towns, and German provinces of the north, ensued, with the absorption of Oldenburg. On the last day of the year, Russia replied by a Ukase, modifying the Russian tariff in such a way as to exclude all French products, wines and brandies, silks and ribbons, whilst the Russian ports were declared open to neutral vessels, whether they carried English or colonial commodities. This was tearing asunder Napoleon's favourite scheme of continental blockade, and it was accompanied by a decree raising 80,000 custom-house soldiers to enforce the new regulations; a formidable army, to be arrayed less against English trade than against the power which pretended to proscribe it.

After such a decree war was inevitable. Mixed governments, accustomed to yield to pressure and undergo changes at home, and old dynasties, which have experienced and survived vicissitudes of fortune, may either give way to exigencies, or be moderate in enforcing them. But two autocrats, whose thrones were based on the idea of their almightiness, could not bend. Alexander could not submit to a brother sovereign, who dictated to him the regulations of trade, prescribed his friendships and his enmities, and looked suspiciously into all his acts.* Napoleon could as little bear a rival and could still less afford to show signs of weakness or concession. Europe was at his feet, but it was a

* The recall of some regiments from the Danube, and the erection of some fortifications on the Beresina, were sufficient to cause angry remonstrances from Paris.

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murmuring and discontented Europe, ready to look up and rally to any independent banner. The position and prospects of England in 1811 had improved. Not only had it reduced one by one all the colonial possessions of France and its allies, but it stood its ground in Portugal. Cadiz repulsed Soult. Wellington worsted Massena, and his troops won the victories of Albuera and Fuentes. When the emperors had met at Tilsit, it appeared that Napoleon's apophthegm was true, of the conquering power on land being always in the end the conquering power at sea. He supported his view by instancing Rome and Carthage. And France, the modern Rome, must finally reduce the modern Carthage, England. This, however accepted by Alexander in 1807, was far from showing speedy accomplishment in 1811. The war of blockade and prohibition, which the Northern powers and Russia had consented to, had lasted four years, without *fulfilling* Napoleon's promise of compelling England to peace. On the contrary, the commercial classes there were as eager for the continuance of war as the aristocratic; and instead of punishing England, the prohibitive decrees had inflicted the greatest loss and privation on the countries which had adopted it. What more than *all* else prompted Russia to break from Napoleon's prohibitive system and onerous alliance, was the belief that it would fail of its ends.

In the spring of 1811 the birth of a prince to Napoleon, whom he baptized King of Rome, came to promise continuance to his empire, and at the same time to secure it the support of Austria. The outward appearance of this could indeed be commanded. And Austria as well as Prussia were constrained to sign a secret and offensive alliance with France for their aid in the invasion of Russia. It was characteristic of the epoch, and its events, that whilst the Prussian treaty guaranteed the maintenance of its present frontier, the

Austrian treaty contained a promise of enlargement of territory, which could only point to the Prussian province of Silesia. Already in 1811 the French armies poured once more into Prussia, which became their manœuvring and recruiting ground; and considerable drafts took place from the French troops in the Peninsula.

The war in Spain and Portugal had in the meantime been marked by chequered fortune and important events which, viewed in different lights, encouraged both Napoleon and Alexander in their projects, the one of invasion the other of defence. In the spring of 1809, Sir Arthur Wellesley landed once more with an army in Lisbon. After seeing the English embark at Corunna, Soult had marched south and occupied Oporto. The Spanish generals made efforts to maintain themselves in the central provinces; but they were beaten in successive battles, and King Joseph was once more enthroned at Madrid. The English general at the head, not only of his own native army, but of the Portuguese which had been organised and placed under the British commander, first advanced against Soult, and drove him back into Gallicia. He then, in co-operation with the Spanish generals, entered Spain, with the hope of again expelling the intrusive king from Madrid.

The French armies and generals were at the time scattered, and had King Joseph waited for their concentration, Wellesley and the Spaniards must either have been beaten or have withdrawn. The new King of Spain was too elate, and with French troops more than doubling the British, 40,000 to 20,000—the Spaniards, however, making both armies pretty equal—he attacked his allied enemies on one of the last days of June at Talavera. The Spaniards were posted with their right upon the Tagus, the English on hills in continuance of their line. Victor, Duc de Bellune, really commanded the French, and during the evening of one day, and the

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whole of the next, he directed a series of attacks upon the British positions. But these were defended with extraordinary skill and gallantry, the infantry repelling each assault, and the cavalry rushing upon the French columns as they failed and withdrew.* The victory of Talavera was complete, and its effect upon the minds of the sovereigns of the north of Europe most important. Each asked himself why Russia and Prussia might not resist the French generals and legions, as well as Wellington and his English army had done?

But for all his victory Wellington was obliged to retreat into Portugal, being unable to face the masses of the enemy which flocked to the Tagus. Napoleon had obtained a great increase of power and renown, first by his defeat of Austria at Wagram, and then by his marriage, which seemed to give to him the entire resources of Austria. He was incensed with Russia, but ere breaking with her, or proceeding to punish her, he wanted to see an end of the British in the Peninsula. Portugal seemed there as a kind of door into which they shrunk when overpowered, to reissue when any circumstance might weaken their enemy. To extirpate these from Portugal as well as from Cadiz was thus Napoleon's double purpose. To effect this, one army was despatched to Andalusia under Soult, the other, little short of 100,000 men, was entrusted to Massena, in order to accomplish what Junot had failed in, the expulsion of Wellington from Lisbon.

In September, 1810, Massena advanced at the head of his large army; Ciudad Rodrigo, entrusted to the Spaniards, fell before him. He first came up with the English at Busaco, found them in their usual position on a range of heights, but as he had one-third more force than they, Massena determined on attacking. He did so, with the same result and the same experience which

* Napoleon, Wellington, Thiers, Napier.

Victor had gained at Talavera, that is, a severe repulse. After the action, Sir Arthur Wellesley retreated to the line of fortified redoubts which he had caused to be thrown up at Torres Vedras, for protecting Lisbon, whither Massena followed with some 80,000 men. But when he reconnoitred the lines, and the mode in which every point of attack was fortified and flanked, he gave up the idea of forcing them. To tarry without attack was however, impossible, the country offering no provisions; and no means being provided for the maintenance of the French thousands, Massena abandoned the enterprise, and retired in mid November, leaving the English inexpugnable in Lisbon.

The year 1811 did not much advance either the Spanish or the French cause. The latter chiefly directed their efforts to the south-eastern provinces, where there was no efficient force to oppose them. Nor could the English, though they fought at Albuera, and had besieged Badajos, take as yet a permanent footing on the Spanish soil.

The same year, in the north, produced a kind of sparring between the two emperors. By the spring of 1812, Napoleon had collected an army of 450,000 men in Poland and the adjoining provinces of Prussia, besides a large reserve. Not more indeed than one-half of these were French. But all the troops that Alexander could muster to oppose them scarcely exceeded the number of French in Napoleon's army. The Czar, however, concentrated his efforts to resist the formidable enemy before him, and succeeded at the very outset in winning the neutrality, if not co-operation, of natural enemies north and south of him. Sweden might have been expected to join eagerly in the French expedition. A Frenchman governed it, and its first aim would naturally have been the recovery of Finland. But Napoleon had deserted Sweden and outraged Bernadotte; the latter made offers, if the French emperor could have

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considered them.* But he scorned to treat Bernadotte as other than a mere subordinate. To show his contempt the French troops took possession of Swedish Pomerania. Bernadotte in consequence concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Russia. Alexander at the same time conciliated Turkey by waiving the chief pretensions with which he had begun the war. It had been conducted with varying fortune, latterly to the advantage of the Russians. But Alexander had need of his troops in the north, and recalled the greater part of them in consequence from the Danube, and was obliged to abandon his hold of Moldo-Wallachia, on the basis of the Treaty of Bucharest. Peace was thus concluded between Russia and the Porte towards the end of May.

Napoleon had mustered around him at Dresden all the sovereigns and princes dependent on his will. Amongst these were the King of Prussia, anxious to preserve what remained of his patrimony by obsequiousness to the great conqueror. Far other were the thoughts of his followers and ministers. They encouraged without interruption the secret societies which were forming throughout Germany, with the avowed purpose of imitating the Spaniards and ridding Germany of the French. Jerome, indeed, warned his imperial brother in January 1812, that the entire population of the country between the Rhine and Oder were ready for insurrection, so great was their despair and destitution from the military oppression under which they suffered.† Napoleon saw the great remedy that could cover all in victory, and advanced from Dresden to achieve it. In the middle of June he was on the Niemen, and issued his proclamation announcing what he styled the second Polish war. Russia, at Tilsit, he said had vowed eternal friendship with France, eternal war with England.

* Bernadotte required Finland, Norway, and a subsidy—demands certainly not moderate.—*Segur.*

† Letters of Jerome.

These vows it had broken, and France had come with half a million of bayonets to demand their fulfilment.

It cannot be said that the Russians showed either foresight or skill. An able plan had been laid before the Czar for imitating the defensive strategy of Lord Wellington, avoiding battle, retreating behind strongly fortified walls, and inflicting repeated loss rather than defeat upon the enemy, enticing him at the same time from his basis of operations.* Although Alexander approved of this plan, and gave the command to Barclay de Tolly, who adopted it, still neither could confess to the Russians their intention to refuse battle and retreat continually. It seemed dishonourable and discouraging. And as if to contradict it, the two Russian corps d'armée were advanced to a short distance from the frontier, one on the road to St. Petersburg, the other on that to Moscow. Alexander spoke of defending Wilna, yet when the French crossed the Niemen, it was abandoned without a blow, and both Russian armies fell back, the French divisions frequently getting before and between them, and forcing them to great circuits, disorders, and loss in their precipitate retreat. As to the strongholds behind which they might rally, they were not completed. One was an entrenched camp at Drissa: it was abandoned without a struggle. It was not till reaching Smolensko that Napoleon met with serious resistance, the two Russian armies having united notwithstanding all Napoleon's efforts to fight them separately. Even then the Russians were not half the force of the French, and it was more to satisfy their own people than with any hope of victory, that the Russian commanders gave battle to the invader.

Although they had met with such slight resistance, the French had taken nearly two months (from June the 24th to August the 17th) to march from the Niemen

* M. Thiers attributes the plan to Phuhl, a Prussian general. Hardenburg gives Armfeld and Servia Capriola as its originators.

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to Smolensko. The summer was splendid; its heat oppressive and destructive to the invading host, which found no more the homesteads and farms of Germany, or even of Poland. Russia was in comparison a waste, and its inhabitants had made it still more so by carrying away and destroying everything at the approach of the French. All the necessaries of life were wanting except meat, confined to which the French, who live on bread, experienced loathing. Illness invaded every division. It was impossible to regulate the commissariat of such a host, accustomed to live almost altogether upon the country which they traversed. Napoleon detested contractors, and would have all supplies furnished by the intendants of the army; but at last, and too late, was obliged to have recourse to the only capitalists of the country, the Jews.* Russia, in fact, was another Spain to the French. But in Spain there was fruit and bread at least, in Russia neither. In two months' march, Napoleon left well-nigh half his force behind in hospitals, when there were such, but more generally on the roads.

This state of things fully accounts for the days and weeks during which Napoleon delayed his march, first at Wilna and then at Witepsk or Smolensk. At Wilna, indeed, he had been delayed by the demands of the Poles, who, under the protection of the Abbé de Pradt, had formed an Assembly at Warsaw, and who sent to demand a declaration from Napoleon restoring their ancient monarchy. Unfortunately for his reputation, as for his fortune, Napoleon hesitated. A resuscitated Poland would have given him devoted soldiers and enthusiastic support, not only from the Duchy of Warsaw but in Lithuania and Volhynia. The Emperor's evasive answer damped this ardour. If the Poles would all rise, and arm for their independence, they would obtain it, Napoleon said. But he could not deprive

* Segur.

Austria of Gallicia, nor deprive himself, he hinted, of all hope of an accord with Russia, by resuscitating an independent Poland. He accordingly established a provisional government in Lithuania to collect its revenues for his own army, not to reconstitute it as a part of Poland.

At Witepsk the cause of the delay was other; the necessity of putting a stop to disturbance and desertion, of giving stragglers time to rejoin their corps, and to devise more efficient modes of provisioning the army. The Russian generals Barclay and Bagration had united their forces. And such was the impatience of their soldiers at the unbroken retreat, that it became necessary to adopt a bolder system. Whilst the Russian generals and high officers were thus clamouring to be led to the combat, those of a similar rank in the French army deprecated its further advance, at least for that season. At one moment Napoleon himself was of the same sentiment. Unbuckling his sword and flinging it on his maps he declared that the campaign of 1812 was over.* He proposed maintaining his position, fortifying himself there, restoring order in his rear, and wearing out Russian enthusiasm by a prolonged occupation of the country. But what would the French at home say to a campaign without a victory? It was worse indeed than that, for Lord Wellington had defeated Marmont towards the end of July in the battle of Salamanca. To pause on the Dwina in August, implied the necessity of remaining there till April, seven or eight months of inaction, during which there was too much at stake to allow of the Emperor's absenting himself.

Instead, therefore, of halting at Witepsk, Napoleon conceived a plan of passing the Dnieper without the enemy being aware, and surprising Smolensko ere they could arrive to its succour. As usual in this war, he only came in sight of the city to find Barclay and

* Segur.

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Bagration on the heights beyond it, and one of their divisions pouring in to defend it. His marshals attacked and carried the suburbs, not without conflict and loss. In the night the Russians showed their enemies the reception they were to meet with in great cities. They set fire to Smolensko as they evacuated it, and the French could but take possession of its smoking ruins (August 18). The capture cost some seven or eight thousand men, and still the enemy escaped. But Napoleon was somewhat consoled for the failure of his plans by learning that St. Cyr, commanding the left wing, had beaten Wittgenstein at Polotsk on the same day, the 18th, and maintained the superiority of the French arms.

Meantime a change took place in the Russian command. Barclay, disliked as a Livonian and a German, and still more from his policy of always retreating and avoiding battle, was replaced by Kutusoff, a thorough Russian, who had been successful in Wallachia against the Turks, and who had commanded at Austerlitz without being responsible for its fatal manœuvres. Though old and obese, Kutusoff took the command for the purpose of giving battle, which indeed then began no longer to be an act of imprudence, for the French army had dwindled down to 140,000, of course little more than 100,000 being able to be brought into line. And this number the Russians under Kutusoff equalled upon the field, which he chose at Borodino.

This was a strong position, crowning a line of hills, with a stream called the Kolotza flowing at the foot in front of the Russian right towards the river Moskwa. The Russian centre and left, with a ravine between them leading to the village of Semenoffskoie were defended, the first by a large redoubt, the latter by an advanced battery and works called *flèches*. Napoleon no sooner surveyed this position in the afternoon of the 5th than he ordered the latter battery to be carried. His

order was accomplished, but not till after a severe struggle. The next day, the 6th, passed without any engagement; Napoleon issued a proclamation to his soldiers telling them to retain their character for courage so as to be able to boast of their presence in that great battle fought under the walls of Moscow.* Whilst the French Emperor thus called forth the efforts of his soldiers in the name of glory, Kutusoff paraded his ranks, preceded by the Holy Image of the Virgin, rescued from Smolensko.

The battle of Borodino, or of the Moskwa, was commenced on the morning of the 7th by Eugène Beauharnais in the centre assailing the great redoubt, and by Davoust and Ney attacking the Russian left and its *flèches*. Bagration defended them with obstinacy, and when he lost, retook them; but he was borne mortally wounded from the field, and by the afternoon the French were masters of his position. The grand redoubt, also taken and retaken, remained longer in the hands of the Russians who occupied the line of heights immediately behind. Ney and Murat made strenuous efforts to penetrate through the ravine between the grand redoubt and the Russian left, but Kutusoff continually filled up the gaps they made by fresh troops from his unattacked right. Ney and Murat sent repeated entreaties to the Emperor to reinforce them with the guard, consisting of 20,000 fresh soldiers. Napoleon would not give them. And the grand redoubt was only won by a desperate effort of the French *cuirassiers*. Caulaincourt, brother of the Duke of Vicenza, led them, forced his way through the Russians in the ravine, and then turning entered the redoubt by its opening in the rear, but perished in the attempt. The soldiers of Eugène at the same time stormed on foot, and the redoubt was won.

Here ended the success of the French. They had

* This was a stretch, Moscow being seventy miles from Borodino.

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driven back the Russians, and remained masters of the field, but of neither guns, standards or prisoners. Some 40,000 soldiers fell on either side. It was victory, but victory dearly bought, and with little profit. It was no longer Austerlitz or Friedland, but mutual butchery. Even had Napoleon allowed his guard to charge and drive the Russians from the second line of heights, where was the profit, but to add to the list of dead and wounded, a great number on both sides? As it was, the battle opened the possession of Moscow to the French. Kutusoff could not fight another for its defence; and if the occupation of the second Russian capital was an object to Napoleon, he certainly gained it in the bloody field of Borodino.*

As the French advanced on the road to Moscow in pursuit of the enemy there was little exultation amongst them. They had left ten generals dead upon the field besides fourteen wounded. Such sacrifices, joined to those of men and officers, portended a war of extermination, not of glory. Still hope gleamed upon them, when in a week after the battle of Borodino the innumerable gilt steeples and cupolas of Moscow shone before them in the eastern sun. The entrance was, however, not jubilant. The entire population, save the very dregs, had vanished. There was no offer of keys, no submission of a municipality. The Emperor rode through empty streets to take up his quarters in the Kremlin, where on the first evening of repose he heard a cry of fire. It was the spirit store. By and by it was the bazaar, lately constructed. The flames were not left to accomplish the work of destruction alone. The soldiers and the rabble soon joined in it, from cupidity, resentment, or despair. All sought booty, and thought little of life, their own, or that of others. Churches there were in hundreds, offering richer spoil than even palaces, and the French were soon in possession of more than they

* Segur, Labaume, Napoleon's Despatches and Correspondence.

could carry. Napoleon remained as long as possible in the Kremlin, hoping that the conflagration might be got under. But the tempest which accompanied, and which it partly occasioned, defeated every project for arresting the fire, and the French Emperor retreated with his guard to the palace of Petrowskoie, outside the city.

The conflagration of Moscow was, there is little doubt, the work of its governor Rotopschin, whose project it had been to make the great sacrifice solemnly, and probably with the assent and aid of the inhabitants.* But Kutusoff kept him uncertain as to whether the city might not be defended, and at the last moment Rotopschin was obliged to entrust the work to the liberated inmates of the prisons to set fire to the city, whilst he himself carried off the pumps and implements for extinguishing it. Rotopschin sacrificed his own town and country mansions, but was afterwards, nevertheless, afraid to avow himself the sole author of the catastrophe.

The moral effect was greater than the physical. When the fire had consumed nine-tenths of the city, the French who had evacuated it in flames returned, and found not only sufficient shelter, but a certain quantity of provisions and stores. But the population had irrevocably fled, and the destruction of their ancient city placed between the Russians and the invaders a barrier of hate that precluded all accommodation between them. Napoleon made one or two efforts to address Alexander and open the way to peace, but though Kutusoff was willing to hearken to these, Alexander would not pardon the deep insult he had received, and declined parley or communication with the invader.

What was to be done? The Russian army after making a circuit had taken post towards Kalouga, south-west of Moscow, and menacing the road by which the French had advanced. It was soon to be reinforced by

* Sir Robert Wilson's Narrative.

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the army from Moldavia. Alexander was also exerting himself to strengthen his northern army under Wittgenstein. A more perfect accord with Sweden, following a personal interview between the Czar and Bernadotte at Abo, enabled the former to evacuate Finland and transport the Russian troops from thence to join Wittgenstein. Were the Russian force to concentrate on the Beresina or upon any other spot of the French line of march, they might first cut off their communications, and, what was more important, their retreat.

Of retreat, however, and especially of the semblance of it, Napoleon would not hear. To take up winter quarters in Moscow, to penetrate into the fertile provinces south of it, or proceed north-west, menacing St. Petersburg whilst approaching Wilna, were his ideas. Daru was for wintering in Moscow. Thiers considers the march north-west to have been the wisest, but none would abet it save Napoleon himself. A march southward to Kalouga was universally preferred, as it led to a fertile country, in which the army might either tarry or withdraw from it to Poland by a road less beaten and exhausted than that by which they came.

On the 19th of October the French army, diminished to about 90,000 soldiers, quitted Moscow, dragging after it the mass of waggons and baggage proportioned to 500,000 more. Napoleon was horrified at the sight, but contented himself with observing that a few days' march would leave half of these equipages and their burdens behind. He pretended to his army and to himself that he did not evacuate Moscow definitively. He left Mortier in command of the Kremlin, and of a certain force, but with orders to be prepared to blow it up and evacuate it. This order Napoleon sent back in four-and-twenty hours after he left Moscow. Kutusoff with the main Russian army was at Tarontina on one of the roads to Kalouga. Napoleon hastened to reach this town by another route, which crossed the Lonjea at

Malo-Zaroslavietz. Doctorow (October 24), however, came up in time to dispute the passage. A sanguinary action ensued between him and the Prince Eugene, whose Italians fought with desperate valour. The result of the battle was the loss of some 10,000 men on either side, and it was followed by councils of war held simultaneously by Napoleon with his marshals, and by Kutusoff with his generals. French narrators tell the one; Sir Robert Wilson, then at Kutusoff's head quarters, depicts the other. Notwithstanding his loss, and the dreadful duty which it imposed of dragging along thousands of wounded, Napoleon was for persevering, risking another battle and penetrating to Kalouga. His marshals deprecated the attempt, and were all of them for falling back upon the Smolensko road, by which they had advanced. Napoleon was no longer master. Misfortune compelled him to bow to the opinion of his generals. Yet had he persevered, "had the slightest demonstration of an offensive movement been made, Napoleon would have obtained a free passage for his army on the Kalouga or Medynsk roads, through a fertile and rich country, to the Dnieper, since Kutusoff, resolved on falling back behind the Oka, had actually issued the order to retire there in case of the enemy's approach to his new position." *

Kutusoff frankly gave his reasons for not pressing the French too closely, reasons which did not cease to influence him during the whole of the French retreat.† This now may be said to have fully commenced, and not by Medynsk, the shortest way to Smolensko, which

* Sir Robert Wilson's Narrative.

† The English general enforcing these considerations was told by the Marshal: "I don't care for your objections, I prefer a *pont d'or*, as you call it, to receiving a '*coup de collier*:' besides, I will say again, as I have told you before, that I am by no means sure that the total destruction of the Emperor Napoleon and his army would be such a benefit to the world; his succession would not fall to Russia or any other continental power, but to that which already commands the sea, and whose domination would then be intolerable."

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Davoust strongly recommended, but by Mojaisk and Borodino. The reflections of the French army, repassing that field on the 29th of October, may be imagined. Kutusoff had not renewed the pursuit, notwithstanding which the retreating army was obliged to abandon its sick and wounded and a great portion of the baggage and artillery for want of the means of transport. At Wiasma on the 3rd of November took place the first attempt of the Russians to cut off at least part of their retreating enemies. But Ney, Davoust and Eugène beat off their assailants. The next day a more formidable enemy appeared in a fall of snow, premature for the season, followed by cold, which rendered the night bivouacs of the French fatal resting-places. It was but a fortnight since they had evacuated Moscow, and already the army was reduced by half its numbers. On the 9th of November Prince Eugène lost all his baggage, and left behind all his camp followers at the passage of the Vop. The scene was a fit prelude to that of the Beresina, where Wittgenstein from the north and Tchichagoff from the south were tending to a junction, and threatening to intercept the Emperor and his army. At Krasnoi the Russians repeated the attempt of Wiasma, and succeeded in cutting the French army in three. Napoleon in front escaped; Davoust fought his way through. Ney, commanding the rear, was completely cut off, and no resource seemed left him but to surrender. The gallant soldier would not submit to such an extremity. With some three thousand of his division he crossed in the night the half-frozen surface of the Dnieper, and forcing his way along the further bank, reached Eugène at Orcha.

It was on the 22nd of November at Toloczin that Napoleon learned the terrible fact of the Russians having got before him to the Beresina, and burned the only bridge, that of Borisow, by which he could pass. His own captivity, with that of the remains of his army, stared him in the face. But he soon shook off the effects of

the stunning intelligence, and determined to march on to the Beresina, in order to force anyhow a passage. Fortunately General Corbineau had discovered a ford over the Beresina some miles above Borisow. And thither Napoleon directed at once his steps and his preparations. At the ford opposite Studenki, the Beresina being only some feet deep, bridges could be laid on trestles, and so did not demand much labour and time. Two were prepared, one for carriages and artillery, the other for horse and foot. The Russians not discovering the work at first allowed the French two full days to pass the greater part of their army. The enemies who made their appearance on the side of the river to which the army had crossed were easily repelled. But Wittgenstein pressed upon the other ere the passage had been effected, and whilst indeed it was intercepted by frequent accidents and breaches. At one time during the passage of the bridge by the followers of the army, Wittgenstein was able to open fire upon it, smashing the waggons and sweeping away whole files of suttlers and women, whose shrieks rent the air. But the disorder and despair of these stragglers scarcely required the enemy's shot to make it worse. In their distress they frequently blocked the bridge, rushed upon that reserved for the artillery, and were often crushed beneath the wheels, or flung into the river by the advancing troops. The entrance to the bridge was defended most gallantly by Victor and his division, who were sorely pressed. And such was their weakness and diminished numbers, that Napoleon gave orders that they should cross by a certain hour, and burn the bridge behind them. A great portion of the stragglers and women had not passed. They were aroused from their frozen slumbers in the night to do so, before the bridge was destroyed, but the greater part refused to move till daylight, and then it was too late. Fire was at last set

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to the bridge, whilst thousands upon the Russian side saw that they were left to their fate.

The barbarity of the Russians indeed passed belief. In the midst of a cold of thirty degrees, they stripped such of the prisoners as they did not kill, and drove them along by thousands. As most dropped upon the road, their numbers were filled up by the gathering of other fugitives, and columns of wretches were thus driven to death by the spears of the Cossacks. Those who escaped such fatal driving suffered no less from the bands of peasants, who as mercilessly massacred every captive. The Russian women vied with the men in such barbarity. Great as had been the provocation, one cannot but be disgusted at the total absence of anything like a Christian feeling in the population. We do not hear of any general or authority in any town who made the least effort to stop the barbarity of the peasants. The Emperor Alexander issued a proclamation giving a reward for the captives brought in alive. But the love of slaughter was greater than that of money, and the Cossacks' lance was never stayed by pity.*

* All prisoners were immediately and invariably stripped stark naked and marched in columns in that state, or turned adrift to be the sport and the victims of the peasantry, who would not always let them, as they sought to, point and hold the muzzles of the guns against their own heads or hearts, to terminate their sufferings in the most certain and expeditious manner; for the peasantry thought that this mitigation of torture "would be an offence against the avenging God of Russia," and deprive them of His further protection. A remarkable instance of this cruel spirit of retaliation was exhibited on the pursuit to Wiazma. Milaradowitch, Beningsen, Korf, and the English General, with various others, were proceeding on the high road, about a mile from the town, where they found a crowd of peasant women, with sticks in their hands, hopping round a felled pine tree, on each side of which lay about sixty naked prisoners, prostrate, but with their heads on the tree, which those furies were striking in accompaniment to a national air or song which they were yelling in concert; while several hundred armed peasants were quietly looking on as guardians of the direful orgies. When the cavalcade approached, the sufferers uttered piercing shrieks, and kept incessantly crying, 'La mort! La mort!' —Wilson's Narrative.

In the first days of December there were not more than 10,000 French under arms, seeking to make their way to Wilna. Napoleon, strong as was his duty to share their sufferings, and do the best for their defence, felt that both were beyond his power, and that to save the empire itself his presence in France was necessary. On the 5th therefore, at Smorgoni, he summoned Murat, Eugène, Berthier, Ney, Davoust, Lefebvre, Mortier, and Bessières, and informed them of his intention to hasten back at once without making himself known upon his journey. His fears were, that the Germans, already in effervescence and almost in insurrection, would stop him. Those he left behind blamed his defection, especially Berthier. And even Murat, to whom he entrusted the command, was more chagrined than flattered by the offer. The Emperor, with Duroc, Caulaincourt, and Lobau entered a sledge, and fortunately reached Wilna without being intercepted by the Russians. From Wilna he proceeded to Warsaw, summoned there his few followers, and let fall to his envoy De Pradt the remarkable observation, that there was but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous. Dresden was his next resting-place, and he reached Paris on the 19th of December two months after his leaving Moscow. As for Murat and Ney they could enter Wilna, but to retreat forthwith from it. The fresh troops, that the Duke de Bassano had collected there, and sent towards them, were stricken down by a cold of thirty degrees even more speedily and suddenly than the legions of Murat. Scarcely more than a third of the French crossed the Niemen. Murat attained Konigsberg, Eugène Warsaw, but with merely their staffs. The 600,000 soldiers of the Grand Expedition had perished.

The most striking event which had occurred in France, during the absence of the Emperor in Russia, was the perpetration of an attempt, for it could not be called a conspiracy, hatched in the brain of one man. A general

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of the name of Malet, always restless, ever in trouble, was at the time under arrest. He conceived the design of affirming the death of the Emperor, and establishing a republican government in consequence. Escaping from his arrest, habiting himself as a general officer, he first imposed on the troops of a certain barrack, made use of these to break open a prison, liberated from thence two general officers, who could not discredit the story he told them of the Emperor's death, accompanied as it was by the display of his momentary power. They became his accomplices, and under his orders, the police minister, Savary, and his prefect, were arrested, and sent to prison. Malet tried to do the same by the commander of Paris, Hullin, but he demurred and Malet shot him. This led to resistance, rather than acquiescence of the rest of the staff, and at last Malet was recognised and arrested. The attempt made in the morning, and which resulted for an hour or two in Malet and his accomplices being almost masters of Paris, was defeated before mid-day, about the very time when Napoleon was marching on Kalouga. The frightened and restored authorities sent all the parties concerned, the deceived as well as the deceivers, to a court-martial and commanded them all, to the number of twelve, to be shot.

"How can all this have been?" exclaimed Napoleon. "Was not my son thought of, the heir to my throne, and the Empress invested with the powers of Regent?" At Smolensko and Wilna Napoleon perceived that there was no active government in France whilst he was absent. On returning to Paris, he equally learned that without his presence the armies, still considerable on the Vistula, melted to nothing. It is the misfortune of despotism, that it can delegate neither talent nor power, no more than it can bequeath them. "Even if you succeed in beating the Russians," observed Prince Metternich at this time to a French envoy, "and if the Emperor Napoleon can regain and make himself master of the

three-fourths of Europe, which he subdued, how could such an empire be preserved by his son, composed of such discordant materials, disaffected population, and princes wounded in their interests and in their pride?"

Napoleon would not hearken to such plain truths. He would not admit that his military resources were weakened, or that the spirit and means of his enemies had risen to a par with his own. Yet his very efforts betrayed the exhaustion. The 100,000 conscripts due in 1813 being already spent, he was obliged to draw on the population for soldiers both in advance and in arrear. Those who had escaped from conscription or purchased exemption at fabulous prices, were called up again and made to serve. The noble and gentle classes had always escaped, and these, however hostile to the dynasty, Napoleon now *pressed* and enrolled in what he called the *gardes d'honneur*, for they were in a great measure obliged to support themselves. There ensued a long and a wide murmuring throughout France, a murmur of families bereaved, and sad execration of mothers rendered childless. The Emperor himself was insulted in the streets of Paris. What his agents endured, and with what severity they retaliated, in order to execute the Imperial decrees, need not be told.

Counting the hundred thousands of this food for powder, which like coin he was prepared to spend in exchange for glory, Napoleon continued to hold towards Europe the same haughty and insulting language which had been his wont since Jena and Wagram. When he called his councillors together at Paris after his return, their first recommendation was, and could be no other than, peace. To whom should he make the offer? To Russia? It would be humiliating and vain, till he had appeared once more victorious in the field. But Austria, the ally of the Emperor by marriage, might mediate. It would be necessary then to satisfy Austria, and offer to it conditions calculated to counterbalance the

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complete restoration of its empire, which the allied powers already held forth.

There was another power manifesting itself in Germany, quite as important as any of the old courts and princes. This was public opinion, which Napoleon could not bring himself to take into account, which first carried away Prussia in the tide of national antagonism to France, and threatened to leave Austria high and dry, above all influence over Germany, if it resisted or kept out of the current. It was not in the name of religion, but of virtue, meaning the great public virtue of patriotism, that eminent Germans appealed to those masses of their fellow-countrymen in oppression. The secret societies for this purpose, entitled the Tugendbund, dated from 1809, and took their birth in the general disgust at a Bonaparte prince being raised to the throne of Westphalia. Schill, who with 1,000 horse traversed North Germany, and the Duke of Brunswick Oels, who followed him, were but the first sparks of the latent conflagration. The most tyrannical of the French generals had been Davoust. He had unscrupulously mulcted the wealth of Hamburg, and made of Magdeburg a fortified *dépôt* for the storing of wines and spirits. When he fell back to Dresden, after the Russian retreat, and blew up the fine bridge over the Elbe to prevent the enemy following him, the hearts of the Germans were at once embittered and encouraged.

The Tugendbund and its adepts were nowhere more numerous or more enthusiastic than in the auxiliary corps, which General York commanded, and which made part of the corps of Macdonald. The Russian generals had communicated with York early in December, and Alexander himself declared that he would never lay down his arms till Prussia had recovered its station of 1806. York sent Seydlitz to Berlin, and received in return full authority and power to act as he judged best, it being the intention of the Prussian court to break with

France as soon as circumstances would permit.* York, in consequence, allowed himself to be cut off from Macdonald, and thus in the last days of 1812 united his forces to the Russians.† The King of Prussia still at Potsdam, in the power of Augereau, disavowed York, and ordered him to be put on his trial, making at the same time offers of alliance to Napoleon. They were accompanied by demands of money, due for French requisitions levied in order to facilitate armaments. Napoleon understood the meaning of such demands, and was not surprised to learn that the King of Prussia had fled from Potsdam to Breslau, where he issued a decree inviting volunteers to join him. As a conscription in the name of Napoleon threatened North Germany at the very time, the youth hostile to it preferred taking refuge under the banner of their legitimate sovereign, and the King of Prussia had soon an army around him at Breslau.

The Austrians armed too, and Napoleon, not deeming that they could become his enemies, encouraged it. Metternich proposed that his emperor should mediate between France and her antagonists, and managed to make both France and the allies believe that his mediation was in favour of each. Austria, nevertheless, was a most fitting mediator, since it almost equally dreaded the power of Russia and that of France, and desired simply to bring both to an equilibrium. With this view it insisted on the restoration of German independence. Unfortunately for Napoleon this was what he was least prepared to grant. Spain he was inclined to give up to the demands of England, Poland to those who had partitioned it. But he insisted on preserving not only Westphalia but the Hanse towns and the Confederation of the Rhine. Moreover, to restore the

* Stein's Leben, vol. iii. p. 247, 255.

† York and Massenbach brought over 18,000 men to the Prussians, leaving Macdonald to continue his retreat with but 7,000.—Sir Robert Wilson's Narrative.

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Prussian monarchy, at the very time when it had turned with fierce hatred against him, appeared a weakness and a humiliation to which he could not stoop. "And the marriage of Maria Louisa," observed a French to an Austrian diplomatist, "can that be broken?"—"Policy made that marriage," answered the Austrian coldly, "and policy may break it."

Diplomacy, however, could not expect to accomplish anything alone when such formidable armies were in the field. Napoleon in April advanced from Mayence by the same road which he had taken in the campaign of Jena, along the Saale. He had some 140,000 men, young soldiers, but well officered, and about to be joined by Prince Eugène with 40,000 veterans from Magdeburg. Kutusoff had just expired in Livonia, and the Prusso-Russian command fell nominally to Wittgenstein, but really to the young and ardent courtiers who surrounded the monarch. These had pushed the army across the Elbe, against the advice of both Kutusoff and Sir Robert Wilson, who, though opposed in almost all things, were agreed in thinking the allies no match for the French. The Prussians, however, had not only crossed the Elbe, but were marching towards the Saale, supposing Napoleon still at Erfurth, and hoping to occupy the field of Jena, and defend it when he should come up. With this view the Russo-Prussians marched on the road from Dresden towards Jena by Altenburg, whilst the French were advancing to Lutzen and Leipzig. Learning that their enemy had advanced so far as to be almost behind them, the Russo-Prussians retraced their steps northwards along the Elster, and entered the great plain south of Leipzig at Zwenkau, whilst Napoleon reached Weissenfels and effected his junction with Eugène. The advanced guards met on the 1st of May.

One almost of the first shots fired struck Marshal Bessières, who commanded the Guard.—"Death approaches,"

was the observation of Napoleon. After driving back their enemies the French occupied Lutzen, Ney's corps, of about 50,000 men, encamping in the villages near, of which there were several. Napoleon had no idea that the chief mass of the Russo-Prussians were so near him. He determined to occupy Leipzig on the morrow, and then march to cut off the enemy from the Elbe.

Wittgenstein and the allied monarchs perceived his intention, and resolved to defeat it by attacking at once. Accordingly when on the 2nd of May, the greater part of the French army with Napoleon himself took the road to Leipzig, it no sooner began to thunder at the gates, than Blucher attacked the French corps under Ney, which to the number of 50,000 held the villages before Lutzen. It was some time ere Ney could reach his division at a gallop, a still longer time ere Napoleon could return to the field himself, with his troops from Leipzig. The French had been driven from some of the villages, had lost and retaken others. As reinforcements came up to either side, it proved victorious. And in this alternation of fortune the day wore away. Towards evening the French wings, formed of fresh corps, arrived and threatened to envelop the enemy, whose entire force of 80,000 men had been endeavouring to pierce the French centre. The Prussian cavalry under Blucher swept everything from the plain, but could not dislodge the French from the garden walls and the windows of the villages, whilst 80 French guns swept away whole files of the Prussian horse at each charge and retreat. At last the allied sovereigns abandoned the enterprise and withdrew, leaving to the French the field, and little more. Napoleon had no cavalry to harass the retreat, to intercept battalions or conquer guns. The loss in men was fully equal on both sides, being about 20,000 each. It would be difficult to discover either military science or genius in the battle of Lutzen. Had

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Napoleon had under his command his old infantry, he would not have confined himself to the defence of garden-walls and ditches, nor with his old cavalry would he have allowed his enemies to escape unhurt. Such victory did no more than gain a certain amount of territory, leaving the foe neither broken nor dispirited in his retreat. The Russo-Prussians, however, abandoned both Leipzig, Dresden, and the Line of the Elbe, falling back eventually upon Bautzen, where they selected a strong position.*

The entrance of Napoleon into Dresden as the enemies retreated, brought back the Saxon king to his capital. He had been watching events at Prague, and had hitherto refused to Napoleon some 3,000 cavalry, which served him as his guard. He now returned with them, and was able to inform the French Emperor how likely he was to lose the support of his father-in-law. M. De Bubna at the same time arrived as envoy, to excuse the attitude of neutrality which the Austrian court was assuming as the consequence of that mediatorship, which Napoleon himself had allowed. The Austrian contingent had not only withdrawn from Poland, but brought with it the Polish Legion, which it threatened to disarm. To gain time, and keep Austria still neutral, Napoleon dissimulated his anger, and sanctioned Prince Metternich's proposing a Congress. But he at the same time sent Caulaincourt to the quarters of the Russian Emperor to endeavour to come to a direct accord with him, and set the Austrians, with their mediation, aside.

Meantime Macdonald, at the head of the French army, found himself in front of the position which the allies had taken behind the Spree at Bautzen. They had taken no precautions by a first line of forts to defend the passage of the river, but had provided an entrenched camp about a league behind, which they were determined to hold in case of the river being forced. Reinforced

* Fain, Norvins, Thiers, Schœll.

by Barclay, who brought 14,000 men after the surrender of Thorn, the allies mustered some 90,000 amidst the hillocks of Bautzen. But Napoleon's force was far superior in numbers, amounting to 130,000.

On the 20th of May, therefore, he found no difficulty in forcing the passage of the Spree river and capturing Bautzen, the Russian general Milaradowitz retreating after a brave but ineffectual attempt to maintain his position on several of the hills. To ensure a victory on the ensuing day, Napoleon despatched no less than 60,000 men under Ney to diverge to the left, and fall upon the enemy's flank and rear in the midst of the action. The battle in front commenced without the allies being aware of the danger that menaced them. They fought bravely, but Napoleon did not press forward, and even fell asleep till aroused by the sound of Ney's cannon in the distance. His advance took Barclay in flank, Blucher in the rear, and Napoleon commanded an onward movement at the same time from the front. The result was a more complete victory than that of Lutzen. Yet it was not achieved without loss. The Prussians and Russians occupied the many hillocks of the field, which the French had to scale, in order to precipitate their enemies. The allies, according to Wilson's account, lost 20,000 men, and the French, though victorious, yet by their attacking first, somewhat more. The loss most severe to Napoleon was that of Duroc, Duke of Frioul, and Grand Master of the Palace. A cannon-ball glanced from a tree near the Emperor and killed first General Kirgener and then Duroc. The battle won, Napoleon sat on a stool before his tent, his head on his knees, overwhelmed with sadness. To the officer who came for orders he replied—*Tout à demain.* Leave everything for to-morrow.

The mission of Caulaincourt to the Emperor of Russia, previous to the affair of Bautzen, had merely displayed the Czar's resolve to listen to no separate overtures. He

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had simply referred Caulaincourt to the Austrian plenipotentiary. The hopes of the allies were centred in Austria, which declined to declare for them till it had tried mediation. These statesmen were convinced that Austria's offer would be rejected by that hardest and least yielding of men, Napoleon, and therefore they consented to an armistice to give Austria full opportunity to try the experiment. The numerical weakness of Russo-Prussian arms was, however, the principal cause.* Napoleon consented to the armistice, which was concluded at Poischwitz, leaving Breslau neutral between the armies. Of all the powers, the one really desirous of immediate peace, was Austria. Russia and Prussia, who were receiving their 5,000,000*l.* sterling from England,† merely wanted time to employ them, to strengthen their armies and bring up reserves. Wellington had just routed the French armies at Vittoria, and liberated Spain. They hoped to do as much by Germany. Napoleon entertained views equally warlike, and expected to double his forces, and especially augment his cavalry, in which his army was weak, during the armistice. In consequence of the suspension of hostilities, Prince Metternich himself came to Dresden, in order to communicate personally with Napoleon.

In this critical interview, the French Emperor showed himself more actuated by hurt pride than by any rational policy. He was ready to give up Spain to England, Poland to Russia, Illyria to Austria; but he could not stomach the restoration of Prussia to its pristine importance. And for this cause he would not yield either the Hanseatic towns or the Confederation of the Rhine. It is almost incredible that Napoleon, for the sake of Hamburg, Lubeck, and Frankfort, should have

* Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart to Lord Castlereagh, June 28, 1813.

† Russia and Prussia concluded Treaties at Reichenbach on the 14th and 15th of June, with England, by which they obtained subsidies, and stipulated not to make peace without England.

risked the loss of the friendship and alliance of Austria. And it may be pleaded for him, that yielding up these, he necessarily gave up Westphalia also and Germany. Perhaps, indeed, this was but too apparent in the famous conversation, for the nature and particulars of which M. Thiers was indebted to Prince Metternich's own relation.* It was, however, not so much the conditions of the peace, as the evidence that they were imposed on him, that displeased Napoleon. He had beaten Russia and Prussia, and he hoped to beat Russia, Prussia, and Austria in the field. This hope amounted to conviction, and indeed sufficed to baffle all the Austrian endeavours for an accommodation. Caulaincourt, as well as Narbonne, went as French negotiators to the Congress of Prague; but they were instructed to higgle about forms, and chicane, not negotiate. And Austria, perceiving a rupture inevitable, came to conditional terms with the allies, was informed of their military plans, joined in them, and agreed to accept a subsidy from England to enable her to take immediate part in the war. All this was no doubt conditional upon Napoleon's persisting in the refusal of the Austrian terms. At the last hour, or rather past it, Caulaincourt received powers and instructions to yield the greater part of Metternich's demands. But Metternich, as the armistice expired, converted at once his contingent convention into a permanent alliance. Austria was thus no longer in a position to impose any condition, and her new allies refused the offers of Caulaincourt.

It is admitted, that what most influenced Austria at this time to hold firm against Napoleon, and the Emperor of Russia to break up the Congress, was the account received of Wellington's victories. The failure and retreat of Massena from the lines of Torres Vedras,

* The German historians deny that Metternich insisted on terms so favourable to Germany, as those that Thiers indicates. See Springer, Geschichte Œsterreich.

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has been described. Lion-like, he was formidable as he withdrew. And the battle of Fuentes d'Onores, which he fought early in May, 1811, to preserve Almeida, was one of the most fiercely disputed of Wellington's victories, and that in which his fortune and his skill were most at stake. A battle still more bloody and more critical took place soon after at Albuera, between Soult and Beresford, one in which the respective stamina of the soldiers was put to the proof more than the skill of either general. It was a hand-to-hand fight, and Soult was not victorious. He came to prevent the siege of Badajos but was obliged to retire without effecting his object.

Notwithstanding the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, the British generals seemed as little able in 1811 and 1812 to take permanent footing in Spain, as the French were in holding any ground in Portugal. A British advance, always rendered possible by the separation and misunderstanding of the French marshals, was sure to terminate in their meeting, and then the English had but to retreat before their superior forces. This was the case in the summer of 1812, when the French marshal who was in front, Marmont, considered that because the English were retreating they could easily be beaten. And this he undertook to accomplish without waiting for his colleagues. On the 21st of July 1812 the English occupied one of the rocky hills near Salamanca, which the French call the Areopyles. Marmont attempted to dislodge them, but in directing the assault did not display the carefulness of Soult. A more than ordinary or prudent interval between his divisions allowed the English general to direct a portion of his army between them, and thus put them to the rout. Marmont, at the moment, lost his arm by a cannon-shot. Clausel took the command, and very nearly succeeded in baffling the English, as they were pouring down to overwhelm Marmont, so great was the disadvantage to attack, and

so comparatively easy the defence, on such hilly and rocky ground. Finally, however, the English were completely victorious. What was as important as the victory, was the several proofs of it in some thousands of prisoners, guns and eagles. The rest of the campaign, however, did not answer the promise of such a victory. The British advanced to Burgos, but failed in the siege, and were obliged to terminate the year by a retreat to Ciudad Rodrigo and the Portuguese frontier.

The momentous reverses of fortune which Napoleon experienced in the winter of 1812–1813 could not but have its influence upon the Spaniards and their auxiliaries. Lord Wellington himself went to Cadiz to communicate with the Spanish authorities there, and having matured his plans he began to march from Ciudad Rodrigo, through Spain towards the Ebro, about the time when Napoleon triumphed at Bautzen. His advance, at the head of 70,000 men, was the signal for the French king and principal functionaries to abandon Madrid. It was Napoleon's orders to Joseph to make Valladolid his head-quarters. But Biscay was in insurrection, and to keep open communication with France, he found it necessary to retreat upon Vittoria. Instead of the large armies which the French marshals had so lately mustered, Joseph could not collect more than between 60,000 or 70,000 before Vittoria. Soult had gone to join the Emperor. The British commander seemed fully aware that he had no skilful or powerful opponent to deal with, for whilst the French were concentrated around Vittoria, he disposed his divisions so as to attack them on all sides. General Graham was despatched by a circuit to come down upon and behind Vittoria from the north, so as to occupy their line of retreat. This daring manœuvre was crowned with complete success. Though defended in front by a river, passable but over a few bridges, the French were unable to make resistance even upon the high road.

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They were driven back upon Vittoria, and only reached it to learn that Graham was in their rear, and that the great road to France was already lost. The mere intelligence was tantamount to a rout. Whatever of the army escaped, did so by the road along the Ebro to Pampeluna,—artillery, ammunition, baggage, the spoils of Madrid, Joseph's crown, Jourdan's bâton, all taken. The disastrous scene of the retreat from Moscow was re-enacted at Vittoria. It was not merely the discomfiture of an army, but the wreck of an empire.

Tidings of this great triumph or terrible catastrophe, from whichever side it was viewed, reached the belligerents in Germany at the end of June, that is, when the armistice of Poischwitz had about half expired. Before that period, Metternich had stated his demands in the personal interview with Napoleon, and had come to the conviction that they would not be accepted. The consequence, as we have already stated, was the final junction of the court of Vienna with those of London, St. Petersburg, and Berlin.

Austria now entered the field against Napoleon with 300,000 men. Russia had brought up its reserves, Prussia raised fresh legions. Bernadotte joined the contest with his Swedes, and was proclaimed viceroy as a recompense. He commanded an army of 150,000 men, which descended from the Baltic towards the Elbe. Blucher advanced from Silesia with as many. Whilst the Russians and Austrians, united under Schwarzenburg, threatened to emerge from Bohemia to the number of 250,000. Napoleon, at the resumption of the campaign, had not more than two-thirds of this number, which from Dresden as a centre he was able to launch at any one of his enemies. These, however, were wary, and had agreed to retreat whenever Napoleon in person attacked, the others assailing his lieutenants whenever he himself was absent. He has been accused of disseminating his forces, of despatching a portion to-

wards Berlin, and another too far eastward to be within suceour or within call. But one of his objects was, not to allow his enemies to communicate with each other, or manœuvre in conjunction, when closing upon him. The truth, however, was, that Napoleon's genius was for offensive war, whilst his circumstances now reduced him to a defensive one, to which he could not reconcile either his tactics or his pride. He first launched his army against Blücher, and drove him back, but was recalled to defend Dresden from the Austro-Russians, who, emerging from Bohemia, had come to crown the hills around that capital with their legions.

This the first bearding of the lion by the allies, relying on their strength, proved exceedingly disastrous to them. Napoleon re-entered Dresden in the forenoon of the 26th. In the afternoon of the same day, the allies, descending from the heights, directed their attack bravely against all the gates. They imagined that St. Cyr's division alone occupied and defended the city. They soon perceived their mistake from the issue of French columns from every gate, which drove the allies back to their positions on the hills. Having thus effectually defended Dresden on the day of his return to it, Napoleon the next morning, the 27th, assumed the offensive and attacked simultaneously the right and left of his enemies, whilst the great park of his artillery played upon their centre. From one of the discharges, General Moreau, then accompanying the Emperor Alexander, had his limbs shattered by a ball. The French perceived that some general had fallen, but did not know who, till a dog with the name of Moreau on its collar, strayed within the lines. The German poet Körner perished about the same time. The chief honour of the day was for Murat, who at the head of his cavalry broke into a division of the Austrians, flung them into the valley of Plauen, and captured some 15,000. This was the signal for Schwarzenberg to

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order a retreat from Dresden behind the mountainous frontier of Bohemia.

The victory of Dresden resembled Napoleon's early triumphs. Thousands of prisoners and a great quantity of cannon were won. Whilst the allies, accusing one another as the cause of the defeat, were ready to part company. A proffer of peace at the moment by Napoleon would in all probability have been listened to. But the triumph of Dresden, obtained by Napoleon in person, was soon compensated by uniform defeat, incurred by his lieutenants one after the other.

Vandamme, posted with 40,000 men near Königstein, had menaced the rear of the allies in their attempt on Dresden. He was thus well placed to interrupt or harass their retreat. Whilst performing this latter task he pursued the Austrians over the hills, and halted half way down the declivity on finding the enemy stand their ground at its foot. Whilst thus partially engaged, another Austrian corps, which had diverged from the over-encumbered main road in its flight, came by cross mountainous paths to a position directly above the corps of Vandamme. The Austrians had thus to pass over the French in order to reach their friends; the French to do the same by the enemy above, to escape from being between two fires. The result was a horrible *mêlée*, in which the French division was broken and defeated, its guns abandoned, Vandamme and Haxo taken prisoners.

About the same time Macdonald had suffered a defeat from Blücher behind the Bober and the Katzbach. In an attempt to occupy Hirschberg one of his divisions had been surprised by a storm, divided by a swollen river, and the whole corps compelled to retreat with loss. Macdonald was much too far from Dresden to obtain timely succour. Napoleon committed the same fault with regard to Oudinot first and then to Ney, who were successively in command of some 70,000 men ordered to

march on Berlin. Bernadotte and Bülow barred their way with double the French force. The consequence was, that Oudinot was obliged to retreat to Wittenberg, and Ney, in resuming the enterprise, was defeated at Dennewitz. The result of these several actions was the French force diminishing from 360,000 to 250,000 men, the confidence of the troops and generals diminishing in proportion. Napoleon had triumphed when he was present, but all his lieutenants had committed faults and succumbed. The allies, too, had made mistakes and suffered defeats, but they were in a situation to repair their loss, whilst Napoleon, far from the French frontier, could not remedy his. A band of Cossacks invaded Westphalia and drove Jerome from his capital, whilst Bavaria, long hesitating, at last joined its troops to the allies.

These were so emboldened by their evident superiority of force and the general defection of the Germans, that they resolved to carry the war behind the Elbe in the rear of Napoleon, and thus force him to abandon Dresden, as well as the other fortresses on that river, which it had been his intention to hold. The Russians and Austrians, under Schwarzenberg, in pursuance of this new plan, emerged in the first days of October from Bohemia westwards of the Elbe, and directed their march upon Leipzig, whilst Blücher and his Silesian army joining that of Bülow and Bernadotte crossed the Elbe towards Wittenberg, and advanced also upon Leipzig from the north. Napoleon, in consequence, withdrew his forces also behind the Elbe, directing a portion of them upon Leipzig, with orders to defend that town against the Austrians, whilst he himself at the head of 140,000 men marched north against Bernadotte and Blücher. Whilst he hastened to come up with them and fight them, they shrank from the encounter. And when Napoleon proposed following them north, the generals and officers around deprecated his adventuring

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so far from Leipzig and the great southern road. Whilst at Dueben, detained by torrents of rain as well as by uncertainty of the enemy's movements, his generals especially dissuaded him from venturing so far north. The Emperor, carried away by the passion of argument and contradiction, sought to show that it would be far better to march on Berlin, become master of the north, and liberate the French garrisons on the Oder and the Vistula, than to make an avowed commencement of retreat by recoiling to Leipzig. That such was not his real intention, his own correspondence and the sagacious Thiers fully prove. But his words led Fain, Caulaincourt, and others to represent Napoleon personally bent upon so mad a scheme as a march to the Oder, and themselves as compelling him to abandon such a resolution. He evidently never entertained it seriously,* proposing merely to pursue Blücher and Bernadotte till he could find opportunities of bringing them to action; and then, after having won a victory, returning, by the right bank of the Elbe, to fall upon Schwarzenberg. He was unable, however, to reach either Blücher or Bernadotte, and returned to Leipzig, leaving unfortunately St. Cyr and Reynier, as well as Davoust, upon the Elbe, when the reunion of his entire force at Leipzig had become imperatively necessary to his safety.

Schwarzenberg was advancing from the south with 250,000 men, Bernadotte and Blücher from the north with 100,000. Napoleon had not more than 170,000. The first battle of Leipzig took place on *the 16th* of October; Napoleon commanded against *the* Austrians and Russians, Ney on the north against Blücher. It was a hard-fought day. The Austrians advancing behind the Pleisse crossed or sought to cross it at

* At St. Helena, however, Napoleon spoke as if his proposed march to Berlin was serious, and as if the subsequent disaster was occasioned by his being overruled.

Dölitz and at Connewitz, but were repulsed, and their commander Meerfeldt taken. The Russians, under Witgenstein, were well-nigh defeated. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon Napoleon broke through their centre with large masses of cavalry, and would have routed them, had not the Emperor Alexander sent forward his guards and reserves to restore the day. Still the allies on the south had not advanced their position when night fell. But on the north of Leipzig, Blücher had sorely pressed Marmont, and compelled him to abandon a large space of ground. Napoleon had lost between 20,000 and 30,000 men, and although the enemy's loss was equally great, still the gaps in their line were speedily filled, whilst to him could come no succour. He confessed this situation when he liberated the Austrian general Meerfeldt, and charged him to acquaint the Emperor Francis with his willingness to treat and to make large concessions.*

On the 17th no engagement took place, the allies expecting Bernadotte to join them. Napoleon was strongly advised to order a retreat during the night, but his reluctant pride overcame his sense of its expediency. The consequence was that another and a bloodier battle around Leipzig was fought on the 18th. At its very commencement the diminished force of the French compelled them to narrow their circle of defence. One of the most important points of this circle was held by General Reynier, a portion of whose force was Saxon. He held the roads which ran eastward from Leipzig, and formed the connecting link between Ney and Marmont on the north, and Napoleon, who was engaged with the Austrians on the south. Bernadotte entered the field by this road, and as he advanced, the Saxon soldiers of Reynier deserted the enemy. The double treason of Bernadotte acting fiercely against them, whilst the

* For these concessions, see Sir Robert Wilson's Private Diary, vol. ii. p. 172.

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Saxons deserted them, animated the French with desperation. Napoleon took advantage of it to fill up the gap left by the Saxons, and check the advance of Bernadotte upon Reudnitz. But although successful in this, as well as in checking Schwarzenberg, who, after divers assaults, had relaxed his efforts into a distant cannonading, his enemy was still unbroken, whilst the loss of 30,000 men a side was far more wasting to the French than to the allies. At sunset, therefore, Napoleon withdrew into Leipzig, and gave orders for the retreat. This was effected without much interruption from the enemy, until many hours had elapsed, allowing full time for the French to have evacuated Leipzig, had sufficient bridges been prepared over the Elster. There was but one, however, which greatly retarded the passage, and it being prematurely blocked up by a panic, left a large rear guard and a host of camp followers to the mercy of the victorious enemy.

The pursuit of the retreating French was by no means active or distressing. The Austrians alone lost 30,000 men, the Russians and Prussians more. Considerably more than 100,000 men fell in the battles of Leipzig. Napoleon tarried some days at Erfurt to recruit and recollect the shattered remains of his army. Thence pursuing his retreat, he found the Bavarian army, under De Wrede, drawn up at Hanau to intercept him. The French were scarcely one-third of the Bavarian force, which had so lately fought by their side, and whose king had at every peace profited by the victories of Napoleon. To Bavaria, indeed, had been given most of the provinces taken from Austria, the great cause of its discontent and present animosity. The conduct of Bavaria and of its commander, De Wrede, was ignominious. "I made De Wrede a Count," said Napoleon, "but could not make him a general." The French with ease walked over the 60,000 Bavarians, and, putting them to rout and flight, crossed the Rhine to Mayence. It is impossible to read

of the conduct of Saxon and Bavarian in those days, brave soldiers, but transferring their allegiance and their courage now to this side, now to that, without severely condemning the useless partition of Germany into a multitude of principalities, ever betraying the interests and honour of their populations. And it is one of the happiest results of our own day (1866), that such a partitionment of sovereignty, under all its absurd and pernicious consequences, should have been put an end to.

The retreat of the French behind the Rhine suggested the time as fit for negotiations. Austria, jealous of the Czar and his abettal of Prussia, and of Bernadotte, was anxious for them, and sent to propose an exchange of prisoners when Napoleon was at Erfurt. Later, M. de St. Aignan, a captured French diplomatist, was sent back (on the 10th of November), with offers to France of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees as frontiers. Before his departure he received from Lord Aberdeen the assurance that England did not desire to humiliate France, but that in giving to its empire the frontier of the Rhine, it would seek to preclude any domination, or impose any influence, beyond that barrier. An immediate and frank acceptance of this offer would have established Napoleon firmly on his throne. Instead of this, although St. Aignan reached him on the 14th, it was not till the 26th that an answer was received from the Duke of Bassano, accepting Mannheim as the place of negotiation, but not accepting the basis or the frontier laid down. Although St. Aignan repeated that Austria and England were both favourable to peace, the French reply was framed expressly against England, and insisted that if France left the other nations of continental Europe independent, England must do the same by maritime powers, and abandon her influence and conquests on the sea and its coasts. Nothing could be more fair between rival and rival, each in the plenitude of power. But Napoleon had been

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defeated in Germany and in Spain. The English minister was foremost to abet the policy of treating France generously, and yet in his reply it was particularly against England that Napoleon showed his animosity.

Nothing could be more ill-judged. Napoleon's answer plainly proved to the English Government that, however forbearing or generous their policy, it would find no corresponding policy in him, and would not modify in the least his old inveteracy to England. The consequence was, that the British Cabinet came to consider Lord Aberdeen as too mild a negotiator, and too favourable to France, and that it was necessary to correct that tendency, first by a change in his instructions, and then by the presence of the minister himself, Lord Castlereagh. The reply of Napoleon being considered evasive, the allies turned their whole attention to an immediate invasion of France, the Austrians by Basle, the Prussians and Russians between Mayence and Strasburg. The English Government at the same time relapsed into more hostile sentiments; Lord Wellington, defeating Soult on the Nivelle, established himself in front of Bayonne. Whilst the return of Holland under the dominion of the House of Orange, left the troops of Bernadotte free to invade the Belgian provinces.

The French, detested in the countries they had oppressed, were nowhere so thoroughly so as in maritime ones like Holland. And a foe to France had but to appear in any strength in order to make the Dutch rise and expel French governors, soldiers and *douaniers*. By unanimous acclamation the House of Orange was restored to its supremacy. It then occurred to the English Government, that so propitious a revolution ought not to stop at the Rhine. To free the Scheldt from French domination, and make Antwerp cease to be a hostile arsenal and a menace to England, was a national object. And as a marriage between the Prince of Orange and the heiress to the English throne

was then in contemplation, to make him sovereign of the Scheldt, as well as of the Texel, was a feasible and well-imagined scheme. When this idea got possession of the English mind, the abettal of Lord Aberdeen's views, that of allowing to France the frontier of the Rhine, became impossible. And in the council of the allies, England, instead of adopting and seconding Metternich's ideas, leaned more decidedly to the Russian.

Whilst Napoleon was thus awakening English enmity to him and higgling with the proffers of Austria, instead of accepting them frankly, he had scarcely 60,000 men to oppose to the 300,000 which poured over the Rhine in the first days of 1814; the Austrians at Basle, Blücher lower down the river. The former advanced by the opening of Béfort through the Vosges, the latter crossed the hills into Champagne. Napoleon had not expected their immediate advance, nor was he prepared for the pressure of a winter campaign. Despondency or surprise, however, did not relax his efforts. And yet he cannot be said to have made those which might best have saved him. Had the population of France unanimously risen in his favour, and displayed anything like the enthusiasm of 1793, the allies, several of whom hesitated and shrank from a march on Paris, would have been deterred. But Napoleon knew not how to address a free people. He, indeed, called the Legislative Body together, and laid before them his necessities and his prospects. Although they did not refuse to aid him, still their first impulse was to criticise his acts, and blame the obstinacy which had impelled him to reject all offers of peace. Even on this point he gave them but partial information. He shunned publicity as much as freedom. The Assembly, therefore, showed more signs of discontent than adhesion. And the Emperor, instead of using his Legislature as a medium to address and appeal to his people, convened them merely to scold and dismiss them.

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The Emperor's reliance was solely upon force. Yet he did not take decisive steps to rally even that which he possessed. Had he, during the armistice in Germany, recalled his garrisons from Dantzic, and the other towns on the Vistula and Oder, he might have fought a much more successful battle at Leipzig. Could he now obtain succour from Murat and from Eugène in Italy, from Suchet and Soult in Spain, he would be at the head of a formidable army. Murat, however, was alienated from Napoleon, and prepared to attack, not second, Eugène in North Italy, on the condition of his kingdom being secured to him by Austria. To embarrass him, and to wipe away the greatest outrage on the Catholic world, Napoleon allowed the Pope to leave Fontainebleau and recross the Alps to Italy. He had sought to provide for the return of his Spanish army by negotiations with Ferdinand at Valençay. But the Spanish Juntas and Cortès would not obey a prince in French captivity. And Ferdinand was at last set free without having any effect upon the Duke of Wellington and his Spanish force, who had entered France and taken up positions north of the Pyrenees.

Although advancing in connection with his allies into the heart of France, the Emperor of Austria did not abandon the hope of bringing his formidable son-in-law to such terms as Russia and England were bent on. Napoleon had not, indeed, accepted the conditions offered from Frankfort, and he remained ignorant of the immense change that his non-acceptance had wrought in the sentiments of his foes. He therefore sent Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza, his Minister of Foreign Affairs, to treat. This personage was not allowed to advance beyond the French outposts. And so, perceiving his enemies bent upon war, Napoleon left Paris on the 25th of January to meet them. His army extended from Troyes to Châlons. Schwarzenberg was at Langres, anxious to await negotiations; but Blücher,

more ardent, was in advance upon the Aubé. On the 29th, Napoleon attacked the Prussian general at Brienne, and drove him from the town after a sharp contest. The success was unfortunate, for it drew Schwarzenberg from his passive attitude, compelled him to come to the succour of Blücher, and Napoleon thus found himself with some 30,000 men in the presence of an enemy of triple that force. Still, rather than retreat, he accepted battle, and fought it with the utmost gallantry, at La Rothière, on the 1st of February.* At the close of the engagement the French maintained their ground, but were glad to retreat upon Troyes, during the night, leaving many cannon behind them, and thus confessing they had been worsted.

This battle had a marked effect upon the Congress which opened a few days later at Chatillon. Although the allies had invaded France, in consequence of the non-acceptance by Napoleon of the terms offered at Frankfort, still it was their, and especially Austria's, desire that negotiations should remain open. Caulaincourt had come with the intention of proceeding to Manheim, the place at first fixed for the Congress, but Metternich sent him word that they must await Lord Castlereagh's presence. Chatillon was then named as the place of meeting. Thither went Caulaincourt in the first days of February with instructions from his master to hold by the Frankfort proposition, and insist on the frontier of the Rhine. Lord Castlereagh, on the other hand, emboldened by the attitude of both Wellington and the allies on the soil of France, as well as by the Dutch revolution, came to insist on France being made to withdraw within the limits of 1790. Between such

* "Napoleon led on his young guards himself to wrest the village of La Rothière from the gallant corps of Sacken. Their repeated efforts were ineffectual. Napoleon set his life upon a die, exposed himself everywhere, and had his horse shot under him."—Sir C. Stuart to Lord Castlereagh.

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conflicting sentiments there was little chance of agreement. And, in fact, everything depended upon the war. This was evident, when after the battle of La Rothière Napoleon sent Caulaincourt *carte blanche* to do or sign anything which might arrest the progress of the enemy, avoid another battle, and preserve the capital.

Such instructions were too vague for Caulaincourt to act upon. He sent back to the Emperor for clearer and more decisive ones. But he was then deeply engaged in an attempt to retrieve his losses at La Rothière.

Immediately after that engagement the allied armies had separated, the Austrians to pursue a leisurely advance down the left bank of the Seine, whilst the Russians and Prussians under Blücher undertook to penetrate to Paris by the Marne. Napoleon, who had retired to Nogent, was thus between his foes, a position of which he did not fail to take immediate advantage. He marched at once to pounce upon his prey, and the consequence of Blücher's rashness was, that the French Emperor came upon a corps of 6,000 Russians under *Olsufief at Champ*-Aubert on the 9th of February. Completely destroying them, he reached Sacken, who was in advance with 20,000 men at Montmirail, on the 11th, and defeated him. York, with a still greater number, had got as far as Château-Thierry. He was attacked and defeated on the 12th, as was the rest of Blücher's army on the 14th at Vauchamps. Thus caught and crushed in detail, Blücher's force was reduced so considerably that he declared it impossible for him to keep the field unless reinforced by the divisions of Bülow and Winzingerode, which were in the north with Bernadotte.

The result of Blücher's defeat was that the Austrian and English ministers compelled Alexander to treat once more. They resolved to meet the chief objections of Caulaincourt by submitting to him a full treaty, and moreover granting an immediate armistice, if he would accept the frontier of 1790. After the victory of Vau-

champs, Napoleon had retrograded to Meaux, for the sole purpose, however, of finding a good road to march upon the Austrians. Their advancing troops had reached Fontainebleau with the view to unite again with Blücher; Schwarzenberg had crossed the Seine at Nogent and Montereau. On the 16th, Napoleon left Meaux, met the Austrians at Guignes, and in a sharp engagement flung them back upon the Seine. It was only at this moment that he learned the intention of the allies to renew negotiations. An aide-de-camp from Schwarzenberg came with the offer of an armistice. If the allies had been depressed by the late events, Napoleon had been proportionately elated. So that, instead of at once accepting the armistice, he wrote a private letter to the Emperor of Austria, declaring himself ready to treat, but no longer on the basis of the old frontier of France. At the same time he withdrew from Caulaincourt the *carte blanche* he had given him.

This vigorous resolve he followed up on the 18th by attacking the advanced corps of Schwarzenberg that occupied the heights in front of the bridge of Montereau. They were insufficient in number, and were completely defeated, the French cavalry not only routing them, but traversing and winning the bridge in a rapid charge which prevented the enemy from even blowing up the arch in their possession. Notwithstanding this success, which threw the enemy into full retreat, Napoleon was not satisfied: he hoped, at least, to have captured or destroyed one of the divisions. And he threw the blame upon his lieutenants, especially upon Victor, whom he deprived of his command. He did not pardon the old veteran the crime of taking a night's rest. Yet Victor had fought bravely at Montereau, and lost there his son-in-law General Chateau. The Emperor after a time relenting restored him to a command.

At Troyes, whence he drove the retreating Austrians on the 23rd, Napoleon was first made aware

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of the active efforts of the Bourbon partisans to raise the standard of the old dynasty. Its princes were already on French soil, behind the English and Austrian camps, if not in them, whilst in Paris eminent persons met to consider what best could be done to save France from being occupied and dismembered, or unworthily disposed of, in case of the complete triumph of the allies.

Alexander had whispered to a French general (Reynier) his desire to place Bernadotte on the throne of France. The Bourbons were preferable to this proposal, and even to the regency of Maria Louisa, an Austrian princess. So thought Prince Talleyrand, and his friend the Duke d'Alberg, the latter going so far as to despatch an emissary, M. de Vitrolles, to the head-quarters of the allies to acquaint them with the destitute state of Paris, the facility of carrying it by a *coup de main*, and the advantages of superseding the Bonapartes by the Bourbons. The same hopes and feelings were prevalent in the provinces, notably at Troyes, where, during the recent stay of the allied sovereigns, several nobles of the locality had presented petitions to them in favour of a restoration. Alexander had chidden the petitioners as premature. And so, indeed, it proved, for on the French reoccupying Troyes, the Chevalier Gouault, the chief of the petitioners, was arrested and shot.

Just before entering Troyes on the 23rd, as the Austrians withdrew, the Prince of Lichtenstein arrived from Schwarzenberg with renewed offers of an armistice, the terms of which were to be arranged at Lusigny. The Emperor Alexander and Blücher were both indignant at the retreat of the Austrians, and at their renewed offers to treat. Prince Schwarzenberg had promised Blücher to fight a battle with their united forces, and so repair the disaster of the Prussians. But since the defeat of the latter and the affair of Montereau, the Austrian commander declined an engagement. Had

Napoleon chosen the moment to meet the Austrian demand, he might have separated them altogether from the Russo-Prussians. Instead of such politic conduct, he still denied to Caulaincourt the power of accepting the frontier of 1790; and at Lusigny his aide-de-camp, Count Flahault, insisted on the retention of Antwerp.*

The opportunity which Napoleon neglected was seized with alacrity and address by Lord Castlereagh. He saw that the Austrians, left to themselves, would hesitate and defer advancing, Blücher being the general for a bold and forward movement. He therefore laboured to reinforce Blücher, so as to place him once more at the head of a formidable and effective army. His lordship took upon himself to order that the corps of Bülow and of Wizingerode should quit Bernadotte's army, hasten to Soissons to join Blücher, and raise his army to 100,000 men. The difficulty was to do this without offending Bernadotte, but Lord Castlereagh undertook it. His subsidies at the time fed Bernadotte's troops, and by giving him English, Dutch, and Hanoverian soldiers, to the amount of the two divisions abstracted, he succeeded in satisfying the Swede.

After having thus conferred the greatest obligation on Blücher and Alexander, the English minister proposed to gratify to the fullest the desire of Austria to treat, and offer the last chance of accommodation to Napoleon. He therefore proposed, in continuing the conferences at Chatillon, to put the question categorically to the French plenipotentiary of accepting or rejecting the frontier of 1790: in case of his accepting, submit to peace; in that of his rejection, manfully and in concert carry the war to the gates of Paris. To even this Alexander reluctantly consented. He was for pushing the war to extremity. And whilst Lord Castlereagh demurred, Alexander found himself backed by higher

* Souvenirs de Caulaincourt.

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authority. Late in January the Prince Regent of England, in an interview with the Russian envoy, Prince Lieven, had strongly urged the expediency of having done with Napoleon altogether, and of the allies publicly declaring they would no longer treat with him. This was synonymous with a declaration in favour of the Bourbons, from which Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington both shrank, as possibly leading to a breach with Austria. Lord Castlereagh satisfied the Czar by adopting his views contingently, and couched his own in a solemn treaty, which was signed by all at Chaumont on the 1st of March. By it the four allies contracted with each other to remain united, in case of Napoleon refusing the frontier of 1790, and continue the war, till Europe was free and independent, Germany as a federation, Italy in independent states. For this end each Power was to keep on foot 100,000 men, England to pay the other three 5,000,000*l.* sterling annually, and that this treaty should be in force for twenty years.*

The allies were willing to extend the armistice of Lusigny to all the armies, but Napoleon had limited it to those in front of Troyes, leaving himself free to attack Blücher, who was in movement towards the Marne and hoping to join Winzingerode and Bülow. Instead of advancing the negotiations, Napoleon marched upon him, drove the Prussians before him to the Aisne, and would no doubt have defeated or captured them, had not the French governor of Soissons opened its gates, thus giving the allies a bridge over the river, with the facility of uniting their forces. The attempt was every way unfortunate. In the first place, it evinced Napoleon so determined to fight rather than treat, that it mainly induced Austria to sign the treaty at Chaumont. In the next place, it irritated Napoleon and inspired him to pursue a plan which eventually proved fatal to him.

* Hardenberg, Fain, Castlereagh, Correspondence Danilesky.

This was to carry the war momentarily into Lorraine, set free the garrisons of the Meuse and Rhine, and through them raise his army to 100,000 or 120,000 men.* He had hoped to do this by the assistance of the army at Lyons, but Augereau, who commanded it, was at first inactive, and at last hard pressed himself. The defection of Murat prevented all succour from Italy, whilst the successes of Wellington, who in the battle of Orthez had forced the French to abandon the line of the Adour, kept back the reinforcements that Soult might otherwise have sent.

Napoleon was encouraged in his idea of crossing the Aisne, and rallying the garrisons of the north-east, by the hopes that Schwarzenberg would not advance,† and that Caulaincourt could open more successful negotiations at Chatillon; Blücher, however, was at the other side of the Aisne, and Napoleon did not fail to attack him on the 7th at Craonne. The Prussians had been so strongly reinforced that all the efforts of the French only succeeded in making them withdraw from the high plain. In the night occurred one more opportunity of obtaining peace. A courier arrived from Caulaincourt at Chatillon, to demand categorically what Napoleon insisted on. The Emperor durst not or would not precisely say. The evasion led to the breaking up of the Conference. Napoleon thought but of assaulting Blücher in Laon; whilst meditating it, he learned that Marmont's corps had been assailed in the night and put to the rout, with the loss of his artillery. It was too late to hope to capture Laon. A slight revenge was taken by the surprise of General St. Priest, commanding a Russian corps which had just taken possession of Rheims. The town was recaptured, and

* Thiers represents this scheme as conceived somewhat later, but Napoleon, in his letter to Joseph of the 1st of March, plainly indicates and declares it.—Mémoires de Joseph, t. 10.

† Fain.

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the Russians driven from it, with the loss of their commander.

Whilst Napoleon was engaged in these vain manœuvres, the congress of Chatillon was at an end. Caulaincourt, by his master's order, had presented a *contre-projet*, maintaining the frontier of the Rhine, and the others replied by breaking up the conference on the following day, March 19, 1814. Nothing was left for the Austrians but to act upon the treaty of Chaumont, and advance upon Paris. The Austrian and Prussian armies had both been reinforced, and it was now resolved that they should unite and march together. Napoleon had hurried from the Marne, calculating that he could fall upon the rear of Schwarzenberg, whom he supposed to be advanced as far as Nogent. Instead of this, he fell upon the front of the Austrians, and fought with them on the 20th the murderous battle of Arcis. The chief result was to persuade Napoleon of his inability to check the enemies' advance upon Paris. And the sole plan that occurred to him was that already conceived and partially abandoned, of dashing into Lorraine, rallying the garrisons of the different fortresses, and coming back with 100,000 men on the rear and communications of the enemy. It would have been better perhaps had he persevered in these intentions. But tidings soon arrived of the panic of the Parisians and of the authorities, with the renewed intrigues of the Bourbons, encouraged by their success at Bordeaux, where the Duke d'Angoulême had declared his presence, and where the rights of his family had been acknowledged. After marching and countermarching between Vitry and St. Dizier for a full week, which was completely lost to him, Napoleon, early in the morning of the 28th, resolved to pursue the enemy to Paris.

He had given them ample time to render such resolve useless. Defeating the feeble corps of Marmont and Mortier at La Fère Champenoise, the allies arrived on the 29th before Paris, and on the 30th the attack of the

heights north of that city began. Never was the capital of a great military empire more utterly unprovided with the means of defence. The regular troops of the two marshals did not exceed 23,000 men. A commencement had been made of enrolling a large number of the citizens in the national guard. But there were not muskets to arm even them, much less the working classes and people of the faubourgs, who demanded and who might have most efficiently used them. Some guns were dragged up to the heights of Belleville, the boys of the Polytechnic School undertaking to serve them. Some palisades and *tambours* had been erected before the gates. There were neither the men nor the materials for defence. Even had these abounded, there was no influential personage or commander to direct it. King Joseph, who had returned to Paris in January, after being exiled from it, and treated with unaccountable severity, represented to Napoleon the necessity of at least one of his brothers remaining in the capital, in case of the enemy appearing or entering it. Napoleon deprecated this; an imperial commissioner would do, he said, but at length consented that Louis might remain.* He feared lest the enemy should replace him on the throne by one of his brothers. For the same reason, he ordered Joseph to remove the Empress and her son from Paris on the appearance of the enemy, as well as the ministers and grand dignitaries. Joseph passed some time on the hill of Montmartre to witness, if not direct, the defence. The heights of Romainville and Belleville were fiercely disputed against the Russians all the morning of the 30th, but Blücher poured over the plains of St. Denis to Montmartre, which put Joseph to immediate flight. Longer defence was impossible without exposing the capital to the horrors of an assault; Marmont and Mortier therefore capitulated, consenting

* Emperor's correspondence with Joseph. Memoirs of the latter.

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to withdraw the troops under their command, some 20,000, to the south of the capital.

Whilst Schwarzenberg and Blücher were thus conquering the heights of Paris, and forcing Marmont and Mortier to capitulate, Napoleon had hastened from Troyes, with Berthier and Caulaincourt, taking the post, and following the road by Sens, Montereau, and Fontainebleau. It was only on approaching Cour-de-France towards midnight, that the travellers learned the events of the day, and the capitulation of the capital, by virtue of which the troops were then returning by the road to Fontainebleau. General Belliard, whom Napoleon first met, informed him of all. Thunderstruck, the Emperor sat for some moments silent opposite the fountains which adorn the road at Juvisy. He soon woke up with the hope that, as his troops could arrive from Troyes at Fontainebleau, he might still strike a blow at the enemy. To prevent the allied sovereigns taking any decided step, till he could do so, became his first object. And he accordingly despatched Caulaincourt to Paris, giving orders that the 20,000 men who had evacuated Paris should take post at Essonne, where in a short time the 50,000 he had left behind at Troyes could join them.

On the following day, the 31st of March, the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia made a solemn entry into Paris at the head of their troops. The Emperor of Austria remained still behind at Dijon. The emotion of the Parisians may be better conceived than depicted. The people were the most mortified. The upper ranks were gratified, as if an earthquake had passed beneath them. The middle class welcomed peace, as a substitute for glory. A review followed, after which Alexander repaired to Prince Talleyrand's, and even took up his abode there.* He was in perplexity what to do. To

* The Czar and his minister occupied all the upper part of the house, whilst Talleyrand and the provisional government were huddled into the *entresol*, of which Beugnot gives an amusing description.

grant any terms to Napoleon was merely to put it into his power to renew the military struggle sooner or later.* But whom to put in his place? The Bourbons alone appeared as candidates; but could they sustain themselves? That was the important question which the Czar asked of Talleyrand, and to which he replied that the Bourbons could reign, nay, alone could reign.

The result of this hasty council at Prince Talleyrand's was a declaration of the allied sovereigns, placarded immediately on the walls of Paris, that, as they could grant France much better terms under any other prince than Bonaparte, they had determined to set him aside, and no longer treat with him. They were ready to accept and guarantee such a constitution as the nation should devise, and prayed the senate to lose no time in appointing a provisional government to take charge of affairs and prepare the new constitution.

Thus was the superior power apparently made over to the senate. These nominees of Napoleon were but too ready to abandon him. And Caulaincourt, who visited them to awaken their imperial loyalty, found none to listen to him. All preferred following the suggestions of Prince Talleyrand, whom they elected chief of the provisional government, with the Duke d'Alberg, Beurnonville, Jaucourt, and Montesquieu for colleagues. All were Royalists. It was almost tautology to follow up this by a declaration that Napoleon Bonaparte had forfeited the throne.

The bar thus removed, which alone obstructed the legal restoration of the Bourbons, the partisans of the exiled dynasty rushed to take possession of its ancient authority. And an agent of the Count d'Artois, who was at Nancy, insisted on his being governor of the

* "Si j'avais signé les anciennes limites," wrote Napoleon to Joseph on Feb. 18, "j'aurais couru aux armes deux ans après, et j'aurais dit à la nation, que ce n'était pas une paix que j'avais signée, mais une capitulation."—Mém. de Joseph.

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kingdom. Prince Talleyrand and the senate resisted, pleading the necessary preliminary of a constitution. Disputes arose as to the nature of this constitution, and of the right of the senate to impose it. The Royalists mocked the very idea, but Alexander was serious in as yet holding the Bourbons at arm's length.

Napoleon was at Fontainebleau with 70,000 men. He had sent Caulaincourt to negotiate merely in order to gain time, and he meditated no less than an attack on the scattered quarters of the allies, the success of which appeared to him not doubtful. The royalists, therefore, and the greater number of even Bonaparte's functionaries which had embraced their cause, used their utmost efforts to persuade the high military officers to abandon the imperial standard, and to put an end to the war. All were anxious for this latter result, for Napoleon, they knew, would battle interminably, and, recent events proved, to no good purpose. Such a war as they had been waging, odious to all, was more odious for the prospect that the first act of its renewal would be a battle fought in the streets of the capital. Macdonald, who had his family in Paris, shrank especially from this.

Ney, Oudinot, Lefebvre were equally averse to a renewal of the combat. Marmont still more so. Talleyrand had himself visited the marshal after the capitulation of Paris, and pointed out to him that the sole security of France and of its military chiefs lay in a Bourbon restoration. Napoleon had not any support left upon which he could depend; Massena, he thought afterwards, would have stuck by him to the last, but he was absent. The Emperor placed least reliance upon Macdonald, most upon Marmont. Yet the former proved the more loyal, the latter a traitor. Ney, he said, was a child.

Whilst Napoleon was arranging his design of an attack on Paris, Marmont, who commanded the advanced corps of 15,000 men at Essone, had come to a secret agreement with Schwarzenberg to pass to the

enemy! Ney, Oudinot, Macdonald took the more manly part of protesting in Napoleon's presence against his project of attacking the allies in the capital. What, if he desisted? His abdication, no doubt, in favour of the King of Rome and the Empress. To this, after much remonstrance, passion, quarrel, and at length resignation, Napoleon consented. Caulaincourt, Ney, and Macdonald were to go to Paris with the offer. They passed through Marmont's quarters as they went, and learned the more extreme step that he had taken. They expostulated with him, and he promised to suspend the execution of his design, and await the issue of their negotiations. They proceeded to Paris to the residence of Alexander, and in their first interview shook that monarch in his design of dethroning the Bonaparte family altogether for the Bourbon. What might have come of his indetermination must remain uncertain. For in the night, the chief officers of Marmont's corps, Souham and Bourdesoult, summoned to Napoleon's presence, feared that this was an indication of his resolve to inflict immediate punishment upon their treason. They had fully agreed in Marmont's stipulations with Schwarzenberg. In the apprehension, therefore, of their discovered treason, they precipitated it, by ordering the troops under arms, and marching them through the enemies' lines, which opened to receive them, to Versailles. The soldiers and officers, all but their chiefs, had remained in ignorance of what was intended. And they were no sooner arrived at Versailles than they mutinied, and threatened the leaders who had betrayed them with death. Marmont, who was in Paris, was despatched by his royalist friends to tranquillise his division, in which he succeeded, by promises and explanations as false as his whole conduct. Marmont, in fact, betrayed his master and his cause. Alexander, who still hesitated to sacrifice Maria Louisa and her son, and who would have been sustained by Austria in any scheme for retaining them on the throne, no sooner

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learned the defection of Marmont than he definitively gave up all idea of resuming negotiations with Napoleon, dismissed Ney and his colleagues, flinging himself irrevocably in the path of the already commenced restoration.

Caulaincourt and Macdonald had thus but to return on the evening of the 5th of April to Fontainebleau, and intimate to Napoleon the necessity of complete abdication. They offered from Alexander the island of Elba in independent sovereignty, with Parma and Piacenza for the Empress. Napoleon besought that Tuscany, rather than Parma, might be the principality of the Empress. He, however, did not insist, but told his murmuring marshals that, had they and Marmont supported him, he could certainly have driven the allies from Paris, and wrung from these a peace honourable to France and to them. They would not, and in consequence he wrote the following abdication:—

"The allied sovereigns having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon is the sole obstacle to peace, he, faithful to his engagements, renounces for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy, there being no personal sacrifice, not even that of life, which he is not prepared to make for the interests of France."

On the 6th, the marshals brought the documents to Prince Talleyrand. In exchange for it, they received the island of Elba for Napoleon, Parma and Piacenza for the Empress and her son. 80,000*l.* was to be paid annually to the new sovereign of Elba, and as much more to be divided amongst his family. A principality was promised to Eugène. On the 11th of April, 1814, the treaty was signed, and the act of abdication delivered by Caulaincourt to the provisional government. All was consummated.

CHAPTER XLIV.

LOUIS THE EIGHTEENTH.

1814–1824.

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WHAT tremendous flux and reflux of the tide of empire! It had swept at the commencement of the century eastward over the continent, submerging all from the Sound to the Sicilian Straits, and from the Rhine to the Niemen. Old dynasties rose from the inundation, which covered Germany, merely like some towers and steeples, which barely out-topped the flood. The ebb was more rapid than the flow. In 1813, Napoleon was still victorious at Bautzen, Russia and Prussia retreating to the Oder and the Vistula, yet in the spring of 1814, the back tide had brought the Cossacks from the Don to stable their steeds in the court-yards of the palaces of Paris.

The great fault of Napoleon was in reality his excuse. He attempted what was impossible, to dominate the east of Europe from the west. No matter how he tried it, he could not have succeeded. His chroniclers blame him for not having stopped short on the Vistula or the Niemen. It would have been all the same. Had he indeed not thrown away half a million of soldiers in Russia, he might have held Germany longer in his grasp. Eventually or permanently he could not have kept it. The land was in a ferment, the popular passions swelling to a height that no force could have withstood, at a time when military science and strength had become equalised, or when whatever strategic superiority remained to the French was more than

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compensated by the superiority of other races in enthusiasm, energy, and love of independence.

Napoleon's empire, a mere military one, could not have endured. No prudence of his could have preserved it. And his imprudence did but shorten its existence. The empire fallen, what was to replace it? For if the west could not dominate the east, as little could the east put its yoke upon the west. The obvious answer was, the Bourbons with the old frontier and their old pacific policy. But would the nation tolerate, would the people rally to them, would the army obey? The Prussians cared little, provided they extended their kingdom to the Rhine. The Austrians not more, so that they succeeded to Napoleon in the domination of Italy and Germany. But Alexander deemed it worth consideration how the French government was to be settled, and the national spirit satisfied. The example of England had taught him to put faith in a constitution. He hoped to govern Poland by one. The Bourbons surely could repay the French for the supremacy they had lost by the blessings of freedom and of peace.

The senate, therefore, which had obsequiously voted Napoleon's forfeiture of the throne, and named the provisional government, was invited by Alexander to form a committee to frame a constitution. The liberal member of the committee was Count Nesselrode, the champion of divine right was the Abbé de Montesquieu, the representative of the Bourbon brothers and the party of the emigration. He would scarcely hear of a constitution,* till he was awakened from his obstinacy by the tidings that Alexander was treating with Napoleon's envoys, with a view to the regency of Maria Louisa. Marmont's defection saved the Bourbons, and the Royalist pretensions were somewhat humbled by the narrow escape they had had. At last a constitution

* Montesquieu's Memoir, published in *Moniteur*, April 1815.

was framed upon the English model, two chambers, an hereditary and an elective chamber, a responsible ministry. The existing senate was to form the upper house, with some fifty new members of royal appointment, the old members being assured of all their honours and appointments. The Count d'Artois, already approaching Paris, evaded accepting this constitution, by declaring that he was not empowered to speak for his brother. He entered the capital, however, the day after the conclusion of the treaty with Napoleon, and assumed the government. One of his first acts was to order the evacuation of the French fortresses on the Rhine, Elbe, and Oder, an inevitable step perhaps, but highly unpopular. Another act, equally so, though quite as pardonable, was his adoption of the white for the tricolor flag.

About a fortnight afterwards, Louis the Eighteenth reached Compiégne. He was visited by the marshals, whom he received as cordially as his gout and obesity permitted. Not only M. de Talleyrand, but Alexander, betook himself thither. Louis was less cordial with them. He was prepared to give a constitution, but not to have one forced upon him, as these personages had undertaken to do. A royal declaration was issued from St. Ouen, rejecting the constitution voted by the senate, which was far from having met with general adhesion,* but promising to place a liberal one before the chamber. On the 3rd of May, he entered Paris and the Tuileries, dismissing the imperial guard from the post at the palace, a not inconceivable precaution at a time when conspiracies were but naturally to be expected. M. de Talleyrand was declared minister of foreign affairs; Montesquieu, home department; Baron Louis, an excellent choice, finance minister; General Dupont, in disgrace with Napoleon for his conduct at Baylen, war minister.

* Réflexions de Bergasse.

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The facility with which the Imperial Government had been overthrown, and the readiness with which its civilian functionaries had rallied to the Bourbons, gave hopes that these princes might command the adherence of the great mass of the French people. There was, indeed, one class which it was almost hopeless to attempt to conciliate, the military. For twenty years, they had predominated, were looked to, and looked upon themselves, as the *élite* of the nation. It was impossible for the new Government to maintain for them their superiority, or to give them even the pay and promotion required. The finance minister said he could not support an army of more than 200,000 men. Military discontent was therefore inevitable. And the only way in which it could have been met was by giving large satisfaction to the non-military spirit and class. A national guard, for example, might have been organised, and might have been made to replace and counterbalance the line. But the restoration had aroused those who called themselves gentry to the assertion of their old superiority, and whilst they equipped themselves as national guards on horseback, the citizens were rather allowed than encouraged to form foot regiments.

To give vigour and weight, as well as contentment, to the citizen classes, they should have been endowed with municipal freedom. Their being thus entrusted and busied with their own local affairs, and influencing them, would have presented a satisfactory contrast with the mutism and nullity of all men before the imperial functionaries. Instead of this, the new Government maintained the old prefects and mayors in their former authority, continued to levy the same taxes, and exact the same obedience, supporting, moreover, the new pretensions of the *émigré* proprietors and nobles, who had returned to reclaim lost property and privileges. Alexander and Louis the Eighteenth thought that quite enough had been done for liberty when a constitution

or a charter was granted. This, however, is but the external form of freedom, the effects or benefits of which never reach or touch the people unless the administrative organisation be equally free. If constitutions have failed all over Europe, in France and in Spain, it is that the mere forms of constitutional government have been established and observed, whilst all local influence, self-government, or independent action have been purposely passed over or malevolently omitted. The Government and the Liberals, as they were called, disputed in Paris as to whether a constitution should be imposed on the King, or octroyed by him, whether the chamber should have the initiative of laws, or the monarch the right of war or peace; grave questions certainly, but of no immediate importance at a moment when it was necessary to raise up classes, and create institutions capable of counterbalancing and replacing the military, their exigencies and their spirit.

The Bourbon princes were by character and intelligence little fitted to remedy the weakness of their cause. No more humiliating contrast could have been offered to the genius and activity of Napoleon than Louis the Eighteenth. He was indeed no bigot. He confined his extravagant admiration of high birth to himself, whilst his timidity rendered him anxious not to offend the known prejudices of the French people. His nullity and inactivity, however, allowed his brother to exercise influence directly the contrary of the royal opinions. The Count d'Artois, who, from a libertine, had become a devotee, was influenced by the old clergy and old *émigrés*, and was for governing France with the ideas and the men that had been familiar to him in exile. His sons, the Dukes d'Angoulême and Berry, were, the first, in appearance more sensible because more timid, the latter, furious because the French did not fall down and worship his family. But what did most harm perhaps was the female influence and authority at the

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Tuileries, so important at a French court. This, of course, was wielded by the Duchess d'Angoulême, the captive of the Temple, who could not be expected to forget what she and her parents had suffered from the revolution. The consequence was that the wives of the marshals, who paid their homage at the Tuileries, were observed to descend its staircase suffused in tears of mortification.*

The first great public act that the King had to announce to his people was the treaty of peace with the allies, fixing the frontiers of France. There had been a vague promise to extend the limits of 1790. M. de Talleyrand proposed by virtue of this to include Luxemburg, Namur, and Mons, within the limits of the monarchy. It would have been natural enough in Napoleon to have demanded Luxemburg, as the most advantageous position for future war. The Bourbons making the claim were of course not listened to. But France obtained the flat and more fertile portion of Savoy, with Annecy and the capital Chambéry, Avignon too, and Montbeliard, Philippeville, Marienburg, Sarrelouis, and Landau. With these it was obliged to be contented, and to learn at the same time that the King of Holland was to possess Belgium, and the King of Piedmont, Genoa. Martinique, Guadaloupe, and Bourbon were to be restored to France. The plenipotentiaries regretted the Isle of France, or Mauritius, which the English retained for the same reason, that it was the strongest maritime position on the route to India.† For commerce Bourbon was as valuable, but the political views of Talleyrand then, as of Thiers since, were for

* Ney's letter to his wife. "Vous étiez dans l'armée de Condé? Combien de temps avez-vous été en émigration? Tels étaient les éclaircissemen ts préalables à toute politesse de la part de la duchesse d'Angoulême."—Mém. de Lafayette.

† Mauritius, with its capacious and easily defended ports, enabled the French at the commencement of the war to intercept the English trade with their possessions in India, and make captures to a formidable amount.

fortresses, and the means of war and annoyance. Prussia desired to introduce into the treaty a clause, according large pecuniary indemnity to itself. This, however, against which the impoverished Government of France rebelled, was at last set aside by the allies.

In the first days of June, the King opened the chambers by announcing the charter, "which of his free will and royal authority he granted to his subjects." With the exception of this ungracious exordium, the charter was even more liberal and far more explicit in its liberalism than the constitution prepared by the senate. It declared all Frenchmen equal before the law, whatever their rank or title. It declared the national property, meaning that of the nobles and clergy, sold by the State, to be inviolable.* It abolished the conscription, and promised liberty of opinion and of the press. Whilst it held forth equal liberty and protection to all forms of worship, it, however, declared the Roman Catholic religion to be that of *the State*. The peerage was to be hereditary, its members named by the King, without limitation of number. To be an elector required the payment of 300 francs direct taxes. Whilst such fair promises and declarations were made by the King, the Royalists kept no secret of their considering it all a sham. "The ministers," says Madame de Staël, "spoke in public of the charter with the greatest respect, even whilst proposing measures that destroyed it bit by bit. In private, they laughed at the very name, and treated the rights of nations as a capital joke."

It was soon shown indeed what the ruling party meant by religious liberty when the princes refused to receive the constitutional prelates, and the Government demanded of the Pope the abrogation of the *concordat*. The laxity of the times had introduced a complete non-observance of the Sunday. To have gradually restored

* For the difficulty of passing them through the commission, see Beugnot, who records at length the discussion in the committee of the chamber.

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the sanctity of the day would have been desirable. But to compel it by an order of the police was certainly unwise. The popular outcry was against nobles and priests. To display a government influenced by both was most unpolitic. Yet this the Bourbon family took care to do. A celebrated actress, Mdlle. de Raucourt, dying at the time, the parish clergy refused the rights of sepulture, on which the mob broke into the church of St. Roch, and were about to renew some of the bad scenes of the revolution, when Louis the Eighteenth sent counter-orders to the ecclesiastical authorities. In the lower chamber, a Royalist made a motion in direct opposition to that clause of the charter which declared the revolutionary purchases of emigrant property indefeasible. The more furious Royalists were for annulling the sales, the moderate for rendering them sufficiently insecure to force the new proprietors to compromise with the old.

The Bourbons thus alienated the non-military portion of the nation. As to the military, they could but render their natural aversion doubly intense. The monarch's young *garde-du-corps* and military household filled the capital with gay uniforms, whilst the veterans of the empire on half-pay crowded the streets and cafés, and insulted their rivals. The imperial legislation in favour of the army was abrogated in all essential parts, the endowments of the Legion of Honour curtailed, the schools for the sons and daughters of the military suppressed. Popular generals were disgraced and punished. Ney had withdrawn to the country. Davoust and Vandamme were persecuted. Excelmans was accused as a spy, and brought to trial, merely because he had written a friendly letter to Murat. Soult, ready to flatter any prince that was uppermost, had been made war minister, and he it was who ordered Excelmans to be tried, which did not save him from being himself suspected at court. The state of the army indeed and

its opinions were such that a military insurrection against the Bourbons was inevitable, even if Napoleon had not reappeared to head it.

Had the allies conquered that Emperor in the field, and reduced him to abdication as the consequence of defeat, the minds of the soldiers might have been more resigned. But when the latter result was known to have been obtained by treachery, such as that which Marmont employed, both to his master and to his troops, the imperial soldiers demurred against the decree. The Bourbons had been enthroned, they said, by a trick, and another appeal to arms was considered but justice. Napoleon, in his not remote island, was soon informed of the feelings of the army, and of the simultaneous discontent of every class of the population interested morally or materially in the changes wrought by the revolution. To himself and his family personally, the Bourbons behaved with rancour, not generosity. Perhaps to him, who had sacrificed the Duke d'Enghien, this was natural. But they should have been just. By the treaty concluded at Fontainebleau, Napoleon, as a return for his abdication, was to be paid 80,000*l.* a year to himself, as much more to his family, and certain sums to his chief officers. He left treasure, the fruits of his savings, to that amount. None of these stipulations were observed. Jerome's wife, a noble-minded woman, who resisted all the efforts of her family, of the house of Würtemberg, to separate her from her husband, was arrested and robbed of her jewels by a Royalist emissary. At Vienna, the French plenipotentiaries urged the necessity of breaking through the treaty of Fontainebleau, and removing Napoleon to the Azores, or some distant part of the world, a proposal which Alexander would not listen to. Napoleon, in short, was bound by no engagement towards the existing rulers of France, who observed no engagement towards him.

Romancer has never penned scenes or character to

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rival in interest those of Napoleon, and of his life. What drama could be compared to that of Fontainebleau, when the Emperor, assailed by his marshals, and afterwards betrayed by one, was compelled to give up his sword? Who has not read the account of his last review in the palace court, his embracing the eagles, his touching farewell? Yet, whilst worshipped by his soldiers, he was abhorred by several of the populations of the south, who received him with imprecations, and even sought his life. He well knew that southern race, which was his own, and such knowledge contributed not a little to his contempt of mankind. At Elba, with his thousand men, his war sloop and brig, denied his annuity, and threatened in his person, what could he do else than meditate his return, and at last risk it? That his doing so was the result of any conspiracy has been sufficiently disproved. M. Fleury de Chaboulon came to him from the Duke de Bassano, with merely an account of the state of public feeling and public affairs in Paris. This was quite sufficient. And in the night of the 25th of February, 1815, Napoleon set sail with 1,100 men to invade France, and, on the 1st of March, landed in the Gulf of Juan, a short distance westward of Antibes.

When tidings of this extraordinary event reached the potentates and plenipotentiaries still assembled in congress at Vienna, their first impulse was to laugh outright. This was soon changed into a curse of indignation and affright. And they gave vent to their passion by proclaiming that not only would they not treat with Napoleon, but, in revolutionary style, they declared him *hors la loi*, a caitiff to strike down whom was the duty of every well-thinking man. And yet the potentates at Vienna had been each playing Napoleon in his way, carving out empires for themselves, caring little for the rights or feelings of the rest of the world. Alexander said he should have all Poland; Prussia, all

Saxony; Austria, Italy and the Tyrol. England was especially bent upon amalgamating Belgium and Holland into one kingdom. This, the French allege very unjustly, was taking them to herself. Lord Castlereagh objected to Prussia absorbing Saxony, and Russia having all Poland, for no very good reason, save that Austria disliked this aggrandisement of its rivals and neighbours. But England had not a word to say against Austria's monopoly of Italy. It might have been wise of England to have favoured the extension of Prussia to the magnitude of a first-rate power. And it was, after all, better for the future prospects of Poland to hand it over as a whole to Russia, which promised it *quasi* independence, and a constitution, than to aid in the destruction of its nationality by continuing to parcel it. England, however, adhered to Austria, and, strange to say, joined it in a triple alliance with France for the preservation of Saxony and Poland. This separation of the allies was considered a great triumph on the part of Prince Talleyrand, and triumph it might have been, had any advantage accrued to France. But that was not apparent. Prince Talleyrand, at Vienna, could scarcely be considered the representative of France. He merely represented the Bourbons, and their petty passions. To overthrow Murat, because of his alliance with the Buonapartes, and to uphold the King of Saxony, because of the relationship of Louis the Eighteenth to the court of Saxony, composed all Prince Talleyrand's cares and duties. And in furtherance of this, he joined England and Austria so far as to threaten war, and augment the French army, thus relapsing into the policy of Napoleon, whose hopes and interests were thereby materially served. These squabbles of congress were at once quieted by the return of Napoleon, at whose reappearance the Powers and their representatives forgot their disputes, and, linking once more their hands and fortunes, reproduced and revived the treaty of

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Chaumont, stipulating that each should bring forward his 150,000 men, and that England should resume her subsidies to support them.

Meantime, Napoleon pursued the mountain road through the valleys of the Durance and the Drac to Grenoble. On the morning of the 7th of March, he advanced from La Mure, and perceived a battalion of infantry, with some guns, drawn up across the road between him and the village of La Frey. The little lake of La Frey was on one side of them, the mountain on the other. Napoleon's little band halted for half an hour, till information was brought of the sentiments of the troops. He then advanced, when an aide-de-camp of General Marchand, not present, ordered the soldiers to fire. They hesitated, and the *chef de bataillon* in command gave word to retreat. At this, Napoleon's band came up quickly with arms reversed, the Emperor crying out as he opened his coat, "Do you know me? Will you fire on your Emperor?" Instead of a volley, each soldier put his shako on the end of his bayonet, lifted it in the air, and cried, *Vive l'Empereur.** On that little field, and with these few words, was France won. A regiment commanded by Labédoyère soon joined the now augmented band, before whom the gates of Grenoble flew open.

On the 10th, Napoleon entered Lyons. The Count d'Artois had come thither to animate the citizens against the invader, and Marshal Macdonald made the same efforts with the soldiers. In vain; the latter was obliged to escape at full gallop. At Lyons, the Emperor issued proclamations, dissolving the chambers, and summoning the electoral body of the nation to assemble on the 1st of May on the Champ de Mars, to assist at the coronation of Maria Louisa and her son, and to sanction the new liberal institutions which the nation required.

* Mémoires d'un Touriste par Beyle.

Talleyrand, Marmont, Augereau, and two or three others were denounced as traitors, and their property sequestered. After three days' stay at Lyons, Napoleon marched along the Saone. Ney commanded a corps of some thousand men in Franche-Comté, which command he had accepted with the assurance that he would bring Napoleon captive. At Besançon, however, he soon found himself and his little army powerless, the military flocking to Napoleon as he marched past, and rendering idle any attempt to repel or to resist. Ney consulted his lieutenants, one of whom was the royalist De Bourmont. None of them counselled resistance; and all left for Ney was, like Macdonald, to abandon his army and withdraw. This did not suit the fiery marshal. Napoleon triumphant might re-enter on his old path of victory, and take signal vengeance upon the invaders. Ney could not resist such a prospect. He issued a proclamation to the troops, telling them the Bourbons and their cause were for ever lost, and that they and he had but to rally to their old Emperor. As Napoleon observed, Ney, from impulsiveness, was but a child.

In Paris, Louis the Eighteenth had made efforts to conciliate the citizens and the constitutional party. He convoked the chambers, and addressed them, reviewed the national guard, proposed to appoint more liberal ministers, yet suspected the imperialist ministers in office. Soult was thus dismissed from the war department. A military conspiracy had well-nigh burst forth in the north, to which Fouché had been privy, but it came to nothing. The soldiers looked to Napoleon alone, and had faith in none of his lieutenants. They were soon gratified; Louis the Eighteenth left the Tuileries for Lille on the evening of the 19th, and Napoleon was borne into them, on the 20th, by a crowd of officers. Davoust became instantly the war minister of Napoleon; Carnot, home minister; Caulaincourt took the foreign department; Cambacères and Fouché, justice and the

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police. The garrison of Lille would not abide the presence of Louis the Eighteenth. He therefore withdrew to Ghent, the Duke of Orleans and Marshal Macdonald quitting him on the frontier; not so Marmont and Berthier. There was some resistance in the south, the Duchess of Angoulême at Bordeaux, her husband on the Rhone, both displaying courage which was equally vain. The Duke was made prisoner.

It is not surprising that the allied sovereigns or their ministers should have laid great stress on the necessity of conciliating the French public by means of a constitution. Neither is it to be wondered at that Louis the Eighteenth acquiesced in and adopted their opinion. But that Napoleon, on his return, should have supposed that the convening of chambers and promulgation of a constitution could bring to him any efficient support, is surprising.* The truth is, that the class of men for whom the word constitution had a meaning, or the thing itself any interest, was small in the extreme; they made a great noise in the saloons of the capital, and in the press, when it chanced to be free. But they had neither influence nor echo amongst the masses, nor yet with the middle and commercial classes. These desired peace, the return of credit, the resumption of industry, and they feared Napoleon as the enemy and the obstacle to all. But these men and opinions, however dominant in the capital, were in a small minority throughout the country. Napoleon traversed every provincial town and rural district in triumph. In Paris alone he was received with silence and misgiving.

His chance of final success was not brilliant, was not indeed possible, unless the population widely rallied to him. But the constitution was no bait for either the military or for that large class imbued with the military

* Napoleon's idea at Fontainebleau was, that he had fallen not so much from the power of the allies as that he had "put the people against him."—Mém. de Lafayette.

spirit. The best way to have rallied them was to have been true to his policy and his own spirit, to have restored the conscription, set aside the moderates, the constitutionalists, and appealed to the revolutionists to uphold the revolution. He should at the same time have got rid of, or kept aloof from, the rotten and superannuated either of his own or the revolutionary party. In lieu of the old marshals, he could have found far more energetic and determined lieutenants among the colonels and generals of divisions. He should, in fact, have appealed to the military spirit of the nation and neglected all others. For all others were inimical to him.

Some writers, even amongst his intimates, complain that he returned from Elba with activity benumbed and intelligence blunted. They see proofs of this in the tardiness of his military operations. But this was the fault of the generals he chose. If his sagacity failed him, and his usual foresight was less sharp, it was far more in his civil than in his military administration. In the latter, indeed, he suffered his arms to be bound. He refused to make use of the conscription. In his instructions to his journalists, he rather bade them flatter the hopes of peace in the citizen party than appeal to the populace to rise against the pretensions of the invader.

The first abdication of Napoleon having set free the pens of French writers, two of the most eminent of them, Chateaubriand and Benjamin Constant, had covered him with invective.* The latter, the friend of De Staël and Lafayette, thought it necessary to conceal himself from the Emperor's vengeance. Informed of his presence in Paris, Napoleon merely asked to see him, and, when he did so, at once besought him to forget the past, and sit down to draw up the plan of an imperial constitution. Unfortunately for Constant and for Napoleon, there was nothing original or striking to be invented in

* Bonaparte and the Bourbons.

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the way of a constitution. It was beaten ground, long since occupied by the English. And in striving to avoid what was common-place, and fully known, it was only possible to fall into the absurd. Sieyès' repeated efforts had been a melancholy example. Constant, therefore, like the author of the charter, could but copy the English constitution, two chambers and an hereditary peerage; Constant's friend, Madame de Staël, mocking the very idea as impracticable in France and unpopular. Napoleon, indeed, at first objected, but saw no other alternative, his experience of the revolution tending to make him dread a single assembly. The press was declared free, a great concession. But Napoleon would not give up the right of confiscation. To pretend that what he promulgated was but a continuance of the old system, not an abrogation, it was announced as an *Additional Act* to the constitution of the empire.

The principal care of Napoleon, however, was to raise and organise an army to face the enemy. The most surprising circumstance of his career is the few soldiers he was able to collect, a proof that his dabbling in constitutions was not the way to do it. The Bourbons had either under arms or ready to assume them 230,000 men, thanks to Talleyrand's warlike policy at Vienna. But there could not be less than 400,000 men in the country, either dismissed or returned prisoners, or who had served their time. Had a truly war spirit then animated the French population, Napoleon would have found himself at the head of 600,000 men. The conscription, abolished by the Bourbon charter, were it revived, would have brought the youth of the country to his standard. But the French recruit had been too much used to compulsion to join the ranks as a volunteer. "A nation," says De Staël, "does not fight merely to ward off evil, when no ultimate good appears as the aim and reward of victory." If such was the insufficient reply of the home population to Napoleon's demand for forces, there was nothing to

be expected from abroad. Of all the sovereigns that Napoleon had elevated, Bernadotte and Murat alone remained. Both had been opposed to him in the previous campaign. The Swede, of course, would be still so. But Murat had felt himself ill-treated by the allies. The English would not add their sanction to his recognition by Austria, nor could Austria itself keep its promise. Murat, therefore, on learning Napoleon's resuscitation and return, marched to support him, and win for himself the crown of Italy. He advanced to the Po, hesitated to cross it, and at the first reverse retreated. Followed by the Austrians, he was defeated at Tolentino, and instead of bringing an army to the support of Napoleon, came merely himself as a discomfited fugitive.

In the allies there was no hope. The Emperor of Austria found no difficulty in persuading his daughter to prefer the Duchy of Parma for herself to the chance of resuming the imperial throne of France. She refused to return to Napoleon, who stole an hour from his many cares and occupations to visit with Hortense his old abode of Malmaison. Josephine had expired there the previous year, and Napoleon found but the melancholy remembrance of past happiness. "Josephine at least would not have abandoned me," was his sad reflection.

The French population, with the exception of the military class, treated him much as Maria Louisa had done. Instead of the million of votes which had hailed his election to the empire, scarcely as many thousands gave their voices for the Additional Act, which meant the continuance of the empire. The same lukewarmness and abstention was observable in the election of the chamber representatives. Had Napoleon ordained a new and direct election from Lyons, when he dissolved the old chambers, he might have profited by his ascendency and the enthusiasm of the moment. But he delayed till his constitution had been concocted, and then it preserved the old electoral colleges or electoral

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body, consisting exclusively of notables, the class least open to enthusiasm and most dominated by fears and by interest. He tried to modify the influence of the landed proprietor, so imbued with royalism, by ordering that special members should be chosen to represent commerce and manufactures. He also made large use of the permission to include members of the Legion of Honour in the colleges. Notwithstanding, the new chamber as well as the electoral body were precisely of that class least inclined to show zeal or make sacrifices for any cause or any emperor. The attendance in the Champ de Mars, which took place on the 1st of June, thus brought together anything but a popular assembly. Napoleon, indeed, did not intend it for such. He proceeded to open and preside over it in the white satin garments of imperial state. He had better have donned the old cocked hat and grey surtout. So accoutred, he would have commanded with far more effect the applause of the people and the soldiers. It was followed by a distribution of eagles. The chambers met on the 3rd. Instead of electing Lucien Buonaparte president, as the Emperor desired, they seemed to wish to protest against the conduct of that person on the 18th Brumaire, and in his place chose Lanjuinais president, who was best known as a leader of opposition in the senate. They also disputed at some length the form of the oath of fidelity to the Emperor. That Napoleon had nothing to hope from such chambers was manifest. The Emperor, however, opened them in a speech of cordiality and confidence. Scarcely awaiting their answer, he appointed a provisional government in his absence, being his ministers, Fouché, Carnot, Cambacères, and Caulaincourt, with some councillors of state added. Caulaincourt preferred joining the army. Napoleon dissuaded him, saying, "If you go, I shall not have left one sure friend behind me." His parting words to Fouché were, "Remember, if I fall,

there is an end of either patriots or republicans. I am your last dictator." With these prophetic words, Napoleon left for the army on the 12th of June.

Of the 150,000 men that the Emperor counted on mustering to fall upon the English and Prussians, the remainder of his forces being necessarily scattered along his eastern and southern frontiers, under different generals, to keep head against the enemy, he was obliged to detach 20,000 to suppress a rising in La Vendée. Fouché partially quieted the Royalists of that region by representing that the struggle would soon be decided on the field of Flanders, and that the blood spilt on the Loire would then be in vain. All the chiefs listened to him save the Marquis de la Rochejacquelein, who with more courage than skill rushed to an encounter with the opposing force, and fell in the action.

The English student eager for details of the campaign of Waterloo will find it described at length in his own country's memoirs and historians. Here he will find but a succinct account, much as that given of the Peninsular war, both of them told fully in English annals. Napoleon, whose army lay scattered along the northern frontier, concentrated his forces secretly at Maubeuge. Wellington had disposed his 90,000 men, of whom one half were English, between Brussels and the frontier, some at Tournay, some at Nivelles. Blücher's 110,000 men were similarly dispersed between Cambray and Namur. To get between them, and beat one after the other, was Napoleon's design, a happy one if he could inflict a total defeat on either of his enemies, but dangerous if he only succeeded in repelling one; for, as the Prussian and English forces were each almost equal to him, any failure or incompleteness of success on his part would expose his army to be crushed between those of his enemies. The latter is precisely what happened.

On the 15th of June, the French army crossed the frontier, and afterwards the Sambre, driving the enemy

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from Charleroi, and came on the 16th in front of the greater part of the Prussian army, some 100,000 strong, drawn up on the rising ground of Ligny. The French were inferior in number, 40,000 of them having marched with Ney in the direct road to Brussels to prevent the English coming to the aid of Blücher. Napoleon commanded Ney to take possession of the cross-roads at Quatre-Bras. The marshal's orders were not only to do this, but to despatch a large part of his force to fall on the rear of the Prussians, whilst Napoleon should be engaged with them.

French writers, notably M. Thiers, characterise this order as an emanation of genius. Now the device of attacking an enemy in front, and sending a division round to attack him in flank and rear, is one of the most obvious of manœuvres, requiring, we should say, no particle of genius. If there were genius, it was on both sides, for Blücher besought the Duke of Wellington to do precisely the same thing by the French. Ney and Wellington were both too much pressed to do either. Ney did detach D'Erlon's corps to execute the desired manœuvre, but was obliged to recall it in his distress. The British repelled all the attempts of Ney to establish himself at Quatre-Bras, but the Prussians were driven from the field of Ligny. A seasonable and well-directed charge of the French guards broke through Blücher's centre, and drove him in some disorder, but not in rout, from the field.

Napoleon then joined Ney in pursuit of the English, who, learning the defeat of Blücher, retired on the 17th from Quatre-Bras to take position before Waterloo, some four or five leagues distant from Wavre, to which spot Blücher had withdrawn. Napoleon had despatched Grouchy with 34,000 men to pursue, harass, and prevent him from coming to the succour of the English. Grouchy's corps, however, not one-half the Prussian, was very insufficient for this purpose, which,

no doubt, chiefly caused the delays and hesitations of the general.

On the morning of the 18th, Napoleon marshalled his 75,000 men, all veteran French soldiers, in front of the Duke of Wellington's army, numbering some 70,000, one-half of whom alone were English, and of these a great portion were under fire for the first time. The veterans of the Peninsula were in America. There were some 20,000 Belgians, belonging to a country so lately constituted that it is no reproach to its soldiers that they were neither zealous nor staunch. Napoleon did not give the signal for attack till half-past eleven, waiting, according to some, for the ground to dry after a heavy night's rain—according to others, giving time for Grouchy to join him. Pressing orders had been despatched to the marshal.

The first efforts of the French were directed to drive the English from the château of Hougoumont and the farm of La-Haye-Sainte. The obstinate resistance of the English preventing their enemies from clearing away these obstacles, Napoleon resolved notwithstanding to direct the mass of his infantry upon the English left. It was to mount the height, and establish its position there in face of the enemy. The French ascended the hill in three columns, and, gaining its crest, were deploying under a heavy fire, when the Scots Greys and other regiments of English heavy cavalry charged them, broke through and so thoroughly disorganised them that in little more than an hour's time the French fell back into the vale below. Such was the fortune of the first French attack.

Ere a second could be organised, the Prussian columns were seen advancing in the distance, and the Emperor was obliged to detach a large body of infantry, especially the guards under Lobau, to prevent the threatened irruption. He ordered Ney, however, to carry the farm of La-Haye-Sainte, and await there with his cavalry, until Lobau had first repelled the Prussians, when the foot guards should be sent to his succour, and foot and

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horse might then make the second grand attack upon the English position. Ney carried the farm, owing to its defenders wanting ammunition, and was then too impatient to wait. He rode up the height with his troops, and seeing the line of guns which the English, as usual, abandon when they retire within their squares, he resolved to capture them, and ordered up all his horse to charge the English. They fell into squares. The English cavalry, cut up in repelling the first attack, and what remained of it having been brought to the wings by Lord Uxbridge, was no longer in number sufficient to repel their assailants, whilst the Belgian cavalry declined the perilous service. The cuirassiers accordingly rode round and round the English squares, and for a long time were masters of the height, except that portion of it occupied by the squares, in which, wrote Foy, the British infantry seemed rooted to the ground. The young guard was engaged in disputing the village of Planchenois with the Prussians. They succeeded for a time in repelling Bülow's division, and Napoleon seized the opportunity to send first four and then six additional battalions to support Ney and his cavalry in their efforts to conquer the high plain of Mont-St.-Jean. This was the third attack, which the Duke of Wellington no longer met with his soldiers in squares, but in line, drawn up, not in the rear of the eminence, but on its crest, with artillery in the intervals, and the remainder of the cavalry brought back and ready to charge. The evening was closing in fast. The French troops, therefore, as they attained the crest, were not, as previously, allowed to deploy, but were met by the whole British force. And a momentary struggle between the combatants took place on the summit of the hill. Napoleon had his eye fixed on his advancing columns, and was shocked to perceive that, instead of moving forward, it became mingled with the enemy in a confused contest. "*Ils sont mêlés ensemble,*" he exclaimed in despair. In

a short time, the French were for the third time driven back from the high plain of Mont-St.-Jean, whilst simultaneously a fresh Prussian corps advanced, and pushed its formidable troops upon the high road. The French could no longer withdraw by it, and were obliged to fling themselves, dispersed and defeated, through the vast cornfields. The old guard, however, still intact, protected the Emperor's retreat. Wellington and Blücher met very near the spot where Napoleon had observed the battle.

The day after, the Emperor found himself at Laon, the country around covered with the scattered relics of his army. He knew not what had befallen Grouchy. So leaving to Soult the command and the care of rallying the fugitives, he hastened to Paris. Shunning the Tuileries, he entered the Élysée palace in the evening of the 20th, flung himself into a bath, and summoned a council for the next morning. The mournful faces met, and did not brighten when Napoleon announced his defeat, and his thirst to repair it. For this he demanded a temporary dictatorship. The only voices which seconded him and signed an appeal to the people, and the revolutionists rather than to the moderates or the chamber, were those of Carnot and of Lucien. The rest, even Caulaincourt, were for consulting the chamber, although the chamber, observed Regnault, would insist on a second abdication. The decided Napoleonists replied by a threat to dissolve the chamber. To succeed, it ought to have been done ere talked of. For the members met at Fouché's, excited each other, and were excited by the ministers to resistance. Amongst those who attended and heard the rumour of dissolution was General Lafayette. Benjamin Constant had consulted him in drawing up the Additional Act, and the general had had conversations with Joseph Buonaparte. Without being adverse to the dynasty, he mistrusted Napoleon's promise of liberalism,

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and now came forward with alacrity to depose him. On his motion, the chamber declared itself permanent, and denounced any attempt to dissolve it as treason. A commission was named to persuade Napoleon to abdicate. All the Emperor's friends, save Lucien, gave him the same advice. With the Emperor's abdication in their hand, the representatives of the chamber flattered themselves that they might make terms with the allies. And in order to reconcile Napoleon to this act, the abdication was to be in favour of his son. He hesitated for some time. Benjamin Constant he bade hearken to the clamours of the people without, who demanded his again taking the command and the field, whilst those whom he had loaded with honours merely demanded his abdication. Lucien again pressed an 18th Brumaire against the assembly. Napoleon refused. "I have reigned as a conqueror," he observed, "and desire not to do so as a tyrant." On the 22nd, the chamber insisted, and Lafayette was prepared with a motion for the *déchéance*, or forfeiture, of the crown, when Napoleon's second abdication was announced. "My political life is finished," exclaimed and wrote he; "I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon the Second, Emperor of the French." *

When this important document was communicated to the chamber, it resolved on nominating a commission of five to form a provisional government. Fouché, Carnot, Caulaincourt, and two other obscure names were chosen, all Royalists, as well as constitutionals, including Lafayette, being set aside. Fouché was the president, who flattered the chamber with the succession of Napoleon the Second, the constitutionalists with the possibility of making the Duke of Orleans king, whilst he at the same time released M. de Vitrolles from

* Constant, Mémoires sur les Cent Jours. Lucien Bonaparte, La Vérité sur les Cent Jours. Fleury de Chaboulon, Mémoires. Mémoires de Lavalette. Mém. de Lafayette. Mém. de Miot, de Beugnot, &c.

prison, and through him opened a communication with the Bourbons. Lafayette and some others were allowed to go as delegates to negotiate with the allied powers. They at first could see no higher person than Lord Stuart, who told them to their indignation they must deliver up Napoleon.

Meantime the Duke of Wellington took upon himself to expedite the return and restoration of the Bourbons. He advised Louis the Eighteenth to repair at once from Ghent to Cambray. But whilst following the Duke's advice, the infirm monarch fell into a trap laid for him by his brother and the ultra-Royalists, and dismissed Talleyrand,* whom the Duke of Wellington favoured, as well as M. de Blacas, whom he desired to see removed.† The Duke was fortunately in time to correct the error, to bring back the King to his senses, and Talleyrand to the King. For Alexander, probably in understanding with Fouché, had made overtures at Vienna for substituting the Duke of Orleans for the elder branch of the family.‡ M. Guizot and the constitutionalists arrived at Cambray in time to suppress an ultra-Royalist manifesto, and substitute a promise, not only to observe but to enlarge the charter. This was not done without a fierce altercation between Prince Talleyrand and Monsieur, supported by the Duke de Berry.§ Fouché, in the meantime, undertook to remove the obstacles in Paris to the return of Louis the Eighteenth. He first summoned a military council, and obtained from the generals an opinion that resistance would be vain. Marshal Davoust himself admitted the necessity of recognising the King. The majority of the chamber, however, still held for Napoleon the Second, and even the Constitutional Royalists were for not recog-

* M. Beugnot recounts the dismissal of Talleyrand, whom the King told to go take the waters of Carlsbad.

† Guizot's Memoirs.

‡ Chateaubriand, Mémoires d'outre Tombe.

§ The scene is fully given in M. Duvergier d'Hauranne's "Histoire du Gouvernement parlementaire," t. iii. p. 103.

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nising the King, till a more liberal constitution was stipulated. The presence of Napoleon at Malmaison was another obstacle that rendered an armistice almost impossible. The Provisional Government therefore warned Napoleon, on the morning of the 29th, that he must leave for the coast and embark. He was promised passports for England or America. Learning, however, the advance of the Prussians and English separately on either side of the Seine, the Emperor re-entertained the project of attacking them, and sent General Becker to the Provisional Government for authority to do so. Davoust in reply threatened to arrest the Emperor, who immediately resigned all hopes and departed for Rochefort.

Meanwhile, a new batch of commissioners gained access to the Duke of Wellington at Estrées on the 27th, and professed a readiness to acknowledge Louis the Eighteenth on conditions. The Duke handed them the declaration of Cambray, and promised to call the King's attention to their objections. He also promised to do his utmost to induce General Blücher to consent to an armistice. The latter, instead of listening to his colleague, advanced to St. Cloud, in a position at once so provoking, yet so isolated, that his rashness tempted the French generals to attack him. Carnot was chiefly instrumental in dissuading them. But if the army was not to fight, it was necessary to treat, and an offer was sent to Blücher for the purpose on the 2nd. He, in concert with the Duke of Wellington, demanded that the French army should withdraw from Paris, behind the Loire, and the National Guard be entrusted with the tranquillity of the capital, whilst after the lapse of a certain number of hours the allies should enter. Such were the first terms of the capitulation concluded on the 3rd of August. An effort was made to place the works of art in the capital under the protection of the treaty. But Blücher would not consent. The allied generals

promised to "respect the persons and property of individuals in the capital," and not molest anyone for his conduct or opinions during the late usurpation. This guarantee, they afterwards alleged, concerned but themselves, and not either Louis the Eighteenth or his brother allies. The Chamber and the Provisional Government, with Fouché and Lafayette as their advisers, seemed to have taken it for their task to deceive others and themselves. They were untrue to the nation as well as to Napoleon, attained no one desirable object, and betrayed the cause and the persons that they undertook to defend.*

Fouché is represented as the great Mephistopheles of the epoch, who betrayed everyone. But in truth everyone betrayed their own cause and themselves. The Imperialists, such as Caulaincourt, Ney, Davoust, dethroned the Emperor first, and soon abandoned even the name of his son. Lafayette and the Constitutionalists, so fierce towards Napoleon, gave up the country as well as its liberties to the invader. Honest Carnot was helpless, his conduct making one fear that the contemptuous epithets bestowed upon him by Guizot and by Fouché are not so wrong. Fouché gave himself a great deal of trouble to deceive those who wished to be deceived, and was merely adroit enough to get credit for doing that which must have occurred and been accomplished without his aid.

The Duke of Wellington and the Count D'Artois entertained a high opinion of Fouché, and considered him the leader of a revolutionary party which he could persuade and dispose of. They are scarcely to be excused for making the same mistake as Napoleon. The Duke thought that Talleyrand and Fouché together could best manage France. And no doubt they could have proved very able ministers of a despotic prince.

* The most perfect appreciation of the conduct of the Chamber and of placemen in general, is to be found in M. Guizot's Mémoires, chap. iii.

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But the same personages compelled Louis the Eighteenth to come forward as a constitutional one, to serve him in which capacity Talleyrand and Fouché were utterly incapable. The Duke put them both into the same carriage at Neuilly, and sent them to Louis the Eighteenth at St. Denis, who, finding Fouché pressed upon him, not only by the English duke and Talleyrand, but by his brother and the Faubourg St. Germain,* waived his prejudices and his natural distrust for the moment, and appointed them both his ministers of foreign affairs and police.

M. de Talleyrand completed his ministry at St. Denis. Baron Louis resumed the finance. Marshal Gouvion de St. Cyr became minister of war. The most remarkable appointments were those of the Duke de Richelieu to replace M. de Blacas in the household, and Count Pozzo di Borgo to the home office. These personages were in the service of the Emperor Alexander, who refused them permission to accept office under Talleyrand. The Czar was incensed with that diplomatist for his conduct at Vienna, and the triple alliance which he had planned. The prefecture of police having been offered in vain to several persons, Baron Louis recommended for the post a young man who had been secretary to the mother of Napoleon, and subsequently appointed judge. As such he had refused the oath of allegiance to Napoleon on his return. This was M. Decazes. The first act which devolved upon him was to get rid of the Chamber of Deputies. This he did by locking the door and placing a guard behind the *grille*. Lafayette was one of the first who came to demand entrance. "*No one admitted!*" cried the sentry through the grating.

On the following day, the 8th of July, whilst Napoleon was embarking on board a French frigate in the Charente, Louis the Eighteenth re-entered his capital. He did so in

* The Royalists of the Faubourg St. Germain sent the Bailly de Crussol as their representative to recommend Fouché, who had protected them, to Louis the Eighteenth.—*Beugnot.*

a close carriage, with the blinds down. Yet it was not from the population that he was in any danger of insult, but from his allies the Prussians, who were at the time mining the bridge of Jena, for the purpose of blowing it up next day. Louis threatened to get himself transported to the bridge and placed upon it in his arm-chair.* The Duke of Wellington's interference had more effect. After one explosion, Blücher was persuaded to await the arrival of Alexander, who came on the 10th, and saved the bridge, as well as the column of the Place Vendôme, whence only the statue was lowered. Louis the Eighteenth was not so fortunate in preserving the integrity of the Louvre. The omission to restore the captured works of art had been source of comment and regret amongst the allies in 1814. The Prussians proceeded at once to take the few works of art belonging to their provinces. The government of the Low Countries redemanded its Rubens and Rembrandts. The Duke of Wellington, as well as Lord Castlereagh, were opposed to the spoliation of the Louvre, but Lord Liverpool and the Prince Regent strongly insisted on the work of retaliation. The Duke could not resist, and supported the Dutch in their demands. The Italian requisition was more serious. The French still blame Canova for having presided over the commission charged with selecting the *chefs-d'œuvre* that had appertained to Italy. Can an Italian be censured for restoring his country's works of art to their own capital?

Nothing more strongly shows the softening and civilising effects of large social intercourse than the conduct of different men at this crisis. Wellington and Castlereagh were probably of no very opposite character from Lord Liverpool and the Prince Regent. Yet the former, who had been abroad in foreign capitals and congresses, had grown mild and generous,

* If Louis did not say this, Beugnot said it for him.

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whilst those who had never ceased to be surrounded by their insular prejudices were barbarous in their resentments. Blücher breathed nothing but vengeance. And even Alexander, so philosophic in 1814, would no longer listen to the same men and the same observations which had pleased him then.* Yet the French showed much submission. Although the provinces were occupied and ravaged by a million and a half of invaders, the civil authorities bullied and some of them sent off to Russia or to Prussia for not complying with rude orders, still every head bowed. The army behind the Loire, after having in vain tried to make some terms, submitted and assumed the white cockade. This in nowise abated the desire of vengeance, which animated the allies even more than the French Royalists. They insisted on examples. It may be imagined what was urged by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, when the British press, with the exception of its Whig organ, clamoured for French victims, and even published lists of Frenchmen who deserved to be hanged on the Place de Grève.

Fouché, seeking to satisfy this thirst, chiefly of the foreigner, for proscription, drew up a list of some twenty persons to be arrested and tried, and treble that number to be exiled. The minister no doubt hoped that those threatened would escape, and that the exile of the others would be but temporary. Unfortunately, Labedoyère came to Paris, and exposed himself to capture, as Marshal Ney did later, when it was found impossible to stop the vengeance of the reactionists in any other way than by their death. Davoust, after having procured the submission of the Loire and its adoption of the white cockade, was astounded to see several of his generals on the fatal list, nay, to perceive the name of one who had not even served during the Hundred Days.

* Lafayette's Memoirs.

He immediately sent in his resignation, and was replaced by Macdonald. St. Cyr had a difficult position at the war office. He insisted on Louis the Eighteenth not repeating the mistake of appointing household troops, and a privileged guard, to the exclusion of the old soldiers. Instead of listening to him, the court organised the guard, and M. de Vitrolles sent St. Cyr a list of the colonels. The latter declared that he was no longer war minister, since Vitrolles exercised the office. It was with difficulty that Talleyrand persuaded St. Cyr to retain his ministry. His and Macdonald's countenance and co-operation were indeed indispensable to accomplish another exigency of the allied sovereigns, the dissolution of the army behind the Loire.

Ministers consoled themselves for the compulsory performance of these unpopular acts by the hope that, as passions settled down, moderation might prevail, and that a new chamber freely representing the national mind would support a king and his government by checking reaction and entering upon a policy of conciliation. Never was hope more vain. The country was a volcano in whose depths boiled all the passions both of the revolution and of the class which had been its victims. Those of the revolution were much the strongest, but their force had been for the moment exhausted, whilst a million and a half of foreign soldiers pressed upon the soil. Royalist passions were thus alone allowed an issue, and they showed themselves as ruthless and sanguinary, and far more bigoted, than even those which had outraged humanity under the convention.

No part of France had more eagerly welcomed and more powerfully impelled the revolution than the south. It imbrued its hands in the blood of priests and nobles. The population afterwards found reason to regret its handywork. The south owed its prosperity and even its food supply to Mediterranean trade. This was for

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many years cut off. Provence and Languedoc pined in consequence. The clergy recovered their influence, and preached unfortunately neither humanity nor tolerance. Nowhere more than in the south prevailed that jealousy which the lower and the needy class entertain of what they call the *bourgeois*, which had become prosperous by industry. The same middle class was generally hated by the relics of the old gentry. The Duke d'Angoulême in 1814 had raised bands in the south to resist Napoleon. They called themselves Royalist volunteers. Beaten by the Imperial generals, they still held together; and when the news came of Napoleon's defeat, they collected again for ascendency and revenge. Owing to these causes, the city of Marseilles, when tidings of Waterloo reached it, was in complete insurrection. General Verdier, who was there with a few troops, withdrew to Toulouse, and Marseilles became a scene of plunder and massacre. The citizens stigmatised as Bonapartists were robbed and slain. Other towns would not be left behind in the work of vengeance and rapine. In the fertile district at the foot of the Cevennes, the Protestants formed the *bourgeoisie*—they were the well-to-do, the industrious population. The ragamuffins resolved to plunder these, and hoisted the flag of religious orthodoxy to prove their right to murder. The article of the charter making Catholicism the state religion, and the evident tendency to restore the Church its power and ascendency, had alarmed the Protestants of the south, and they had accordingly welcomed the return of Napoleon. His fall, therefore, was the signal for their enemies to take vengeance. And a general massacre of the Protestants took place, especially at Nismes. Ruffians of the name of Trestaillons and Truphemie, led bands which acted up to the fell spirit of Bartholomew's eve, and of the September massacres, and deluged the country with blood.

The most illustrious victim was Marshal Brune,

who had so gallantly defended Holland. He had no doubt been a Terrorist in his day. Arnaud, in his memoirs, describes him as one of the most active members of the Cordelier club. He had quitted the command at Toulouse, and was journeying north, by Avignon, when he was stopped at the post-house of that town, signalised as a Bonapartist, or worse, and compelled to take refuge in the principal inn, which is near the Rhone. Here Brune was soon besieged by the ferocious mob of Avignon, there being no military force to keep them in order. The authorities and a few national guards did all in their power to save the marshal. But the mob scaled the wall, got into the inn by the roof, reached the room in which Brune was, and shot him. There was an attempt to conduct the body to burial, but the mob tore it from the coffin and precipitated it into the Rhone. General Ramel underwent a similar fate at Toulouse. And the execution of the brothers Faucher at Bordeaux, though preceded by a mock trial, was scarcely less an act of murder.

Whilst the government of Talleyrand and Fouché was thus so little able to prevent the crimes of the ultra-Royalists in the provinces, it was less so to resist their influence or violence in the elections. On the nature of these, in fact, depended the future course of politics. The Chamber of Peers had been remodelled, by no means in a liberal sense. All those who had consented to sit in the Senate of the Hundred Days were removed aside, with the exception of Lanjuinais, Boissy d'Anglas, and Molé. Some eighty new peers were added. The number of deputies was also increased to 402. Napoleon had set the example of not recurring to real and popular elections, having left the old electoral colleges still in possession of their exclusive rights. The Restoration now did the same. The district colleges were merely to elect candidates

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out of which the departmental colleges were to be chosen.*

Talleyrand, in fact, made the same mistake that Napoleon had done, in forming a chamber, consisting of, and chosen by, the wealthier classes. The royal dukes were appointed presidents each of an important college. Prefects of ultra-Royalist stamp were allowed to influence others. There was no idea in the head of either functionary or notable of supporting a government. It was the Royalist party that every one looked to join, to flatter, and to please. There was nothing to be gained or attained by choosing Bonapartists. And as to Liberals and Constitutionalists, independent of the two dynastic parties, it could scarcely be said to exist.

Whilst the country or its upper classes were thus blindly conferring representative power upon men who were fanatical from ultra-royalism, tragical events came to give the interest of actual reality to the fiercest passions of vengeance. Colonel Labedoyère, the first officer who had brought his regiment over to Napoleon in Dauphiny, instead of making his escape on seeing his name in the list of those marked out for trial, ventured to Paris, to visit his wife. He was recognised and arrested early in August, and immediately brought before a court-martial. His family were of old noblesse, which rendered his crime more unpardonable to the ruling party. His defection had been manifest; he did not deny it; and the court-martial could not avoid finding him guilty. But the King might pardon. Every effort was made to induce him to do so. The wife and mother of the condemned fell at the monarch's feet, and at those of the Duchess d'Angoulême. The monarch was inexorable; the daughter of Marie

* There were 366 colleges of districts; but 87 of departments. Four-fifths of the electors were in a manner cancelled by the form adopted. The presentation of a list is not an election. The list for Paris consisted of 60, of which the departmental electors chose but five. —See Lafayette's Memoirs, t. v. p. 430.

Antoinette plucked her robe from the hands of the suppliants. Labedoyère was executed on the plain of Grenelle. At the same time, Count Lavalette, who was Minister of the Post Office during the Hundred Days, was seized. Ney also. He had sought a retreat at the foot of the Cantal Mountains. A magnificent sabre, the gift of Napoleon, betrayed him, and he was brought to Paris to be tried.

One of the first acts of Prince Talleyrand, when he met the King at Mons, after Waterloo, had been to recommend an amnesty. The tide of reaction had soon borne him and his sovereign far from any such act of generosity and wisdom. He and Fouché were powerless against reaction at home, and equally feeble against the vindictiveness of Alexander. That monarch, in 1814, pretended that Louis the Eighteenth could only succeed by governing in a liberal spirit. But the passions awakened in Congress, and the success with which Talleyrand had then thwarted Russian designs, had more weight than his liberal tendencies in Alexander's mind. That prince now wavered between his old political philanthropy and a kind of mystic theory, which proposed to better the world, not by emancipating, but enslaving it. Instead of courting the converse of enlightened men as he had done the year before, Alexander now joined prayer meetings in dark rooms with Madame de Krudener. And as her coterie was linked with ultra-royalism and ultra-sacerdotalism, Alexander underwent their influence for a time without being aware of it. The Czar had already conceived the project of the Holy Alliance, which was to throw Europe back into all the despotism and cagotism of the past. The civilised world was at the beck and the mercy of a prince who knew not his own mind, and could not keep it to one course for even six months.

Unfortunately, the tide of events, nay, of even constitutional events in France, went with him. It is

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the misfortune of the French, writes M. Guizot, that "in great crises, the vanquished become merely the dead." One thought dominated the electors, to set aside the Bonapartists, and drown the cause like the name in oblivion. A chamber of red-hot Royalists was the consequence, representing the monarchic sentiment perhaps, but not the formal or general conviction of the nation. The electors on this occasion were the better classes, and yet they showed as much mobility as ever did the mob, and passions far more base. For the clamour was not merely for seeing royalism victorious, but reactionary and vindictive.

If Fouché and Talleyrand were unable to resist the extravagant demands of the reactionists about court, and in the society of the capital, they could not hope to survive the meeting of the Chamber, of which the names of the members already announced the most rabid royalism. Fouché had in fact foreseen the coming storm, and alarmed at Royalist predominance had striven to conciliate by his large list of proscriptions. This not softening the rage against him, Fouché turned round and sought by reports and counsels to alarm the King of the danger of reaction, which he said truly enough would, instead of crushing Bonapartism, revive and strengthen it. He was not listened to, but received first a hint, and then an order to accept a foreign embassy and retire. He accepted that of Dresden, which he only reached to be thrust into unpensioned exile.

If not so directly attacked as Fouché by the ultra-Royalists, Prince Talleyrand had an antagonist more formidable in Alexander. The Prussian ministers had drawn up a formal demand of Alsace, part of Lorraine, and the first line of French fortresses on the north.* The German powers who were to acquire the

* Stein's Leben; Leben von Hardenburg.

former strenuously seconded the demand. The Archduke Charles was to found a new kingdom of Lorraine. Austria acquiesced of course. The English plenipotentiaries alone protested loudly, insisted that the French would never bear such spoliation, and that a renewal of the war would ensue. All depended upon Alexander, who conveyed to Louis the Eighteenth the hint, that Russia would support him on one condition, the removal of Talleyrand. Louis could not but consent. And when the prime minister waited on him with the demand to support his cabinet against the Count d'Artois, the monarch hesitated. "In that case I must resign," said the Prince. "If so," rejoined the King, coolly, "I must charge some one else to form a Cabinet."* Talleyrand was thunderstruck at a conclusive consequence so natural, yet so new to him. And the King forthwith entrusted the formation of a ministry to the late Russian governor of Odessa, the Duke de Richelieu. Fouché's successor in the police was M. Decazes, who had at first the gift of pleasing everyone. The names of the other ministers are not worth recording, the court and King being too jealous of the little talent that the royalists could boast. M. de Chateaubriand was for this thrust aside. Though somewhat annoyed at the removal of Prince Talleyrand, the English plenipotentiaries gave their full support to the Duke de Richelieu, as of course did Alexander, who came completely over to their advice, in setting aside the exorbitant demands of the German Powers, and granting to the restored monarch the conditions of the peace of 1814, slightly modified. On the northern frontier the French were deprived of Landau, Sarre Louis, Phillippeville; and Marienburg and Charleroi were also taken from them. The war contribution was fixed at 700,000,000 of livres, and the military occupation to be four years, not so

* Memoirs of Vitrolles, Duvergier d'Hauranne, &c.

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severe as at first proposed. The Duke de Richelieu could scarcely be induced to sign what he considered so disgraceful a treaty, but consoled himself with the reflection, that "no other minister could have obtained so much." When he poured forth his complaints to his old master Alexander, the latter showed him a map with the Prussian and Austrian demands upon it, reducing France to the line of the Vosges, and mulcting it of Lille and Nancy. The Richelieu family keep the map.*

If Russia had associated itself with England in the aim of being wisely generous and conciliatory to France, England had waived its objections to the Czar's appropriation of Poland. The powers renewed the old anti-Gallican treaty of Chaumont, in view of any future outburst of France. At the same time, the three powers which had divided Poland felt the necessity of a more intimate pact between them for the preservation of their gains. All three saw that they grasped each of them a new and vast empire, without consulting the wishes of populations, or the natural affection and repugnance of race. All in consequence acknowledged their insecurity, and saw the facilities which each might have in fanning popular movements amongst their neighbours. To obviate and preclude this, Alexander imagined the Holy Alliance, which preached that the despots were to show themselves fathers of their people, and brethren of one another—in other words, that they should rule with the strong hand, and instead of opposing each other, lend mutual aid in the great and necessary task of universal subjection. This was the Holy Alliance.

Lamartine characterises the Chamber of Deputies, which met in 1815, as completely representing the sentiments of the country, its weariness and disgust of Bonapartism, and its sanguine hopes of happiness and freedom

* Lamartine.

under the Bourbons. If for country he would substitute the upper class, not merely the old aristocracy of birth but the new aristocracy of intellect, wealth, and functionism, the observation may be correct. The Bonapartists and those attached to the revolution took no part in the vote, and had no voice in the new legislature. It was composed of new men. So it may be said was the celebrated *Assemblée Constituante*. But this assembly brought together all the thinkers and politicians of the kingdom, men who had studied its wants, meditated upon reforms, and shaped out in their minds the course to be taken by an emancipated people. It was only a proof that the *ancien régime*, however theoretically, and at times practically, despotic, did not or could not altogether paralyse the national mind. This had been at work for half a century, and had elaborated ideas, laws, projects. Napoleon had, on the contrary, kept the national mind fettered. He had allowed neither time nor liberty for thought. There was scant education, no press, and no intellectual society. The consequence was that the representatives or legislators who came together in 1814 and 1815 were ignorant as children and vengeful as savages. They had a new edifice to build, but they knew not how to set about hewing the corner-stone. Their whole thoughts were bent upon immolating victims to inaugurate their work.

The ministers whom Louis the Eighteenth had chosen, however royalist, were far from going the length of the Chamber. The responsibilities of power were alone sufficient to apprise them of the danger of a vindictive policy. They therefore sought to satisfy the passions of the ultra-Royalists by introducing a group of laws conferring upon the government and the tribunals the fullest power for suppressing sedition and the seditious, whilst not concealing the hope and the assurance that the throats they had cut would be sufficient to deter and to prevent rebellion. The first of these laws gave

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the government liberty to imprison as long as they pleased without bringing those arrested before any tribunal. Another, which punished seditious cries with terms of imprisonment, was met by loud cries of protest from the ultra-Royalists. Death was the least they would accord to the hoisting of Bonapartist colours. This was followed by the establishment of prevotal courts, in other words, drumhead courts-martial, for the summary punishment of conspirators.

Amidst the shouts of approbation which hailed these measures, proposed, not as exceptions, but as permanent laws, M. d'Argenson ventured to hint that there were other parties than Royalists which demanded protection; the Protestants, for example, were massacred in numberless towns of the south, and government was powerless to prevent it. His too true denunciation raised a storm, and were it in the power of the ultras they would have instantly applied to M. d'Argenson the penalty of having uttered seditious cries. They denied, but would not discuss his facts, had him called to order, and silenced. The Royalists entertained no objections to massacres if wreaked merely on Protestants and Bonapartists. When the laws of repression passed, M. Decazes, in a circular to his personal subordinates, recommended a moderate rather than a rigid execution of them. This, as soon as it became known, created at once a schism between the young minister and the ultra-Royalists of the Chamber, a schism which placed them soon in hostility, not merely to De Cazes and to the whole ministry, but to the King himself.

The ultra-Royalists in a short time came to perceive that laws of repression were of little use, unless they had ministers and judges of their way of thinking. They therefore set to work to overthrow M. Marbois, minister of justice, in which they succeeded at the close of the session, and at the same time to suspend, in order to change, the entire bench of judges. This bold attempt was only

defeated by the Chamber of Peers. With the bill for the suppression of seditious cries, ministers had introduced an amendment, including amongst seditious cries any proposal to recover the sold property of the émigrés. It certainly was a dangerous clamour, though it was difficult to descry any guilt in it. On this subject, as well as on the removal of judges, and the punishment of the seditious, many of the Royalist orators distinguished themselves. La Bourdonnaye, says M. Guizot, was the spokesman of the passions of the party; whilst Villèle defended its interests, and Bonald expounded its philosophy. M. Guizot omits Chateaubriand, who at this time abetted that fierce and vindictive ultra-Royalism which he afterwards turned against and combated. Bonald preached counter-revolution as one of the consequences of divine right.*

The debates of the legislature were, however, thrown into the shade by those of the tribunals. Labedoyère had been condemned and executed previous to the opening of the Chambers. Lavalette, whose crime was to have seized and filled the functions of Post Master during the Hundred Days, had been arrested about the same time. But as a civilian he could not be sent before a court-martial. He was brought before a court of assize on the 20th of November. A jury made part of this court, but as the list was concocted at the prefecture, the jury of those days was little better than a government commission. Lavalette did not deny his having assumed the office of Post Director. He was condemned in consequence. His wife, led by Marmont, flung herself at the King's feet and at those of the Duchess D'Angou-

* A recent critic makes merry with the utter ignorance of the politicians and philosophers of the Restoration. M. Renan represents Chateaubriand, Bonald, and De Maître—the first as too ignorant to write history, the second discoursing on philosophy without having read any author more original than Degerando, and the third, as never having got further than the philology of the Jesuits.—*Renan on Lamennais.*

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lême. She was *enceinte.* The Duchess had yielded to the intreaties of the Duke de Richelieu to ask Lavalette's pardon of the King, who was prepared to grant it; but the ultra-Royalist coterie interfered, and insisted on the execution.* The Countess Lavalette, with great address and courage, contrived to substitute herself in prison for her husband, who escaped in her garments, holding the hand of their little daughter. The Count's subsequent escape from Paris, accompanied by Sir Robert Wilson, is well known. The ultra-royalist society of Paris, even its great ladies, were mortified at Lavalette having baffled justice. They stigmatised his little daughter as a "scélérate" for having aided to save her father, and she was obliged to quit in consequence the convent where she was being educated.†

Marshal Ney was consigned to his Paris prison on the day of Labedoyère's execution. He suffered from the Royalists quite the same indignities that the Royalists suffered under Robespierre. He was confined in a gloomy cell of the Conciergerie, guarded and treated with severity. A court-martial was named to try him. Marshal Moncey, finding himself amongst the judges, declined the duty, very honourably and naturally. St. Cyr, the war minister, condemned him to several months' arrest in consequence. Massena, Augereau, and Mortier consented to sit, but when Ney declined their jurisdiction, and demanded to be tried by the Chamber of Peers, the marshals gladly declared themselves incompetent.

The Duc de Richelieu informed the peers that it was they who would try Ney, and offer to the world a striking reparation for the impunity which the court-martial had extended to the accused. When the prime minister, not a passionate man, spoke such language, what must have been the vindictive sentiments of the court and of

* Duvergier d'Hauranne, Mémoires de Marmont.

† Mémoires of Guizot, of Lavalette, &c.

its party? The marshal's friends appealed to the Duke of Wellington to protect Ney, as included in the capitulation of Paris. The Duke declined to act this generous part by the marshal, and observed that Ney could not have considered himself guaranteed by that capitulation, since he had left Paris immediately under a feigned name.

The trial opened on the 4th of December. The chief witness was the future Marshal de Bourmont, serving under Ney when he proclaimed that the Bourbon cause was lost. Bourmont, the marshal declared, far from opposing, encouraged the act as unavoidable. Bourmont retorted the accusation by seeking to prove that Ney had all along meditated the treason—and alleged that he had the cross of the Legion of Honour with the *eagle*, not the *fleur-de-lis*, in his pocket, and that he wore it. This was disproved, and with it the accusation of the marshal's defection having been premeditated. 139 peers voted for the sentence of death, many afterwards joining the 17 who had declared for deportation, and entreating the Duc de Richelieu to obtain the marshal's pardon and exile. Five peers also abstained. The royal family were, however, all of them, the Duchess d'Angoulême included, resolved on inflicting and demanding the extreme penalty against Ney. The Duke of Wellington was in the same sentiments, forgetting how anomalous were the circumstances, and how little the traditional laws of treason and allegiance were applicable to a time when events, even more than men, turned round with the wind. The scaffold, said Marshal Moncey, in his letter, never made friends. Not only did it make no friends in the present instance, but it awakened a whole country to enmity. A few weeks previous the Bonapartists were in general discredit, as the elections proved. The death of Ney restored the party at once to national sympathy and esteem. The blow which struck him down was considered to have been dealt to

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the military glory and hardihood of the country. A few weeks before the catastrophe of Ney, Murat met a similar fate on the coast of Calabria, whither he had been lured by Bourbon emissaries. The Turks think that when they have slain the chief men of any party or enterprise, they extinguish it for ever. And they may be right for Turkey. But in Europe principles survive men, and instead of being crushed by the fall of their champions, very often gather strength from these having been sacrificed.

The day after the execution of Ney, which took place on the 7th of December, ministers brought down to the Chamber a law of amnesty, excepting those already doomed to death or exile in the lists of Fouché. An additional clause banished the family and the relatives of the Bonapartes. It was a great mistake of the King and of Talleyrand not to have issued at once the amnesty, which was promised from Cambray, making such exceptions as might reasonably satisfy justice. Fouché's list was no doubt intended for this purpose. But the King's proclamation unfortunately deferred the composition of such list to the Chamber, which Fouché's did not satisfy. M. de la Bourdonnaye had instead at once proposed to exile or execute all who had taken office or exercised command during the Hundred Days, which was to proscribe the whole army and the greater part of the civilians. In lieu of the amnesty proposed by the minister, with the exception of Fouché's list, the commission of the Chamber adopted very nearly La Bourdonnaye's proscription of Bonapartists, ranged in three categories.* That furious Royalist supported his proposal in a speech which chiefly resembled and recalled the ideas of St. Just. Death, nothing but death, would satisfy M. de la Bourdonnaye, who declared, still in

* For what passed in commission, see Duvergier d'Hauranne's history, who relates what he heard from his father, a member of the commission.

accord with St. Just, that Terror alone could prevent conspiracy. Whilst the ultra-Royalists were thus, like hounds in chase, foaming at the mouth for the blood of their enemies, the day of Lavalette's execution approached. Ministers were for pardoning and the Chamber for punishing. His flight filled the ultra-Royalists with rage. They prepared their categories. They accused the ministers of having allowed Lavalette to escape, nay threatened to impeach them for it. These in turn threatened to dissolve the Chamber.* It is to be noted, that even those leaders of the Royalist party who afterwards saw the necessity of moderation, nay of semi-liberalism, such as Chateaubriand and Villèle, were zealous supporters of La Bourdonnaye and his categories. A compromise, however, took place between them and the Government. Even this could only be effected by the Duc de Richelieu invoking the aid and announcing the resolution of the King not to sanction the large proscription and confiscation of M. de la Bourdonnaye. He agreed that those marked out for exile should suffer the penalty without trial. When afterwards the categories were put to the vote, they were rejected by a majority of nine. So narrowly did the country escape the proscription of the White Jacobins.

These debates necessarily produced a deep schism in the Chamber. All were Royalist, but Royalist in different degrees. Some, those who grouped round the Count d'Artois, were for re-edifying the past and restoring the old state of things, nay, a far worse than that which existed previous to 1789. Then indeed the King was nominally despot, the Church and aristocracy dominant in society and endowed with many privileges. But the King's power was then easily defied, and the aristocracy had no political influence. Were the

* Duvergier d'Hauranne.

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squirearchy and clergy to become in 1816 masters of the legislature, they would wield a power far greater and more galling than they possessed in 1788; the nation being completely opposed to such power and the use made of it, another revolution sooner or later was inevitable.

The King and the moderate Royalists sought to avoid this, and there came naturally to be formed around Louis the Eighteenth a middle party of moderation, holding the fittest opinions for place. Their pretensions exasperated the ultra-Royalists and their leaders, for these were eager not merely to apply their principles, but to grasp office. Louis the Eighteenth wished to avoid both. He doubted the wisdom, and set aside the influence of his brother, and determined, as far as he was able, to uphold moderate ministers and a middle party. This flung the majority of the Assembly to aim at overruling the King, a policy which not only the more violent adopted, but even such men as Chateaubriand and Villèle.

The electoral law became the field of battle for the parties. According to the charter, one-fifth of the Chamber was to be renewed annually. It was necessary to fix by what law. Ministers prepared one in December (1815). It was highly conservative, especially from having two degrees of election. A cantonal assembly was to choose the electors. It was composed, like the Imperial colleges, of the highest taxpayers, but was swelled by the functionaries of the district, civil, military and clerical, thus giving increased electoral influence to the Government *employés*. Referred to a commission, of course in the interests of the majority, M. de Villèle, its reporter, superseded the ministerial plan of a functionary body of electors by an apparently more liberal one, but really placing the elections in the hands of the squirearchy and the agricultural interests, and refusing all salary or indemnity to the deputies. This was an

approach to the English system; and M. de Villèle sought to render the rural proprietors not only masters of the elections, but gifted with administrative power in their locality, another imitation of the English system. But this, however it succeeded in England, would in France have placed the popular masses at the mercy of the *hobereaux*, as the liberals denominated the squires. The scheme might have been most acceptable to a House of Lords; but the French Senate was composed chiefly of old functionaries, and these, opposed to a mere landed aristocracy, threw out the bill. Subsequently, when ministers took advantage of this to announce that the Chamber should be renewed by one-fifth, according to the old electoral law, the Assembly passed a resolution that it must not be so, and that the Chamber should be re-elected *in toto*, or else its session continued.

On a subject still more imminent and important the Chamber was at variance with the minister. The Hundred Days had thrown the Treasury into disarray. The arrangements of Baron Louis no longer sufficed. To the ordinary expenditure of 525,000,000 francs, nearly 300,000,000 additional were due to the allies as war contributions and indemnity. The Chamber, chiefly composed of rural proprietors, stood aghast at the plans of Corvetto, the finance minister. He proposed to pay all the arrears, the debts of the Hundred Days included, by bonds at 8 per cent., mortgaged on the state forests. These had been Church property, which the Royalist Chamber looked to restore. It set aside Corvetto's proposal, and even his predecessor's arrangements, and merely offered to pay the whole arrears in 5 per cent. stock. This brought but 60 in the market, which would mulct the creditors of one-half their claims. What creditor, exclaimed M. Bonald, ever gets more than a percentage of what is due to him? The finance minister's plan was to increase the taxes on land. The Chamber begged to transfer this burden to houses and

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similar property. The Duc de Richelieu was obliged to submit to these hard conditions. The Duke of Wellington and Count Pozzo, alarmed at seeing the Chamber take the conduct of even financial affairs into their own hands, remonstrated with the King. Louis the Eighteenth made no reply, but he meditated not the less withdrawing his neck from the ultra-Royalist yoke.

What filled the measure of the King's disgust with the Chamber was, the kind of conspiracy into which its leading members entered to restore the Church to its supremacy. Louis retained much of the Voltairian spirit of the preceding century. He bore in mind the Ligue, and the several occasions in which the Church had dominated and depopularised the dynasty. The efforts of the Congregation, as the new ultra-Catholic association was called, now alarmed him. The ministry had vastly increased the yearly allotment to the Church. The Chamber required that this should be made a law, and the Church at the same time rendered capable of accepting and inheriting landed property. The ecclesiastical rule prohibiting divorce was re-established. Attempts were made to restore the civil registers to the clergy, and to hand over the university and the whole direction of public education to ecclesiastics. To stop this flood of reaction, Government prorogued the Chamber in April. This was followed by the substitution of Lainé, a semi-liberal constitutionalist, for M. de Vaublanc, who leaned to the Count d'Artois in conducting the home office, and who had allowed the prince to convert his title of General of the National Guard throughout the kingdom into almost an administration.*

Whilst the marriage of the Duke of Berry with a Neapolitan princess gave some liveliness to the court, a movement at Grenoble occurred to fill it with anxiety

* To get a full idea of the ineptness of the ultra-Royalist party, one has but to read the memoirs of M. de Vaublanc and those of M. de la Rochefoucault.

and agitation. Grenoble had been the first French town to proclaim the principles of the revolution. The capital of a frontier province, its population had almost all served in the army, and every village now contained an officer sprung from the ranks, and detesting the awards of 1814 and 1815. An enthusiastic adventurer, named Paul Didier, went amongst these veterans, and professed himself the agent of a society formed to overthrow the Government. His idea was to proclaim the Duke of Orleans, but the Dauphinois would only hear of a Bonaparte, and so he proposed Napoleon the Second. With such uncertain aims he still contrived to recruit some 4,000 of the population of the valley, and marched with them to Grenoble, on the night of the 1st of May, 1816.

The authorities were only warned at the last moment. The first troops who met the insurgents wavered and refused to fire. When the officers seized some muskets and discharged them, the advanced part of the insurgents fled. And when the main body came up, the soldiers did fire, and Didier's band dispersed. Some thirty of the captives were brought before the prevotal court. The minister of police, consulted by telegraph, replied that no mercy was to be shown save to those who made revelations. But there were none for the poor peasants to make, and twenty-one were shot forthwith, amongst whom was a boy of sixteen, named Miard. Didier escaped at first to Savoy, but was subsequently taken and delivered up. He met his fate with fortitude. A conspiracy about the same time was alleged to have been discovered in the capital. Some twenty persons were implicated, and then selected, though with proof of little more than imprudence against them, to suffer the death of parricides, their hands being cut off before their heads. This, with the trials of some Bonapartist generals, Cambronne, Travot, Delisle and others, occupied the summer of 1816, and instead of attaining their

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intended aim of terrifying those hostile to the Bourbons, on the contrary sowed the seeds of more extended and more implacable resentment.

Had this severe repression and punishment of Bonapartists taken place merely in the name and for the cause of public order, the greater part of those who objected would have passed it over. But the Government and the King were eclipsed by the Count d'Artois, and by the priesthood, who took their places. Even the replacement of M. Vaublanc by M. Lainé did not prevent the prince, as General of the National Guard, from exercising immediate authority; whilst the priesthood filled the country with missions, and disturbed every town with processions (forbidden by the law). And as the counter-revolution thus put on the garb of sanctity, the party of the revolution—that is, of the principle of equality, and of the freedom implied by it—affected Voltairianism and infidelity, which had previously slumbered, but which now awoke, to become popular and national.

Every sensible man, within or without France, saw that the Count d'Artois and the Duchess d'Angoulême were driving the country to a revolution. Foreign courts and diplomatists saw it equally. Those of England, Prussia, Russia, even Austria protested, and plainly told them that unless the red-hot Royalist and Church parties were put down, and a moderate system of government established, it would be impossible for the allies to evacuate France, and abandon it to inevitable revolution. Their remonstrances aroused the Duke of Richelieu. Decazes himself had been long aware of the necessity of getting rid of the Chamber, and the King felt his prerogative infringed upon and his dignity threatened by it. On the 7th of September, in consequence, appeared a decree dissolving what Louis himself called the *Chambre Introuvable.*

There was an explosion of rage amongst the *ultras.*

The Count d'Artois was beside himself. Chateaubriand issued his famous pamphlet of "La Monarchie selon la Charte," with a Postscript, expressing doubts that the King could have lent his hand to an act so suicidal. The printer, in haste to insure the publication, had neglected the necessary forms, and this laid the publication open to seizure. M. de Chateaubriand came himself to defend his work, and even excited the printers to resistance. Louis the Eighteenth struck his name off the list of state ministers, and thus deprived him of his pension. But the pamphlet appeared, and Chateaubriand assumed the character of a political martyr. The ultras indeed were in nowise prostrated by the blow which the King had dealt them. They moved heaven and earth to direct the elections still in their favour, repeating everywhere that the King, however determined to yield to his minister, was in heart ultra-Royalist. Had M. Decazes full power he would have been able to influence the elections; but this was denied him. The old electoral body of the highest taxpayers was preserved, and all that Decazes could depend upon, were the numbers of regular functionaries which the Government of 1815 had adjoined to the colleges. But the Duc de Richelieu would not permit even this, neither would he permit the colleges to appoint liberals presidents of colleges. The result was that ministers obtained in the elections a certain majority, of moderates indeed, but still leaving the ultras powerful if not preponderant. A few liberal orators were returned to the new Chamber, of whom Lafitte and D'Argenson were the most noted.

With this Chamber commenced a government which M. Guizot styles that of the *Centre*, and its enemies that of the *Bascule*, consisting of moderate and practical politicians, who sought to keep an even and constitutional course between the reactionary royalists and the liberals, behind which imperialists and revolutionists

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rallied. Much has been said of the fatuity of the elder Bourbons, and of their having learned so little by misfortune, and yet it would be difficult to imagine a fairer trial of moderate policy and constitutional government than that which Louis the Eighteenth essayed from 1816 to 1820. Why did it not succeed? Some will say, that the attempt was hopeless from the beginning. To impose a dynasty upon a country, and then impose upon that dynasty the conditions of governing constitutionally, it was necessary to suppose that the majority was either in favour of the new royal family or capable of rallying to it. Far, however, from being in favour of or capable of rallying to it, the majority of the French were strongly attached to the principle of equality and the riddance of sacerdotal and aristocratic influence and action, which the revolution had accomplished and Napoleon confirmed. Louis the Eighteenth was prepared either to respect these principles or make a compromise with them; but his family, the younger members of which were destined in all appearance to succeed him, entertained ideas and avowed aims in direct contradiction of all that the country cherished. Hence arose hatred to the Bourbons, which the conduct of Government subsequently to 1820 gradually augmented, till it begot the explosion of 1830.

The true way to have overcome this, and to have rallied to him the moderate politicians and the middle-class public, even Louis the Eighteenth either did not take or did not persevere in. A constitution is idle unless its principles be fully followed out, and be supported by the prevalence of the majority of the nation. If that majority of the French were decidedly hostile to royalty or the Bourbons, his constitutional government was impossible from the first. They were not so, however. Had the King nullified the political influence of his family, and accepted the decision of his people, as announced in the elections, he would have

given office and power to thorough and energetic liberals, such as Foy and Périer. These men, instead of betraying him, would have rallied probably to his cause, and carried the Bourbons, or all such Bourbons as trusted them, through the popular storm, which would have broken upon them and not upon the dynasty. But the Bourbons never reconciled themselves to any constitution, or never read one otherwise than that their opinion and party should be dominant. Their lot was thus merely to make the most unhappy experience of a false or half constitution, and necessarily perish with it.

M. Guizot has demonstrated with all the truth of experience the disadvantage of a middle party governing, such a party making an admirable audience or support to a government, but by no means ably administering itself. It committed at this time other faults, no doubt, which M. Guizot does not allude to. The chief one was not to have made the people generally feel the advantage of a constitutional over a despotic system. The mere power of voting for a deputy every five years cannot do this. But institutions of local and municipal liberty, a participation of the country in its own management, would have interested the whole country in the system of representative government. Centralisation killed all this, and left the country ignorant and indifferent towards political questions. M. Guizot indeed admits the difficulty of making centralisation work with representation. No doubt to maintain the one is to nullify the other. Chateaubriand declared, that seven high functionaries were quite sufficient to exercise all authority in each department. When he enumerated these authorities, some one cried out, "You forget the executioner." The spirit of a functionary government necessarily depends on the head. To amend it requires a revolution, a substitution of Bonaparte for Bourbon. That is what the want of local liberty leads to. Hence, if the great experiment of a moderate constitutional system foundered

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in France, it was in the first place owing to the ultra-Royalist princes, but in the next to a partial and insufficient application of the constitutional principle itself. This system was allowed to work amongst the middle ranks of life. But it disgusted the higher, which it did not reach; and the lower, which remained insensible of its influence and ignorant of its very existence.

One of the most fatal characteristics of political society and parties at and during the Restoration was their extreme nervousness. The Royalists imagined that they walked upon a path undermined by conspiracy, their fears and precautions rendering these suspicions true. The liberals, on the other hand, saw in the conduct of their opponents much more astute and determined plans of counter-revolution than actually existed. The mutual dread of their enemies having or obtaining a parliamentary majority deprived both of all patience and all calm. And as soon as such a result became evident or menacing, the thought was not to combat such ascendency by parliamentary means, but reverse it by a change of the electoral law. The history of the Decazes and Richelieu middle party is, they began by changing or fixing the electoral law, so as to abate the ascendency of the ultra-Royalists; and then finding that the result of these measures was to favour the gradual increase and possible predominance of the liberals, they had to amend the law to provide for this and prevent it.

The first proposal brought by the Decazes and Richelieu ministry before the new Chamber was one to modify the elections. It had been drawn up by M. Lainé. The Chamber of 1815 had owed its royalist tinge in a great measure to each deputy being elected in a small locality, local influence and landed fortune of course predominating. The new law arranged that all elections should be direct, that of all the deputies of a department taking place in its chief town, where the *bourgeois*

influence would counterbalance its landed rival. All who paid 300 francs direct taxes had a vote, all in fact who had sufficient property in land or houses. One fifth of the Chamber was to be re-elected each year to avoid the excitement of a general election. The law passed by 132 votes against 100. The King's personal influence and exertions were found requisite to engage the Chamber of Peers not to reject it. By this law, passed in February 1817, the electoral franchise was given to 100,000 proprietors, out of nigh 30,000,000 of population.

The Royalists protested indignantly against so large an admission of what they called the middle classes. Yet never surely was term so misapplied. Large landed fortunes were especially rare in France, and the extensive emigration of the *seigneurs*, who arrogated to themselves the title of first class, left but country gentlemen of a few hundreds a-year, not superior either in fortune or enlightenment to the upper ranks of what they styled the *bourgeoisie*. The greatest absurdity and folly, one might almost say the crime, of the Restoration was to have divided the rich and easy classes, which had quite enough to do to hold their own against the multitude of humbler labourers and earners without quarrelling amongst themselves for idle differences of origin or birth.

The truth is, there is and was no such thing as an upper class in France. What we mean by the term is a body of men, who, as possessed of either land or capital, can feed and employ the multitude of labourers and earners beneath them, and who, being the best and richest customers of the trading class, have also a greater influence over it. There is no such state of things in France. The peasant farmer sows and reaps his own food. The few who labour for hire form the minority, and take their tone and their ideas from the small proprietors. An analogous feeling of independence pervades the farm and the workshop. There is no link,

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no patronage, and no obligation between class and class. Other means of influence by the rich are likewise annulled. Authority is in the hands of the functionaries. Endow it as you will in a country revolutionized like France, you cannot make an aristocracy. To pretend that there was one, and to legislate for it, as was attempted by the ultra-Royalists, was at once insanity and anachronism.

There is this, however, to be observed, that the arrogance of the squires or gentry so disgusted and alienated the notabilities of money and commerce, that these made common cause with even the lower of the middle class in opposing the pretensions and aims of the ultra-Royalists. Their denouncing of these pretensions gained the great commercial notabilities the support everywhere of both imperialists and admirers of the revolution. The consequence was that in the re-election of the second fifth of the Chamber, in 1817, according to the new law of election, Casimir Périer was returned to sit by the side of Lafitte; Delessert, Roy, and Ternaux, afterwards joining them as representatives of the *haut commerce*. With these leaders of the commercial world came the eminent men of the bar. The legal profession had recovered its scope and power with the Restoration, the use of the jury rendering it popular, and the many trials of journalists and compositors enabling their legal defenders to acquire position and fame. Hence the reputation of Dupont de l'Eure, Dupin, Mauguin, Ravez and Barrot. Imperialist functionaries joined them, such as Bignon, Chauvelin and Caumartin. The press and letters furnished their peculiar talents; Camille Jourdan was the great liberal orator. Chateaubriand was confined to the peers; Constant and Lafayette did not take their seats till 1818.

Whilst the liberal party were thus augmenting in numbers and impatience, events occurred which demonstrated plainly the ineptness of their ultra antagonists.

Lyons was a town in which there could not but be much disaffection. To entice or provoke foolish people to rush into acts of sedition was an easy task to the police. And this they executed, to the great delight of the prefect and the general, both ultra-Royalists, who hoped to show their zeal and obtain honour by enacting at Lyons the tragedy of Grenoble. An officer, who acted decoy and informer, was shot on leaving the general's quarters. This was enough for the latter to consider it conspiracy. In consequence, some 500 persons were arrested, and 28 were condemned and executed. The Commissary of Police, in the meantime, had communicated to M. Decazes that there had been no plot, save in the brains of the commander and the prefect. Marmont was sent down to see into the matter, and his report was to the same effect. His aide-de-camp, Fabvier, published the circumstances, and shed shame and disgrace upon the Royalist functionaries, as sanguinary as they were incapable.

It was then felt impossible to maintain the prevotal courts which had caused this innocent blood to be spilt, and it became necessary to have judges and commanders chosen in a more just and liberal spirit. M. d'Ambray was in consequence dismissed from the department of justice, and was succeeded by Pasquier. Molé became marine minister. The Duke of Feltre was superseded at the war office by Marshal Gouvion de St.-Cyr.

The latter instantly set about proposing a law for the reorganisation of the army, which was become necessary, as the allies had agreed to withdraw their forces of occupation. Moreover, it was also necessary to reverse the attempts of the Count d'Artois and Clark to form gradually an exclusively Royalist or Vendean army. Had this been accomplished, it would have been unpopular and odious to the country, and instead of providing the means to keep down discord and disorder, it would have

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produced the state of things most apt to provoke them. Gouvion St.-Cyr, a more liberal war minister, replaced the army very much on its old footing, and re-established the conscription. The Royalists opposed it, and Villèle proposed in its place the recurrence to voluntary enlistment for the line, a militia being organised at the same time. Had this not meant the enrolment of ultra-Royalists alone, it might have been worthy of consideration for the small army which the Restoration proposed to keep up. Under Napoleon, the conscription, severe as it was, had its compensation; it rendered the army a kind of corporation endowed with large revenues and *dotations* from conquered lands. The prospect of sharing such emoluments reconciled the recruit to the ranks and to the privations of the lower grades. This, however, had vanished. And although one-third of the advancement was preserved to men from the ranks, yet these became officers so late in life, whilst the youths from the schools had the start of them, that the higher grades of the army were in reality only open to men of fortune and education.

The promotion of the common soldier being thus a delusion, the evil of taking so large a portion of the population from the pursuits of industry was but too evident. The conscription is the great check to population, prohibiting marriage before the age of 27, and generalising the habits of camps and barracks in lieu of those of domestic life. But if one nation is to enrol and equip its entire population, its neighbours in self-defence must do the same. Supported by the feeling of the nation in this respect, and impelled by the Liberal party, which wanted to obliterate the reactionary administration of the Duke de Feltre, Marshal St.-Cyr passed his law of recruitment and army organisation through the two chambers.

A certain liberty of the press was another concession, which M. Decazes deemed it necessary to make to the

growing strength of the Liberals. The authorisation of Government being necessary for the establishment of a new journal, and the censorship still weighing on the old, the daily press was severely restricted. This had driven writers to more serious and lasting publications, to books and pamphlets, and to periodicals in which bold and well-digested reasoning came forth at stated intervals. The *Minerve* and *Conservateur* were the Liberal and Royalist organs, both of them able, and both of them attacking and vilipending the Government, that took up its position between them. If the conscription was little to the taste of the Royalists, St.-Cyr's proposal, to organise the old Imperial veterans as a reserve, was still less so. But they wanted such a France as did not exist, and could not be made to exist. And St.-Cyr's law passed. The Government, whilst abolishing the censorship, prepared to subject them to certain measures of precaution. Liberal and Royalist both exclaimed. Villèle demanded the adjunction of a jury composed of the highest tax-payers, as the only tribunal of the press. The Doctrinaires, as the more philosophic of the Liberals were called, strenuously opposed. Camille Jordan and Royer-Collard objected to the seizure of works in the hands of the printer. Ministers felt ashamed of their Royalist allies when these introduced a clause extending penalty and prohibition to old authors, and thus proscribing the works of Voltaire and Rousseau. In disgust at the extravagance, the chamber of peers rejected the law altogether.

What chiefly gave the Cabinet power to resist such defection of the Liberals, joined to the increasing acrimony of the Royalists, was the knowledge that the Duke of Richelieu possessed the confidence and approbation of the allied powers. Both the Emperor of Russia and the English Tory leaders dreaded the Count d'Artois, who was animated with all the spirit of the last Stuarts, and who was taking the evident path to a

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catastrophe similar to theirs. The Emperor Alexander, in a visit to Louis the Eighteenth, fully expressed his sanction of the King's policy and of the attitude of the Duke of Richelieu and Decazes. His conversation was indeed like his character, mystic and wavering, but for the moment it was warmly expressed. They therefore besought his powerful protection to lighten the sore burdens of military occupation. He persuaded the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers to meet at Aix-la-Chapelle to take this French demand into consideration. When the occupation of France had been settled in 1815, it was admitted that this occupation should endure for five years, if necessary, but might under favourable circumstances be limited to three. Notwithstanding the large amount paid, the demands of the allies exceeded a *milliard and a half* of francs. This was reduced to 320 millions of francs, and covered by a loan, adding seventeen millions annual interest to the French debt. The 5 per cent. was then at 78 francs. Thus provided, the Duke of Richelieu went to Aix, when great was his astonishment and indignation to find that the ultra-Royalists had forwarded a secret note, deprecating the withdrawal of the allied forces, and representing the country as relapsing into the hands of the chiefs of the revolution from the liberalism of the Duke of Richelieu and M. Decazes.

Despite of such intermeddling, the Duke of Richelieu obtained at Aix the speedy evacuation of the French territory. The continental sovereigns were all in want of money. And the Duke of Wellington, though in the enjoyment of high position and emolument as commander-in-chief of the occupying armies, still did his utmost to put an end to a state of things so galling and onerous to France. The historian Capefigue, the confidant of M. Decazes, does full justice to the disinterestedness and liberal conduct of the English Duke, who had throughout been most conservative of French

interests and French pride, notwithstanding the arm of the assassin having been raised against him.

Although the note and remonstrance of the ultra-Royalists, deprecating the sudden and fatal withdrawal of the allied troops, did not prevent the sovereigns from fulfilling their promise to the Duke of Richelieu, and acquiescing in the arrangements for the evacuation of the French territory, still it rendered them more alive to the resuscitation of the Liberal or, as some considered, the Imperialist and Revolutionary party. French elections took place at this period of 1817, during which Alexander and the King of Prussia paid a short visit to Paris. But when the result of the elections, and especially the return of Benjamin Constant for Paris, was made known at Aix, the foreign monarchs and diplomatists showed misgivings. The unfortunate nervousness of French statesmen and parties at the least rise or augmentation of power in one or other party has been mentioned. But the allied sovereigns, and even English ministers, were quite as nervous, showing alarm one day at ultra-Royalism, the next at ultra-Liberalism, and driving the French king and his counsellors to and fro, as if the State were a ship whose helm was to be put about at every swelling of the wind. The Duke of Richelieu was as little experienced in constitutional government as the Czar, and when the latter evinced some misgivings, the Duke felt himself bound to do the same. So because one or two Liberals had been elected in the capital, the Duke promised his great patron and diplomatic friends to set about changing the law of election.

The Duke's intention was soon known to the Royalists, who promised him every support. This kind of accord took place without the Duke informing either the King or M. Decazes. In England we should call this treachery, in the Duke it was political ignorance. M. Decazes, however, got wind of it, and hastened to offer his resignation as minister of police.

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A financial crisis came for the moment to suspend the ministerial one. When the loan for paying the allies was about to be contracted for by the house of Baring, the Paris bankers murmured and insisted on having it themselves. They were gratified, and the demand for the new stock caused it to rise greatly. This was the greater temptation for those who had taken the stock to sell. There ensued a sudden fall of 20 per cent., and a subsequent panic. The finance minister Corvetto was superseded by Count Roy.

Louis the Eighteenth has himself left an account of the intrigue of the Duke of Richelieu, in concert with the Royalists, to change the electoral law, and consequently to get rid of M. Decazes. Them anœuvre was difficult, for the strength of parties in the chamber was nearly equal, the Right and Right Centre prevailing, however, over the left, which comprised the decided Liberals, and the Left Centre, including the Doctrinaires. A portion of the regular supporters of the ministry going over to the former would at once change the majority. This was arranged in a coterie, over which the Cardinal de Beaufort presided, and which his friend, the Duke of Richelieu, joined. In consequence, the president, vice-president, and secretaries, of the chamber were all chosen from the Right or ultra-Royalist side. Ravez was preferred as president to De Serres. The Duke of Richelieu resigned, as did Lainé, Molé, and Decazes. The King, smothering his resentment, then asked the Duke to form another ministry, who was ready with his reply, that he was willing to do so, on condition that M. Decazes should not only quit the ministry but the country. This the monarch thought hard, for he had himself procured the recent marriage of his young minister with the daughter of Count St.-Aulaire, and to condemn the newly-married couple to exile was ungenerous. The King, however, deemed the Duke of Richelieu a necessary minister up to the time

of the evacuation of France by the allies. He therefore subscribed to all his conditions, and M. Decazes was appointed ambassador to St. Petersburg. The Duke of Richelieu then set about forming a ministry, but soon found it impossible. His semi-Liberal colleagues, such as Lainé and Roy, could not agree with Royalists such as Villèle, whom the Duke wished to bring into office. He was compelled to announce to the King his failure in forming a ministry.

The ball thus came back into the hands of M. Decazes. He did not, however, assume the post of prime minister, but left it nominally to General Dessolles, a comrade of Moreau, who enjoyed the countenance of Alexander. De Serres became minister of justice. Baron Louis resumed the finance department. Decazes assumed the home office. Freed from timid and reactionary colleagues, the latter embarked at once on a policy which ought and did indeed for a time satisfy even the extreme Liberals. The army, once more entrusted to St.-Cyr, saw its old Imperialist officers reinstated. In the home department, Decazes appointed Liberal prefects, and got rid of the ultra-Royalist functionaries, who had neutralised every conciliatory effort of the Government.

Strange to say, it was the chamber of peers that took most offence at this, and now led the way in opposition to Decazes. That minister's programme was to stand by his electoral law. The upper chamber passed a vote condemnatory of it. The minister, supported by the King, replied by the promotion of sixty-three peers, many of them Imperialists; Davoust, Jourdan, Mortier, Moncey, Soult, and Lefèbvre were of the number. By this bold measure, the upper chamber was rendered what the lower had become, national. The King was in the same way of thinking. And could the Liberals have observed moderation, and supported Decazes, instead of weakening him by ex-

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aggerated demands and capricious attacks, the great problem of a reconciliation between the Bourbons and all that was reasonable of the Revolution might have been accomplished.

One of the aims of M. Decazes, a most natural and praiseworthy one, was to complete the institutions of the monarchy. A law for the responsibility of ministers was considered and proposed; it was well meant, but had better been avoided. Another and most essential one for regulating municipal institutions was entrusted for proposal to M. Guizot. A third concerned the press.

The object of the minister was the laudable and liberal one of getting rid of the censorship. But in order to this, and to the consequent entrusting of the repression of seditious writings to the tribunals, it was necessary to specify the degrees of crime and misdemeanour, and to fix upon whom the responsibility fell. This made the law appear penal, whilst in reality it was a doing away with restrictions. The jury was introduced as a necessary element in press trials. On the other hand, the great preventive of the censorship was replaced by demanding of all journals the deposit of a large sum as caution money. Notwithstanding the liberal tendency of the measure as a whole, it was fiercely attacked by Benjamin Constant and the orators of the Left. On the other hand, the leading speaker of the ministry, M. de Serres, did not always keep his temper, or refrain from extreme argument. Irritated by the attacks from Royalist as well as Liberal, he dealt sharp repartees to both, which, however victorious in dispute, were fatal to a minister who took his position between two contending parties, able at once, if they would, to overwhelm him. "The majority of all assemblies are sensible and sane," exclaimed M. de Serres, arguing upon the electoral law. "Even the Convention," observed M. de la Bourdonnaye. "Ay, even the Convention," replied

M. de Serres, "of which the majority would have gone quite right had it not been intimidated."

One of the great merits of the government of M. Decazes was the recall of those exiled by the chamber of 1815. Notwithstanding this, De Serres, speaking of the regicides, declared that they should never be allowed to return to the country. Though it was but a figure of speech, devoid of even truth, for several regicides had been permitted to return to France, it still offended the left, and stamped De Serres as an enemy of the Revolution.

It would have been more wise and more generous for both parties to have allowed the subject of regicide to sink into oblivion. The vote for it had proceeded from either the mad fanaticism or the terror of the hour. The former had evaporated, and those who had undergone it were ashamed of the latter. It was therefore an ill-judged provocation when the directing committee of liberal electors procured the nomination of Grégoire as deputy for Grenoble. Bishop Grégoire had not indeed voted the King's death in the Convention, being absent, but had written to signify his adherence to the sentence. The ultra-Liberals of Grenoble, in obedience to the Paris committee, gave their votes to Grégoire. But even at Grenoble they did not form the majority, and the regicide was only returned by the aid of Royalist votes,* given in despite of and with the view to injure Decazes and the middle party, as following a policy which led to such returns. The Royalists in Paris and in the chamber were thus offered the pretext and opportunity they sought, of denouncing at once Decazes and his law of election.

Whilst the Liberals were thus foolishly tripping up the very ministry that was really doing their work and developing their principles, and whilst the ultra-Royalists denounced it in parliament and in the press, courtiers

* Guizot's Memoirs.

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were endeavouring to undermine Decazes in the King's favour in the same fashion that was practised in the days of Louis the Fifteenth. Louis the Eighteenth, however infirm, was still sufficiently under the influence of old court habits and ideas to desire the appearance, if not the reality, of a mistress. He had at first paid homage to Madame Princeteau, the sister of Decazes; but she was too honest and too bourgeoise to tolerate even the semblance of such a favour, or to profit by it either for her brother or herself. Count Sosthène de la Rochefoucauld introduced a court lady, who was not so delicate, to the King. Madame du Caylus, through her beauty, attained the honour of royal intimacy, with its pecuniary profit and its political influence. M. de la Rochefoucauld in his Memoirs tells the story, and boasts of having acted pimp on the occasion, thus contributing through the new favourite to disenchant the old King with Decazes.

The election of Grégoire had in the meantime shaken the confidence of the King, not indeed in his minister, but in his electoral law. When the Count d'Artois came to expostulate with him on such a result, Louis the Eighteenth had admitted that it was dangerous, and should be remedied. Decazes, consequently, in obedience to the King, consented to modify the electoral law. The change, indeed, to which he consented was not important. The elections were to take place no longer in the capital of the department, but in the chief town of the district, thus favouring local and rural interests. This was the principal change; but General Dessolles, Baron Louis, and Marshal St.-Cyr would not acquiesce. It would be a breach with the Liberals. And then, how could the ministry resist the *Ultras*? They withdrew, and Decazes formed a new ministry, with himself as chief, Pasquier foreign affairs, Roy, and Latour Maubourg.

Never had the Bourbons a ministry more decidedly

liberal, and never was there a time in which it was more expedient for Liberals to support such a cabinet. Great effervescence reigned throughout Europe. In the years which had elapsed since 1815, it had become fully evident to the people of every continental nation that their governments, in making use of and profiting by their enthusiasm at that epoch, had ended by breaking every promise, and by consigning each country to despotism worse than that from which they had been liberated. Hence had come secret societies, popular movements: Germany was in agitation, Spain had burst forth into full revolution. The European courts were alarmed, and communicated their alarm to the Tuileries, and Louis the Eighteenth, who had signed the Holy Alliance, was strongly pressed to act and govern in its spirit. Those very European statesmen who had taxed the Bourbons with ultra-conservatism now came forward to make quite a contrary reproach.

The only obstacle to this reaction was the liberal spirit of M. Decazes, who had gained an influence over the French monarch that no one else possessed. He alone could stem the resuscitated influence of the Count d'Artois, who, after having broken with the King, returned again to friendship and reconciliation on the occasion of the election of Grégoire. It was nevertheless this moment that the Liberals chose to fall with all their acrimony upon M. Decazes. Not only did Imperialists and ultra-Royalists denounce him, but even the Doctrinaires, the semi-Liberals of the Left Centre, accused and separated from him. He offered them place. Royer-Collard replied for his friends with much truth that they were not fit for it, and would do the government more harm than good. Decazes went on alone. The session commenced, and in January 1819 the minister brought forward his plan for modifying the electoral law. It was less liberal than had been expected of him, but the hostility of the Left flung him to the other

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extreme. He had far better have resigned, and so indeed thought the King. His purpose with respect to the electoral law was to establish two kinds of deputies, as in England, deputies of towns and districts, and deputies of departments, or town and county members. But the county electors were chosen by the district electors, which was intended as a check. Such was the scheme which M. Decazes brought forward, amidst a loud storm of parliament and of the public, when a thunder-clap came in the shape of a tragical event to silence for a moment and confound all parties.

It is perplexing to find a strong and apparently irresistible current of human opinions and events stopped and turned by the individual act and solitary resolve of a single obscure individual. Such was the case when Ravaillac's rough knife cut short, with the life of Henry the Fourth, the projects of that monarch for humbling the House of Austria, and changing the political state of Europe. Of less importance to Europe, but still of great moment to France, was the assassination of the Duke of Berry, on the 13th of February, 1820. The murderer Louvel, an itinerant vender of tape, "had received under the republic that kind of Roman education which the Convention and the Directory gave to the children of the people in the midst of popular ceremonies and philosophic fêtes. Plays, speeches, hymns, were then poured forth to a goddess of reason, to patriotism and liberty." Louvel was a fanatic of this kind of anti-religion, still prevalent amongst the citizen class, which forgot or had never seen the crimes of the Revolution, whilst worshipping its principles and its triumphs. The Bourbons were the arch enemies of these ideas and this worship. And Louvel resolved to immolate them one after the other. He went to Calais as early as 1814 to await Louis the Eighteenth's landing, and make him the first victim. Foiled in this and in many subsequent attempts to slay one of the princes, he at last found

his opportunity as the Duke of Berry was handing his wife into her carriage on the steps of the opera house. Louvel slid between the prince and his attendants, and drove a poignard into his breast. He tried to escape, but was soon taken. The prince, conveyed to a little room behind his opera box, received there the last adieus of his wife and family.

It must be confessed that there was here every cause for just indignation and for the kindling of every Royalist passion. Unfortunately these passions always partook of blindness, and rushed at imaginary, instead of aiming at the real, causes of their discomfiture and failure. Like Napoleon's return from Elba, the crime of Louvel was represented as the result of a wide-spread conspiracy, in which the Liberal party had joined, so that not only M. Decazes, but the King himself, was regarded as the accomplice of the odious crime. If anything, M. Decazes and his latent policy went to prevent such crimes, to soften and smother the rankling poison which begot them. The national mind was deeply fraught with dislike or horror of the Bourbons, which produced in one heart an assassin, in another military conspiracy, and in all the elements of a great popular insurrection. The last, which was the acme of the popular sentiment, would be irresistible when it came. And every effort of legislation should have been to neutralise, prevent, and combat it by moral means. Instead of this, the whole course of things and efforts of men went to increase and magnify it.

As the only reparation for the death of his son, the Count d'Artois demanded the dismissal of Decazes. The King could not see the connection; but though he still believed Decazes' policy the true one, he was unable to resist the entreaties of his sorrowing and greatly exasperated family. Decazes was dismissed, and the Royalists uttered a shout of exultation. "*Decazes a glissé dans le sang*," exclaimed Châteaubriand. They had lost

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the Duke, but with him, or in his blood, the obnoxious minister had fallen. Such was their consolation.

Decazes, created a duke by the King, went as ambassador to London, with a strong personal recommendation to George the Fourth. That monarch, however, declared the Duke Decazes not sufficiently well born to merit even his politeness. After some hesitation, the Duke of Richelieu assumed the post of prime minister, first taking care to obtain the promise of assistance and support from the Count d'Artois. De Serres, Siméon, Pasquier, Portalis were the Duke's new colleagues.

The immediate consequence of the violent death of the Duke of Berry, and of the fall of M. Decazes, was the introduction of laws placing the liberty of individuals completely at the mercy of the Government, and far more than abrogating that liberty of the press hitherto enjoyed. The former might be considered exceptional, and springing from the alarm caused by the late catastrophe. It led, however, to fierce debates. General Foy stigmatised the ultra-Royalists as a "handful of wretches." M. de Corday retorted by an insult. An exchange of shots took place; after which Foy made a noble apology, declaring he did not include monarchic Royalists amongst those whom he had denounced. Such personal antagonism excited the public more than eloquence. Tumults became frequent in the streets, the youth of the schools constantly coming into collision with the police.

The law against the press re-established the censorship, and thus completely undid the more liberal legislation of the preceding year. The nature of such a law is best understood by its results, and this was to suppress the more serious periodicals, to which eminent writers gave more thought and pains than was possible in the daily press. Thus the *Minerve*, the Edinburgh Review of France, was unable to continue, its antagonist,

the *Conservateur*, perishing with it. War was declared against intellect and education. M. Guizot and men of his stamp were unpitiably expelled, not only from office, but even from the council of state, which ought to have been left some show of independence.

What the Royalists chiefly demanded of the Duke of Richelieu, and which he was simple enough to grant them, was such a sweeping change in the electoral law as would replace the chamber then existing, with some score of Liberal orators, by a chamber similar to that which sate in 1815, consisting exclusively of Royalists. Yet the existing chamber was chosen by the wealthy and well-to-do electors to the number of not quite 100,000. Whatever a class of men threw out and chose, ought surely have been abided by, and could not be dangerous. Connection there could be none between the politics of such a body and the fanaticism of a Louvel. But the Royalists were dissatisfied. They were menaced with being put in a minority by an electoral population of 100,000. And they resolved to restore and consolidate their power by limiting the electoral body to 10,000. We shall see that in time even this would not suffice to render ultra-Royalism predominant. In fact, it was incompatible with constitutional government of any kind, whilst it was equally incapable of maintaining despotism.

Louis the Eighteenth had sufficient sagacity to perceive all this, but wanted courage to prevent it. It is surprising that such men as Pasquier, De Serres, and the Duke of Richelieu could not see it—at least, that they could not see that, in transferring parliamentary power to the Ultras, they were at the same time transferring the government, and so committing political suicide themselves. For, a high Royalist chamber and majority once attained, such ministers as they must give place to the Villèles and the Labourdonnayes.

The new law of elections was brought forward by the

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home minister, De Serres, on the 17th of April, 1820. It proposed that the district electors paying 300 francs, who previously elected the deputies, should now merely choose a list of candidates. The choice of deputies out of this list was reserved for a narrow college consisting of the highest tax-payers in the department; these, estimated at about 10,000 or 12,000 persons, would monopolise the whole electoral power. The impudence of such a law almost took away the breath of the Liberal members. Indeed, it did so completely, for when Stanislas de Girardin rushed to the tribune, neither Chamber nor president would allow him to speak a word. This and the following sittings were but a series of tumults.

When the regular discussion opened, the aims of government and the Royalists were plainly stated by General Foy. "The nation," said he, "broke out in revolution to get rid of its aristocracy. And now the proposal was to restore it under a mock form of representative government. None but the rich man was hitherto eligible to be deputy. It is now proposed that none but rich shall elect. This narrow class dominated before, and was driven out by an explosion. To place the dynasty with such a support as that is merely to erect it, with an abyss behind into which it is sure one day or other to fall." Labourdonnaye, in reply, maintained that the rich proprietor could alone be trusted to uphold the monarchy; all others would betray it. The speech which excited most admiration was that of M. Royer-Collard, and yet it was one of philosophy and theory, *doctrinaire*, in fact, rather than one of eloquence or sense. He represented *legitimacy* or hereditary right as the noblest of principles, to be counter-balanced by the legitimacy of popular sovereignty. Events, indeed, did set one of these principles against the other, the antagonism to end in revolution. M. Royer-Collard sought to reconcile things utterly incompatible. Villèle repeated or anticipated the English Tory argument

against reform, that the country was entitled to the best of government, not the fairest. The great manufacturer Ternaux showed that the upper ten thousand to be endowed by this law with exclusively electoral power had really but a small share of the whole property of the country, and paid but an insignificant portion of its taxation. Camille Jordan moved an amendment in favour of direct taxation. Though sinking under a malady, which was to prove fatal, he supported his amendment with great eloquence, warned the Bourbons that they were treading the path of the Stuarts, and that the present law was nothing less than a division between them and the nation. Camille Jordan, with his friends, the Doctrinaires, as they were styled, the chief intellects of the parliament and the country, had separated from the ministry, and gone into opposition. The Chamber was thus not very unequally divided. The amendment of Camille Jordan was rejected by only 10 votes, the division being 123 to 133.

For the first time since many years the debates of the representative assembly communicated their agitation to the streets. The students were especially excited; many of the orators of opposition were the professors of the university; M. Chauvelin, Liberal member, who was brought to the chamber in a chair, from inability to walk, was cheered and accompanied by a crowd. The police dispersed it, and rudely treated Chauvelin and other deputies. A young student named Lallemand was shot by one of the royal guards, for crying *Vive la Charte.*

These riots in the streets, tumults and protests in the chamber, portended little less than civil war. And as the King openly disapproved of the policy which led to such a state, and expressed his regret at having abandoned that of Decazes, the ultra-Royalists saw the necessity of yielding somewhat. An amendment, therefore, which on its first proposal had been scouted, was

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renewed, and Camille Jordan's amendment of direct election reconsidered. In a chamber of 430 members 238 were to be chosen directly by the electors paying 300 francs in the districts, whilst 172 were to be chosen by colleges of the highest taxpayers of the departments. To this scheme liberal members rallied; they began to dread the disorders of the capital. Villèle, at the same time, accepted and approved the compromise, deeming such a law sufficient to procure a Royalist majority, even although direct election was maintained. Such was the law as it passed in June 1820, sufficient for the present to secure a Royalist majority, but not, it was soon found, an ultra-Royalist one. The effect of it was then, after a time, to split the Royalists into two parties, and drive the extravagant one to its own perdition. The first vote showed 154 against 95. The liberal public of towns was less incensed against the creation of departmental colleges, than against the faculty, implied and allowed by the majority, rather than stated in the law, that the highest taxpayers should have the right to vote for the district as well as the department, in other words, for both town and country elections. It was this provision that even gave the name to the law known as that of the *double vote*.

This electoral law however modified, proved to be but truly what Camille Jordan had foretold, a divorce between the dynasty and the nation. The more ardent liberals formed at once a Society or Committee with the avowed object of succouring all those who should become victims of the severe laws respecting liberty of the pen and the press. While such men as Périer, Lafitte, Constant, and Barrot, limited their views to this end, other members of the same Committee, Lafayette, Dupin de l'Eure, Manuel, Merilhou, considered and used it as a Society of continued plotting and insurrection against the Bourbons.

The passing of this electoral law was followed by one

of its natural consequences, a formidable and wide-spread conspiracy, to which Lafayette and his friends were privy, but of which old imperial officers were to be the acting instruments, both in Paris and in the provinces. The signal for the outburst was to be the seizure of the Château of Vincennes. This was prevented by a gunpowder explosion, that took place there and caused a change or increase of the garrison. On the eve of execution, Marmont was informed of the plot and of its imminence. At a council of Ministers some were for letting it explode. The marshal insisted on precaution, and numerous arrests of the officers implicated took place, completely quashing the insurrection. A few days after the discovery of this plot, at Michaelmas 1820, the Duchess of Berry was confined of a son, hailed enthusiastically by the Royalists as the Duke of Bordeaux, and future heir to the Bourbon family and throne. Great was the jubilation. Even moderate men rejoiced in the strength and continuance promised the monarchy, passing over the fact that the young prince and the electoral law which produced an exclusively Royalist Chamber, saw the light together, the prince cutting off the hopes of the Imperialists, but the law unfortunately reducing all other parties, even the Constitutionalists to distrust and disaffection.

The period had now come for re-electing one-fifth of the Chamber. In addition to this the Colleges of Departments created by the new law were called to return their county members as they might be named. The choice of the latter fell, in general, upon the fierce Royalists of the old *Chambre introuvable* of 1815. The breeze of patronage and favour blew, too, so evidently in the Royalist direction that even the district electors were influenced by it. Thus a new Chamber was produced, the number of members nearly doubled, which reduced the Liberals from being nearly one-half, to a party of from one-fifth to one-sixth.

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Whilst the Bourbons of France, the monarch himself reluctantly, be it said, were thus gradually separating themselves and their cause from that of the great majority of the nation, to rest it upon a party without capacity or foresight, the foreign members of the same unfortunate family, more ignorant and with more power to follow the dictates of their fatuity, were exercising in the neighbouring country, all the bigotry and capricious despotism which some thirty years before had led to their fall. No human being had ever lowered so completely human nature to the animal, as Ferdinand the Seventh. He showed the cunning, as well as the ferocity, of the wild beast, without any higher range of taste or intellect. Such was the being to whom the allies had entrusted the lives and fortunes of the gallant Spaniards. It is needless to describe how light he made of both. That any Spaniard, save himself, should have liberty to think or act he could not conceive. This was the monarch called upon to govern not only Spain, but the New World, the latter all but emancipated by the syncope of authority in the mother-country during the French invasion. Ferdinand, of course, cut the few links that bound the colonies to Spain. He then collected an army to coerce and reconquer them. And when the officers of this army met and consulted together in Cadiz, their indignation was turned, not against the colonies demanding freedom and independence, but against the stupid despot at Madrid. A revolution ensued, military first, civilian afterwards. Legitimacy, in the person of Ferdinand the Seventh, was subjected to the control of the Cortès, and within the bounds of Constitutional Law. March, 1821. The triumphant Royalists of France were shocked. Undermined themselves by military and non-military conspiracy, they had some reason to be fearful.

The Bourbons of Naples were in a worse predicament. For their kingdom had been actively ruled by French

princes, who had introduced several of the undoubted benefits of modern French administration. The court of Naples had to undo all this, to displace, to destroy, to avenge. When in Sicily, they had encouraged a wide secret society, called by the name of Carbonari. They directed it against Murat. The Neapolitans and Sicilians retained the secret organisation, and directed it against the Bourbon. Aided by its General Pepe, it achieved in Naples (July 1821) a revolution similar to that recently accomplished at Madrid. The Spanish Constitution was proclaimed and accepted by Ferdinand of Naples, as by Ferdinand of Spain.

Metternich was then the guiding hand of European governments, and his principle was to freeze the current of human affairs, so as that there should be no progress, no innovation. The King of Prussia, who had broken the promise of constitutional government to his subjects and to Germany, could but adhere to Metternich. Alexander wavered. He still preserved some shreds of his old liberalism of 1814, and had his misgivings that repression could neither suffice nor endure. But the Poles proved recalcitrant, and in some Russian regiments were discovered, at the time, germs of that wide-spread conspiracy against despotism which pervaded Europe, and insinuated itself among the military.

The Austrian minister, having been promised the sanction and support of Russia, made light of those of England and of France. Whilst an army of occupation was collecting in Lombardy, the King of Naples was summoned to meet his brother sovereigns at Laybach. He told his people that he went to support their cause, and in a few days informed the sovereigns that he came to betray it. An Austrian army, under General Fremont, found its way without any difficulty through the Abruzzi to Naples, where it soon reinstalled Ferdinand in his despotic power. In the mean time, an insurrection had taken place at Turin. There Charles Albert played the

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part of Ferdinand, joining the revolution one day, and betraying it the next. The revolution had been accomplished by the most eminent men of the country, organised in the society of Carbonari. The latter learned to mistrust, for the future, all princely co-operation.

The constitutional efforts of the educated class of Italians were easily crushed by the legions of Austria. The people were still, and long after, what the priesthood had made them. The Spaniards, more remote, enjoyed much more scope and time to combine their revolution, France being not yet prepared to intervene, and it being too flagrant an insult for other powers to attempt to do so across French territory. The same struggle was, indeed, taking place in France itself, between the principles of liberty and despotism. The latter had risen to power from the time of the death of the Duke of Berry, which had terrified the Moderates into aiding and paving the way for their ascendency. This once gained, they proceeded to use it with all the violence and virulence of the Jacobins. The questions laid before the Chamber in the session of 1821 and 1822 were, as if they had been purposely selected to provoke both parties in the state to the most furious antagonism. The first subject was the dotation of the army, in other words, the pay and pensions of the highest and oldest officers. This dotation, settled by Napoleon on foreign countries, was now to be paid by the Treasury. The Royalists were for giving these imperial veterans but a pittance, whilst in amendments they purposed to remunerate highly the Chouan and Vendean chiefs. The Liberals, even such men as Foy, lost all patience and temper at this punishment and impoverishment of the veteran French soldier. Debates became little more than mutual denunciations and defiance. The Liberals, perceiving that no argument had

any weight with their opponents, spoke merely with the view to stir up public opinion and to represent the dominant party, as hostile to the military glory, as to the political progress of the nation. Such were the arguments with which Foy, Constant, and Manuel met the ravings of Castelbajac and Donnadieu. The army administration being entrusted to Latour-Maubourg, was soon conducted in a spirit completely the opposite of that of St. Cyr, the extreme Imperialists were set aside, and Royalists alone appointed to commissions and command. Such facts as these were apparent to every one, and came home to every family. And although the press was allowed scarcely comment upon such subject, Bérenger took it up in his songs, which flew from ear to ear, and from mouth to mouth, and fulfilled even more than the stifled mission of the journals.

To the Royalist crusade against military men and military glories of the country came to be added the equally unpopular crusade of the clergy against the university, its professors, and its doctrines. The university deserved better treatment. Its eminent professors, such as Cuvier and Guizot, had engaged in vigorous war against materialism in philosophy, and against extremes, especially including the revolutionary extreme, in popular history. But the Duke of Richelieu had given the ministry of Public Instruction to the most coarse, retrograde, and ignorant of politicians, a Breton named Corbière, the follower of Villèle. He at once placed education under the exclusive control of the clergy, discontinuing the *Enseignement Mutuel* then in vogue with the Liberals, and did not shrink from declaring, that the Jesuits would prove cheaper and better schoolmasters. Lay professors the minister was determined to do away with altogether. "How can you expect a system so diametrically opposed to the national spirit to last?" exclaimed Benjamin Constant;

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"depend upon it before ten years have elapsed (he spoke in 1821) your whole edifice, with the party which builds it, will be swept away to destruction!"

It was unfortunate for France and for the restored Bourbons that the epoch did not produce a statesman fit and capable of fulfilling the post of Prime Minister. The previous syncope of constitutional and political life indeed rendered this natural, and it was one of the errors of Napoleon, that his system extinguished the high political talent of the country. Prince Talleyrand and the Duke of Richelieu were both ignorant and incapable of domestic administration, especially in accord with the wishes of a Parliament. Decazes possessed the knowledge, but he wanted the persistence, the time, and perhaps the ability, to form a party. He had no claims to head either the Liberals, or the Royalists. Nor had he the commanding intellect to be acknowledged the chief even of the select band of eminent men known as the Doctrinaires. Whilst to have formed what he could best have done, a party from the functionary class, required time, and a hold of power based on something more solid than the personal favour of Louis the Eighteenth.

M. Decazes fell, to all appearance, alone. The Doctrinaires had aided in his overthrow, and some of them, such as Lainé and De Serres, succeeded him as ministers, but the blow which struck him was aimed at them also. And when Pasquier, Lainé, and De Serres advised the Royalists to pass an electoral law exclusively in their own favour, these men were but committing political suicide. They were soon indeed told their fate. The ultras denounced them fiercely, and when Pasquier, in astonishment, asked whether they were determined to get rid of every politician, save the furious ultras, they replied they must at least get rid of *him*. Villèle, however, stood up for a time for instruments so useful. He joined their ministry without any especial office, merely demanding that of Public Instruction for Corbière.

But when the work was done, the electoral law passed, Villèle and Corbière withdrew, in order that the fall of the Richelieu ministry might take place without damaging or implicating them. The temporary support given by the Royalists to the Duke of Richelieu lasted during 1821.

In October of that year new elections for one-fifth of the Chamber took place, and turned out, as was inevitable, altogether in favour of the Royalists. Villèle instantly flung off the mask of friendship, that he had worn towards Richelieu and De Serres. And when the session opened, he and his friend Corbière were no longer seen on the ministerial benches. The Duke of Richelieu had hoped to get quietly through the difficult questions of foreign policy raised by the Italian and Spanish revolutions, by steering a middle course and abstaining from active interference. Such a neutral and indifferent attitude displeased alike Royalists and Liberals. The one asked him how he could allow Austria to treat the whole of Italy as if it were its own. The other demanded how long it was intended to permit revolutionists to keep a Bourbon under durance and oppression. An amendment which evinced the discontent of both sides was proposed to the address and carried by a large majority. It was a mortal blow to the administration. Its members, however, made efforts to survive and to reign. They offered the Royalists a batch of more severe laws against the press, which was refused. They made overtures to the Left, which demanded the abrogation of the worst clauses of the last law of election. There was nothing left but to resign. Louis the Eighteenth, though hurt at the circumstance, was softened by the blandishments of his royalist mistress, and consented to receive M. Villèle and Corbière, the former as Finance Minister, the latter in the Home Department. M. De Montmorency took Foreign Affairs; Peyronnet, Justice; the Duke of

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Bellune, War ; Clermont Tonnerre, Marine. Thus the close of 1821 brought as the necessary consequence of an exclusively Royalist chamber, an exclusively Royalist administration.

Whilst the panic and anti-revolutionary tendencies of the governing and more wealthy proprietorial class was thus transferring power to the ultra-Royalists and ultra-religious party, the more active and educated ranks of life, including the professional and the military, being denied the open warfare of Parliament and of the press, turned to the formation of secret societies and conspiracies. There were numbers of the former, but they all merged at last into that of the Carbonari, of which the name and organisation was borrowed from Italy. Not sure of the sincerity of the King or government, the ultra-Royalists did the same. They formed societies, at least semi-secret, for the enforcement rather than the propagation of religious observances, and for the restoration of the country to its ancient state of political subjection to a King, an aristocracy, and a priesthood. Such was the aim of what was called the Congregation. Its opponents mustered in gatherings called *Ventes* or *Venta* of Carbonari. The future judge, counsellor, minister, and legislator of Louis-Philippe, even those who like Barthe became the Justice Minister of the Orleans dynasty, enrolled their names at this time in the *Haute Vente* or the subordinate one.

Lafayette was president. Notwithstanding the care of successive war ministers to purify the army, it was necessarily filled by the generation which, if it did not witness, had heard of, the warlike exploits of Napoleon, and who saw in his memory, apotheosised by his recent death, a more noble object of reverence than aught the restoration could offer. The non-commissioned officers were universally anxious for another such emperor, to restore their profession its old advantages. Military plots were thus formed in the east, west, and south, in

the great garrison town of Befort, the cavalry school of Saumur, and at Marseilles.

The conspiracy of Béfort was the most important, as the plan of insurrection comprised Strasburg and Metz, whilst funds to organise and support it were supplied by the rich manufacturers of Mulhausen.* The time of the plot exploding was fixed for the first days of 1822. Lafayette and his son, Manuel, and Dupont de l'Eure, Scheffer, and D'Argenson, were hastening to the scene of action, when they were stopped on the road by the intelligence, that the plot had been discovered, one of the conspirators seized, and the rest in flight. The officers in the secret had ordered their soldiers to prepare for a march, without acquainting them with the purpose. They unconsciously divulged it, and the attempt was so prematurely quashed, that the chief conspirators had full time and opportunity to escape and avoid detention. No sufficient proofs to warrant death was found against those seized, but for an attempt or rather an intent, to rescue them, Colonel Caron was condemned to death and executed.

The military plot at Marseilles evaporated by the discovery of that of Befort. Those of Saumur and La Rochelle, though equally failures, still took a deep hold of public interest, from the fact of a general being found to be at the head of them, and from the circumstance of the existence and activity of a Carbonari *Vente* being completely disclosed to the government. Saumur was one of the most disaffected towns of the Loire, the entire region, indeed, being more or less so. The existence of a cavalry school in the town, as well as a garrison, added combustibles. A *Vente* of Carbonari was formed there, as at Nantes and La Rochelle. The chiefs had been at Paris, had seen and consulted with

* Vaulabelle's Histoire des Deux Restorations, well informed of the plans and doings of the Liberals of the epoch, offers here the fullest source of information.

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the leading liberal deputies there, and had agreed to rise simultaneously with Befort. Brigadier-General Berton, an officer who had been set aside and persecuted without sufficient cause by the war minister, consented to head the insurrection, which was at first to have broken out in the town. The plan was foolishly changed for one of a first rising in the village of Thouars, and then marching with the peasantry on Saumur. But Berton lost time, the peasantry would not join him, whilst on approaching Saumur (February 24) he met with almost as much opposition as adherence, and instead of forcing his way he retreated. Berton was no fit leader of military insurrection, to whom of all others Danton's motto applied, of—*Audace, audace et toujours de l'audace.*

Berton and his accomplices fled to the coast, some to escape, he to redeem his failure by another attempt. In the mean time, a regiment quartered in Paris, and found to be deeply infected with Carbonarism, was ordered out of it to proceed to La Rochelle. It was the non-commissioned officers of the regiment, and especially the sergeants that had engaged in the plot. Four of them formed a kind of fraternity, known in popular language as the four sergeants of La Rochelle.* The government, alarmed by the frequency and universality of these conspiracies, made at this time extraordinary efforts, and disseminated spies and agents, especially throughout the regiments. Some insinuated themselves amongst the conspirators of La Rochelle, others attached themselves to Berton in an insurrectionary movement, which he was preparing at Saumur. The Carbonari were thus betrayed, their chief members, military and civil, at La Rochelle seized, some not remaining proof to the interrogations, menaces, and cajoleries of the law and police officers.

* Even to this day 1866, their tombs are religiously visited by crowds of the people, in the cemetery of Mont Parnasse, on the commemoration of All-Saints.

The Rochellois were brought before a Paris tribunal, whilst General Berton underwent his trial in the provinces. His treason could not be denied, but the public sympathy was awakened in his favour, not only by the ill-treatment which he had previously received, but by the baseness of the officer who had wormed himself into the general's confidence, and betrayed him.

Although Lafayette and his brother Carbonari were far more deeply implicated in the Béfort conspiracy, than in that of Saumur and La Rochelle, still the latter elicited more evidence against them. The sergeants of La Rochelle had been introduced to the chiefs of the *Haute Vente*, and received instructions from them, and of the conspiration of Saumur. Baudrillet and Grandmesnil had spoken with Lafayette in Paris, and received encouragement and information from him. Baudrillet had admitted this in his first interrogation, but being reproached for his weakness by Grandmesnil, he afterwards evaded the importance of what had escaped him, by giving a very different description of the Lafayette he had seen and talked to, from what that personage really was. Still, as the public accuser of the time maintained the complicity of Lafayette and others, the Liberals in the Chamber were most vehement in their indignant remonstrance. Lafitte and Périer, who were alluded to, though they had ever refrained from the conspiracies in which Lafayette meddled, were as loud in their abnegation.

There cannot be imagined a more striking scene, or more critical moment, than that which occurred during one of these debates—Grandmesnil, the physician of Saumur, had escaped to Paris. Whilst his friends were preparing the means for his further evasion, one of them brought him to the gallery of the Chamber of Deputies to witness the debates. He there heard himself attacked as *contumace* by the ministerial side, and as an *agent provocatif* of the police by the other. Several times he

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arose in agitation, about to declare himself and belie such charges. Once he put his leg over the wooden barrier before him, as though he would jump into the house and denounce both parties. Fortunately, his friend was able to restrain him, and save him from a position so dangerous to all parties. If Grandmesnil was thus persuaded to hold his peace, and Baudrillet to unsay what he had said, the four sergeants of La Rochelle, though offers of life were held out to them, if they would make disclosures, were also firm in preferring death to what they considered dishonour. And thus Lafayette and others escaped, through the stern fidelity of the victims, the fate to which the Royalists would have gladly doomed them.

The failure of this wide-spread conspiracy, or conspiracies is surprising. The merest chance defeated one or two of the attempts, which, had they succeeded, would have generated an instantaneous and irresistible rising throughout the country. The French, indeed, showed themselves bad conspirators on the occasion. Lafayette, especially, was little fitted for such a task. Sanguine, easy, scrupulous, he was as unfit a chief, as the Carbonari could have chosen. Still the House of Bourbon owes much to fortune for having escaped the conspiracies of 1822. And yet fortune, at the time, played them but a sorry trick, for the triumph, then so easily obtained over disaffection and rebellion, civil and military, inspired the ultra-Royalists with a hardihood, and with a contempt of their antagonists, which induced them to venture upon acts more bold and more rash, till the popular resentment was sufficiently roused to effect that in the open day which the Carbonari, in their secret *Ventes*, had utterly feared to conceive, much less to accomplish.

It is probable, that had the Royalist minister been other than M. de Villèle, he would have rushed into a prosecution of the chief Liberals, and produced increased

bad consequences. But the great characteristic of De Villèle was caution. His days had not been passed in emigration. Though a native of Toulouse, he had spent the early part of his life in the West Indies, where he made, with his fortune, a reputation for capacity and habits of business. Returned deputy for Toulouse, he soon acquired influence amongst the Royalists by affecting to join in the enthusiasm and extravagance which he disapproved. He saw clearly the cause of successive ministers failing, to be in their neglect or inability to form a party. He despaired of doing this by bringing the Royalists to share his sentiments; so he professed to share theirs. He was full of zeal in their *conciliabules*, whilst in his converse with the Moderates or with the King, he professed himself disgusted with the impracticability of the extreme partisans. Aware of the difficulty of governing in despite of the monarch, he directed his efforts to overcome the antipathy of Louis the Eighteenth. He succeeded during his short adjunction to the Richelieu administration, being principally aided by the insinuation or blandishments of Madame du Cayla.

Had M. de Villèle been an accomplished statesman, he would have attained power at a favourable moment for one of his character and his views. The fiercest battle between the Royalist and liberal opinions had been fought under the second ministry of the Duke of Richelieu, and the moderate colleagues of the latter had borne the brunt of it. Military conspiracy had been crushed, while the vindictive prosecution of Liberals, supposed, yet not proved, to be conspirators, had been discountenanced by the Chamber of Peers, when trying those brought before it. There was a prospect, therefore, of being able to administer the internal affairs of the kingdom with something like calm. But unfortunately for M. de Villèle, foreign questions rose up at the time predominant. The very amendment to the

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address by which Villèle had risen to power, censuring his predecessors for not being more chary of the honour of the country, compelled the new minister to take a more decided part. This was precisely what he disliked. He knew little of foreign politics, and had not become interested in them. The revolution of Italy had been crushed; that of Spain continued its fluctuating course, and Villèle would gladly have allowed it so to continue. But the more passionate of his party were not of this mind. Some, from hatred to popular revolution, were eager to put down that of Spain; others, like Chateaubriand, sought in the putting of it down bright achievements and illustration for themselves. They wanted a crusade.

M. de Villèle's good sense was averse to such a project. But he did not take the best way to avoid or defeat it. In order to please the Count d'Artois, he had nominated M. de Montmorency to the post of Foreign Secretary. He was also desirous of replacing the name of the Duke of Richelieu by a name as great. The King, on learning M. de Montmorency's nomination for the post, expostulated with Villèle, told him he would repent it on finding an enemy, not a friend, in such a colleague; but M. de Montmorency was *chevalier d'honneur* to the Duchess of Angoulême. He was at least preferable to M. de Chateaubriand, who looked for the place, but who would have been a much more formidable rival. Chateaubriand could not object to the nomination of his friend, Montmorency, and made no difficulty of accepting under him the post of ambassador in London, where he replaced Decazes. The viscount, however, soon disliked his position in a country where there is so little gratification for foreign vanity, and so little room for political or at least for diplomatic intrigue.

Chateaubriand from London not only himself urged Villèle to put down the Spanish revolution by force, but he fomented these ideas in the minds of the Royalist

party. Villèle was most desirous to avoid such an extremity; and he parried the urgent counsels of Châteaubriand by observing that the East was in a flame, and that if France became engaged and embarrassed in Spanish politics, Russia would have the field completely open to her in the Levant. In truth, however, the Spaniards themselves weakened and disgusted all those who demanded non-interference with them, and who put trust in their efforts to establish a constitution. The Liberals turned adrift the clergy, who still remained influential; monks had no other means of livelihood than to turn guerillas. The royal guards were in the same predicament. There was as much self-interest and self-defence in the royalist rebellion as fanaticism. The King shared the interests as well as the sentiments of the rebels; they made an attempt at counter-revolution in Madrid, the result of which was to instal the ultra-revolutionists in power, and render the constitutional government of the Moderates not feasible. It was impossible to respect a creature so baneful, so treacherous, and pusillanimous as the King. Whilst the French Royalists professed a religious devotion for the royal person whatever the character of the individual. When, therefore, Alexander consented to allow a Congress at Vienna, for the chief purpose of considering the affairs of Spain, the Czar at the same time waiving his right, as well as his old inclination, to support the insurrection of the Christians on the Danube, De Villèle could make no opposition.

Louis the Eighteenth gave his minister the excellent advice to go to the congress himself. But Villèle was no diplomatist, and preferred sending Montmorency, whilst to counterbalance the tendencies of such an advocate for religious crusades, Châteaubriand was adjoined to him, as an upholder and expounder of the worldly interests of France.

Although M. de Montmorency's instructions enjoined

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him to reserve to the French government itself the decision of the time and opportunity of interfering in Spain, Montmorency consented at once to a joint despatch of the powers, which made it a European not a French question. England protested and refused its adhesion. Châteaubriand not only remained in the background, but was kept there by Montmorency, who declined even employing his able pen in the drawing up of notes and documents. Montmorency, on his return to Paris, was created a Duke by Louis the Eighteenth, who however, at the same time, declared Villèle, what he had not yet been, President of the Council of Ministers.

The new chief took advantage of his pre-eminence to order the French Ambassador at Madrid to endeavour to persuade the Spanish minister to make concessions and to show moderation. Montmorency, who, on the contrary, prepared for the expediting of an indignant note, in concert with the Powers, to the Spanish government, felt affronted, and resigned. Villèle filled his place by naming Châteaubriand, who was even more zealous than Montmorency, and who was for acting at once without the other Powers.

The notes were forwarded to the government of Madrid. San Miguel answered them, as a Spaniard might be supposed to answer a summons from St. Petersburg or Vienna, ordering in what manner the Spaniards should conduct themselves towards their own sovereign. The three ambassadors of the Holy Alliance forthwith left Madrid. The French, as well as English, remained. But on learning San Miguel's defiance, Châteaubriand drew up a fresh note of fiery remonstrance and indignation. Presenting it to the council, Villèle deprecated, but would not oppose it. To have done so would have been to desert his post as head of the ultra-royalists, and leave it to Châteaubriand. The latter therefore overrode his chief, dictated and carried the provocative note of the French cabinet to Spain, and precipitated the march of the

Duc d'Angoulême at the head of 100,000 men across the Pyrenees.

Strange to say, of the general parties and personages, who hurried on this invasion of the Peninsula, none had for their object or their cares the interests or the welfare of that country. M. de Montmorency's circle were chiefly desirous of saving and perpetuating the Spanish Church, the monks included; others were for preserving a Bourbon in possession of his absolute power. M. de Châteaubriand wanted to lead the French army to easy victory beyond the Pyrenees, in order to obtain power thereby to transport it to the Rhine, and renew the old aggressive policy of Napoleon.* Alexander flattered the French political adventurer, because he hoped to obtain from the ultrà-royalists permission and support to do the same in the Levant. Metternich was for bullying and putting down the Spanish Constitutionalists, but not by a French army. Not one of these distinctive aims was attained. Spanish liberty was indeed stifled for a time, but neither the church nor the monarchy, nor French Royalism, nor Russian intrigue came nearer to the end which they sought. As to the French government, the conduct of Ferdinand, when restored to power, disgraced instead of strengthening not merely the cause of Royalism, but the name of Bourbon. The death of Napoleon, which took place about this time, brought out his character and exploits in bright contrast with those of the rival dynasty, and gave great opportunity for the extolment of his admitted merits.

The determination to invade Spain, announced in the Royal speech, opening Parliament on the 28th of January, 1823, occasioned warm debates and fierce animosity in both Chambers. In the Peers, Prince Talleyrand distinguished himself, by declaring, that he had been once called by the Emperor Napoleon to

* Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe.

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sanction a similar interference with the politics and independence of Spain, that he had not only opposed and deplored it, but pointed out the well-known and fatal consequences which ensued. He was startled, shocked, to find himself, after a lapse of years, placed in the same situation, and called upon to give the same counsel and utter similar warnings. In the Lower Chamber, the unpopularity of the proposed intervention was increased rather than diminished by the explanations which M. de Villèle gave of it. France, he said, was between two alternatives: either to make war upon Spain to put down its democracy, or to engage in a defensive one on its northern frontier against the Powers who were determined that this democracy should be put down. There was little truth in the declaration, for Villèle's acquiescence in intervention, was chiefly to preserve his place, from which he was threatened with ejection by the ultra-royalists and Monsieur, unless he waived his own objections and came over to their policy and their ideas.

The minister's avowal proved an apt theme for opposition, which dilated on the fact of the Eastern powers dictating to France in 1823, just as they had done thirty years before. Manuel was especially warm and eloquent upon this subject, and did not shrink from pointing out in glowing language, the result which the intervention of foreign menaces produced at that time. It was then, exclaimed he, that revolutionary France, feeling the necessity of defending itself, put forth new energy and force—

At these words the entire Right stood up, and burst into exclamations of resentment. They considered Manuel as alluding to the act of regicide, by which France then defied her enemies. He sought to explain, to deny that he meditated any such conclusion, and to state how he really intended to finish his sentence. They would not listen to him. The sitting broke up in

disorder and the next was opened by a fierce demand of La Bourdonnaye for the expulsion of Manuel. It was not merely by the partakers of his opinion in the Chamber that Manuel was defended on this occasion, but by such men as M. de St. Aulaire and Royer Collard. Yielding to a certain sense of shame, M. Hyde de Neuville proposed to change the vote of complete exclusion to that of exclusion merely during the remainder of the session. This was voted April the 3rd; Manuel disdaining to answer aught in his defence.

On the following day Manuel, entering the Chamber by a side door, took his seat with the other members of the Left. Great clamours arose on the opposite side. The President was for a time at a loss what to do. He summoned Manuel by the *huissier* to withdraw, which he refused. A body of National Guards and veterans were then introduced. The major who commanded them, immediately summoned Manuel to withdraw. On his again declining, the officers ordered the sergeants to employ force; but they showed evident signs of disliking the office, and the soldiers present joined in the reluctance. Manuel's friends immediately burst into cries of *Vive la Garde nationale!* These were soon followed by a squad of armed police, whose commander, named Foucaud, after in vain summoning Manuel, gave the order, "*Empoignez-moi M. Manuel*,"—to grip M. Manuel. They accordingly seized that deputy by the collar, and were preparing to drag him out of the Hall, when he observed that further resistance was useless, and quietly walked out. Sixty-two deputies, all the members of the Left, followed him, and signified on the day after this scene their withdrawal from a Chamber "which had exceeded its powers, violated the Charter, and acted once more upon those extravagant principles which had betrayed the revolution into crime. The intentions of the majority were evidently to engage in foreign war, as a prelude to counter-revolution at home, and to

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another occcupation of the national territory by the foreign soldier."

The secession from Parliament of the members of the liberal opposition, put an end to all discussion as well as to any public interest in the acts of the assembly. The four millions sterling demanded for the intervention in Spain, was voted without further observation. All eyes were turned towards the Pyrenees. It was considered a very hazardous measure to collect one-half of the French army in one district. Prince Metternich himself had pointed out the danger. But the French minister relied, and not without reason, on the caution and mistrust impressed on the minds of the French military by the discovery of the secret plots, and by the execution of more especially the military conspirators. The movers, such as Lafayette, D'Argenson, and the civilians had escaped. Berton, Caron, and other officers had paid the penalty. The previous hatred to the Bourbons, so general in the French army, had, moreover, been a professional sentiment. The Bourbons were strangers to the soldier, and inimical to his career. This time a war was opening, which might lead to others, and might give scope for military glory and advancement. The presence and efforts of insurrectionary propagandists in the camp (Fabvier was one of them) were protected indeed and concealed, and met with smiles and approbation, but no zealous or determined adherence.

Notwithstanding this improved spirit in the army, ministers, with the exception of the confident Châteaubriand, were anxious, and their uneasiness was turned to panic, when they learned that a large bale of uniforms, buttons, and cockades of the imperial *régime* had been taken in the baggage of one of the aides-de-camp of the general of the staff. This was Guilleminot, who had once been attached to Davoust. A council of ministers instantly summoned, as hastily decided, that the Duc de

Bellune, war minister, should proceed to Bayonne, take Guilleminot's command, and inquire into the circumstance. He did so, to the great annoyance of the Duc D'Angoulême, who wanted no marshal to overshadow him, and who, consequently, defended Guilleminot and the army from the suspicions of the cabinet. Guilleminot himself and the chief officers made light of the signs of disaffection. All declared that the best thing was to take no notice, but at once commence the campaign. It was more easy to give the order than to execute it. No provision had been made for feeding the 100,000 men whilst advancing into Spain. The War Office had been too busy in purifying regiments and appointing royalist officers to think of a commissariat. The War Minister, Bellune, and the Duc d'Angoulême, were in a dangerous predicament, unable to move, when the financier Ouvrard came to their assistance, and offered to feed the army, of course upon very onerous conditions. Ouvrard had previously offered to do much more, that is, to raise and pay a Spanish royalist army to resist and overthrow the Cortès and restore Ferdinand to power. This, however, did not suit Châteaubriand's views, who wanted to reap the honour and profit himself, and not cede this to the legitimist Spanish regency of Urgel. But Ouvrard's offer to feed the French army was gladly accepted, and on the strength of it, orders were given to pass the Bidassoa.*

The day before the advance to the frontier, Colonel Fabvier made his appearance on the Spanish side of the stream with about 180 followers. It had been his purpose to penetrate across the Spanish videttes on the opposite side, but the state of the tide prevented it. So that Fabvier could but hoist the tri-colour from his own side of the river, and try to induce the soldiers opposite to fraternise with them. These, after a time, fired a gun, but as it took no effect it rather encouraged

* Ouvrard's Mémoires, and that of the Duc de Bellune.

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the refugees. A second fire, however, struck down two or three, and a subsequent round of musketry from a body of gendarmes, killed and wounded many more. There expired the attempt of the imperialist military to make any impression on the royalist army. The Duc d'Angoulême crossed the Bidassoa on the 7th, his soldiers carrying some days' provision. On the 11th of June, the army was at Tolosa famishing. The French generalissimo and his staff were in considerable anxiety to learn how Ouvrard would keep his important promise, to feed the army, for which he had accumulated no stores whatever. Ouvrard was no sooner in the town than he summoned the chief inhabitants, and told them, if they would avoid their property being plundered, they would spread through the country his instant offer to pay in coin treble the value of all provisions brought in. Tolosa presented next day the aspect of an abundant market. Ouvrard had solved the riddle that the Duc d'Angoulême could not comprehend.

As to the Cortès and the Constitutionalists, they fled before the advance of the French, entrusting the defence of the capital to O'Donnel. He sold it at once. The Cortès and government dragged Ferdinand with them to Cadiz, whilst the Duc d'Angoulême followed. After passing the Sierra Morena, he was alarmed at the extravagant vindictiveness and rage of the ultra-royalists or rather ultra sacerdotalists, whom he had come to restore. He issued a decree dissolving their government and forbidding its multitudinous arrests. But as usual, they took no notice of his clemency. In some towns they marched the mass of the citizens to prison under the guard of the monks and the mob. The Constitutionalists thought to take advantage of the disgust thus occasioned by launching Riego forth from Cadiz to make a diversion in the rear of the French. But he failed, was captured, foretelling by his fate that of the revolution. The fortifications before Cadiz were stormed by the French.

The city might have held out long, as it had done against Napoleon. But Ferdinand was lavish of flattery and cajolery. He promised amnesty, clemency, and friendship to the Constitutionalists, if they would let him go, and kept on the mask till the very moment of his being landed free on the opposite shore. The instant his foot was there, he assumed his true look and character, that of the executioner. Alava, who accompanied him, saw that look, and escaped.

The French government, as soon as it received the decree of Ferdinand, abolishing the constitution and all that had taken place under it, and restoring the suicidal and priestly despotism of the previous century, was heartily ashamed. Both Châteaubriand and Villèle were so. The latter consoled himself by declaring such things inevitable, the former by the great glory, which he deemed accruing to himself. The successful campaign, whilst it delivered Spain to a stupid tyranny, which could not endure, and which was worse than the turbulence of any revolution, definitively disgusted the English government and the English people with the Bourbons. Châteaubriand defied Canning, and looked to a Russian alliance, to aid him in nothing less than a recovery of the Imperial frontier of the Rhine. The English minister, in retaliation, recognised the independence of Spanish colonies beyond the Atlantic, which had successfully won that boon, and only wanted to be confirmed in it. Such a policy had long been pressed upon the English government, but had always been evaded as impolitic and unfair.* Now it became just retaliation, and Canning, as he boasted, called the New World into existence to redress the endangered balance of the Old.

It is due to the memory of the Duc d'Angoulême

* Lord Grenville, and the statesmen of his day, repelled all the proposals of General Miranda for this purpose as encouraging revolution. —See Castlereagh Correspondence, vol. vii.

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to observe, that when left to himself, and removed from the ultra-royalist fanaticism of the court, he displayed a liberal and generous disposition. He made every effort to moderate the savage and sanguinary reaction of the Spaniards, whom his army had restored to power. When he returned, he insisted on the removal from the war office of the reactionary Duc de Bellune, and the substituting for him of General Guilleminot, who had been denounced as a Liberal. In this he had partly succeeded. But Louis the Eighteenth was sinking in health, and utterly unable to resist the exigencies of his brother and the ultras; so that Guilleminot was sent envoy to Constantinople, and an *émigré*, De Damas, a follower certainly of the Duc d'Angoulême, was appointed successor to the Duc de Bellune. In the exultation of its triumph, government made a clean sweep from place of every functionary that could be accused of even semi-liberalism. The celebrated professors of the Collége de France, the Cousins, the Villemains, and the Guizots, were all silenced, and the university handed over completely to the priesthood. The *École normale* was suppressed. The tyranny exercised over Liberals and the press became almost identical with that of the *ancien régime*. Messrs. Corbière and Peyronnet were, indeed, far more severe and inquisitorial than any minister of Louis the Sixteenth had dared to be.

If Châteaubriand was exultant in the success of his great military exploit, Villèle was well pleased at its being brought to an end. The aim of the former was to follow up his triumph by more popular aggression on the Rhine, in concert with Russia; Villèle proposed directing the care and activity of government to domestic questions. Châteaubriand lived amongst the ideas of half a century previous, Villèle, on the contrary, looked to the present. He saw England prospering, increasing its productions, its exports, diminishing its expenditure, reducing the interest of its debt, mooting and acting

upon a variety of new and fruitful principles in commercial and colonial policy. The French minister thought, that the fixity of the English parliamentary system allowed its ministers to enter upon this path, and the great foundation of this fixity he thought he descried in Septennial elections. The recent elections had been rendered exclusively royalist, as much by the influence and dictation of the government functionaries, as by the low state of the liberal party. Villèle, therefore, resumed Decazes' project of a majority made and kept by the government. He did not perceive, that what was a rope of hemp in England, might prove a rope of sand in France. He, however, determined to try and make the utmost use of the influence that the prefects and the clergy had gained over the electoral colleges. Since the success of the army in Spain, opposition seemed idle, and especially in the provinces. The time-servers and the interested saw no other prudent line of conduct than complete subservience to the dominant party. To take advantage of this, the ministers dissolved the Chambers, and superseded the custom of annual elections of one-fifth by a simultaneous re-election of deputies throughout the whole country.

The result answered his desire. The agents of government employed every means of violence and seduction. And they were the more successful as they laboured with the stream. Liberalism became gradually out of fashion, except in Paris and the great centres. Not more than thirteen members of the Left were returned.

The minister opened the session by a law of Septenniality; prolonging the existence of the legislature to seven years. "Seven years," exclaimed Royer Collard, "is an age in France! Where are the men and ideas of seven years ago? Where shall we be seven years hence?" Royer Collard was a Cassandra, to whom no one listened. And the law was voted.

It was accompanied by another measure, fraught with

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far graver consequences. This was a proposal to reduce the Five per Cents. nominally to Three, but really to Four per cent., since even the holders, who refused the conversion, were to be paid at the rate of Seventy-five. Whatever the merit of this as a financial measure—the rise of the Five per Cents. above par, affording at least a fair pretext for the operation—as a political one, it was a move, at least for Villèle, in a wrong direction. The money which the minister was to gain by the operation, he proposed diverting to the purpose of paying an indemnity to the *émigrés* who had lost their property. Although this was closing one of the wounds of the revolution, and consolidating the title of the purchasers of confiscated property, still it was denounced by the Liberals, and considered by them as a gratuitous offering to the now dominant classes of clergy and noblesse. It was at the same time exceedingly invidious, and, they declared, unjust to the commercial and middle classes. The momentary rise in the funds which allowed Villèle to bring forward his proposals, was, they affirmed, temporary and artificial—Government, it was alleged, despoiling capitalists, small and great, of one-fourth of their income to hand it over to the *émigrés* and the *hobereaux*, as the squires were called. The great bankers Périer and others maintained this opinion, and the former was able to express them in the tribune of the Chamber. In Paris, so full of *petits rentiers*, there was a perfect storm of opposition and discontent. This latter class found an unexpected advocate in the Archbishop of Paris, who denounced Villèle's measure in the Peers, as a war upon poor and middling fortunes. And Villèle was obliged to promise to respect them in the definitive law.

His concession, however, proved useless. The bill triumphantly passed the Lower Chamber, but in that of the Peers it encountered an unlooked-for opposition; that upper House was not what Villèle would have liked

to make it, a representative of the wealthier portion of landed interest. It was composed of functionaries, of the veteran generals and civilians living upon pensions, and monied savings, rather than upon hereditary property. The Peers, too, were dwellers in the capital, rather than in the provinces, where they had neither interest, dignity, nor influence. They thus shared in the sentiments of the Parisians, rather than in those of the squires. And from the first they showed their dislike of the law.

Their want of allegiance to the prime minister was more than countenanced by his rival in the Cabinet, Châteaubriand. That politician found all power monopolised by Villèle, who had adroitly managed to secure the favour of both the King and the Count d'Artois. For this purpose, Villèle gave up everything to his colleague Corbière and the Church party. Châteaubriand, when he wished to inaugurate fresh schemes of foreign policy, was not listened to. At this his spirit chafed; and he vented his anger in sarcasms upon Villèle's law, although Châteaubriand evidently was ignorant of the first principles of finance.

Such being the case, it was too much to expect him to become its advocate. But his opposition was so public in court as well as in the columns of the "Débats," that when he offered Villèle to resign with him, in case the Conversion bill was thrown out, the minister took it as a sarcasm, rather than a promise of adherence. The minister in selecting the Church and the retrogrades for his allies, had disgusted all the intellectual even of the royalist party. And these overwhelmed him in the press and in society. More solid and respected was the the opposition of such men as Count Roy and Mollien in the Upper Chamber, who were considered far superior in the science of finance to Villèle himself. To such combined hostility the law succumbed, its very first clause being rejected in the Chamber of Peers by 120 to 105 votes.

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Not only was Villèle mortified by this check, but the King also, who, through the daily influence of Madame du Cayla, had come to support his minister with almost as much zeal as he had shown to Decazes. The monarch, moreover, had a personal dislike for Châteaubriand, and, in truth, the viscount had the art of alienating every political friend. His memoirs remain a striking proof of the utter egotism and of the general unamiability which obviously characterised a man absorbed in self. A few days after the rejection of the bill, the "Moniteur" announced that M. de Villèle was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs *ad interim*, in room of Châteaubriand. A right royalist and incapable *émigré*, General de Damas, was subsequently appointed to fill the place.

Châteaubriand immediately commenced opposition in the press. He found an apt organ in the "Journal des Débats," and whilst the journalists of the Left denounced Villèle and Corbière as the ministers of reaction and sacerdotalism, Châteaubriand depicted them as poor devils without capacity or firmness, mere secretaries to the reactionists and the congregation. The minister, galled and fretted, sought to stem this torrent and take vengeance on the press by prosecuting them before the tribunals under the recent law, for "a tendency to bring contempt on the government." But some of the articles incriminated were merely the announcement of irrefragable facts, such as, that the Home Minister had caused M. Magalon, editor of a liberal paper, to be dragged through the streets handcuffed to a *galérien*. It was upon this occasion that appeared the first symptoms of the resistance of the judges to the dominant party, and yet the Imperialists and Republicans had been removed, whilst their places, with all new appointments, were filled from the rising Royalists of the bar. Notwithstanding this the old leaven abounded in the Palais de Justice. The judges there, time out of

mind, had been jealous of ecclesiastical influence and antagonistic to the priesthood, and now that the court and government showed exclusively sacerdotal leanings, a kind of Jansenist spirit awoke in opposition and animated the judicial breast. The Royal Court acquitted the "Courrier Français."

The Courts of Justice thus failing the government, it set up a kind of office, and supplied it with funds for the corruption or purchase of the journals which most galled it. The same agent who had been so successful in introducing Madame du Cayla to the King, was appointed Minister of the Household, and charged with corruption of the press; one is sorry to tell, that his name was La Rochefoucauld. He could only purchase some minor prints, but failed with both "Constitutionnel" and "Quotidienne," the latter a royalist organ. In these straits, and unable to bear the daily torrent of invective, Villèle re-established the censorship, the blank columns caused by it exciting almost as much resentment as the suppressed diatribe. Such writers as Châteaubriand then betook themselves from the columns of the diurnal press to pamphlets, whilst Béranger had always a new song to pour amongst the crowd and demonetise the monarchy.

It was immensely to the surprise as well as mortification of Villèle, to find himself outvoted in one of the Chambers, as well as depopularised by the press. He had overridden his liberal enemies by reducing them to a mere fraction in parliament. His more immediate competitors for office, De Serres and the Duc de Richelieu, had died. Decazes seemed forgotten.

Villèle remained sole master, so writes M. Guizot. Instead of having to defend himself against a strong opposition of the Left, he found himself in front of one combined with that of the Right. As long as Châteaubriand, remained by his side, Villèle was attacked merely by the extravagance of La Bourdonnaye and Delalot." But

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when that noble writer descended into the arena against the minister, he became the centre of an opposition of all colours, royalist and liberal, *ancien régime* and *jeune France*, with both the popular and the aristocratic press on his side. Harassed by such an opposition, Villèle fell into a greater peril than even that which it threatened. He was delivered up without refuge or defence to the influence of his own party. His lay friends were bad enough, but his ecclesiastical followers soon impelled him to measures and to a policy, which terminated by completely depopularising the minister, and finally driving him from power.

Louis the Eighteenth has been generally belauded for having kept the monarchy erect, and himself upon the throne as long as he lived. But, in truth, the aged monarch, by giving himself up, towards the end of his reign, to the ultra-royalists, and above all to the ecclesastical party, began to undermine the weak edifice that he himself had raised. He could no doubt have established a constitutional government, if he had tried it, fully and heartily abided by its principles, and accepted its consequences. But the determination not to govern but with a majority in his views, and to make, *per fas et nefas*, that majority, or the electoral law, which produced it; this was not only begun, but established, by Louis the Eighteenth, and Charles the Tenth did but follow it up. When Villèle chose De Damas and Doudeauville as his brother ministers, and governed in their spirit, he merely preluded by his government to that of Polignac.

The King had for some time lost all connection with the outer or popular world. He had no longer a minister or confidant of even the middle party to acquaint him with the public sentiment or the public exigencies. His brother had succeeded in forming a regular investment of the throne. Villèle would have been moderate had he dared, but Villèle was as closely besieged and as much threat-

ened and subjugated as the King. Villèle and Louis the Eighteenth used to converse together as to how they could best resist, and what they must necessarily yield to the ultra-royalist demands. Resist or deny them was impossible, for the minister had destroyed alike the middle and liberal party. Opposition to ultra-royalist exigencies could only come from the King. But they had agreed *not* to importune him; whilst Louis, in turn, fond of his ease, made use of Madame Du Cayla and Villèle as buffers to protect him from the shocks of the exigent party. To her ear the Royalists confided their demands, and Madame du Cayla disclosed them to the King, who, calling Villèle to private council, resisted, yielded, or compromised.* In reality, the Count d'Artois was already King, whilst Louis dreamed away his declining existence, enjoying the brilliant semblance of a court, with all its old etiquette, and from vanity seeking similar enjoyment by being wheeled through the halls of Versailles or the Trianon, or left to repose in his old apartments there, conjuring up the past, and vainly congratulating himself at being the restorer of his race, and the maintainer of its privileges and its rights.

The last acts forced upon the dying monarch by Madame du Cayla, and the Justice Minister Peyronnet, were the appointment of a Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs,† and the reorganisation of the Council of State by the expulsion of Decazes' friends and the introduction in their place of priests. It was the last occasion upon which Louis the Eighteenth protested against the extreme tendencies of his brother. As the autumn of 1824 advanced, the King fell into almost continued somnolence. His extremities being benumbed, began to mortify. The monarch full of the spirit of the 18th

* Lamartine.

† Mémoires de l'Abbé Liautard.

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century had always treated the ceremonies of religion with respect rather than observance. To arouse him to admit the performance of those befitting his state was difficult. It was, however, managed by the blandishments of Madame du Cayla. After this he bade adieu to his own family, and addressed some warning words to his brother. He recommended to him the *Charter* as his best heritage, and besought him to preserve it for the sake of his subjects, of himself, and of the young Duc de Bordeaux. On the 16th of September, Louis expired. The Count d'Artois was immediately saluted king by those who thronged the Palace. The first use he made of it was to shut himself up in the royal apartments, and burn or make away with all papers, including, it is supposed, a testament of the late king in favour of Madame du Cayla. This was the recompense for what she had done for the new king's power and cause. Charles the Tenth granted her a life pension of 1,000*l.* a-year.

It was unfortunate for the experiment of restoring the Bourbon dynasty permanently in France that its two representatives belonged to the previous century, and came to the throne imbued with its habits and ideas, not with those of the age over which they were called to reign. Whilst Charles the Tenth had preserved all the besotted ideas of that century, the very ones which had undermined and ruined the throne, Louis the Eighteenth was a fair type of the liberalism which preceded 1789. He had learned either to mock or to treat lightly all the idols of the ancient *régime*. He ridiculed the pretensions of the ultra-religious, the ultra-monarchical, and even the ultra-moral. But his character was too weak, and his resolve too vacillating, to allow his convictions to extend beyond the negative. He, however, always maintained two things, Legitimacy and the Charter. And had his family allowed him to execute honestly the latter, the nation would have

pardoned and accepted legitimacy. But the royalist administration certainly falsified the Charter, and aimed at governing and legislating in the name of a party, which time and events soon proved to be but a small portion of the nation. Younger princes might have escaped from this political and religious nightmare—the resuscitated spectre of the ancient *régime* which the restored old court kept alive and worshipped, to the disgust of the nation, of the parliament, and even of the King. The old princes both underwent its sway, which their grandson, in the bustle and collision of life, might have shaken off. As it was, the brothers of Louis the Sixteenth did but make the hopeless effort of governing France of the nineteenth century with the superannuated prejudices and ideas of the eighteenth. They and their government were an anachronism, and were finally rejected by the age and the generation, as something foreign and repugnant to them.

CHAPTER XLV.

CHARLES THE TENTH.

1824–1830.*

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It is scarcely to be wondered, that Kings should be sometimes infatuated with the great merit of their birth, when crowds come forward to utter welcomes and indulge in jubilation at the accession of sovereigns who, as princes, have shown the utmost contempt for popular interests and popular rights. Few monarchs received more ovations of joy than Charles the Tenth in the first days of his reign, not only from his courtiers and from the gentry who came to greet him, but from the citizens of Paris, and even from the mob. One of the first acts of his reign being a review of the National Guard, he was so beset by the crowd of people on proceeding to the Champ de Mars, that the lancers of his escort were obliged to form a circle round him to keep off the people. *Point de hallebardes*,—"No halberts," exclaimed Charles the Tenth to the soldiers, forbidding them to disperse the populace. The words were repeated, and excited loud

* The author was a resident in Paris during this and the greater part of the following reign, a close observer of political events, with more or less acquaintance with the statesmen and writers of the day. The following chapters were chiefly written from his notes and reminiscences, which it would be difficult to trace to their further sources; and hence the few references made in these chapters. The author, has, however, not failed to consult the able historians, who have treated of the epoch, Vaulabelle, Lamartine, Duvergier d'Hauranne, Capefigue, Vielcastel, besides the innumerable pamphlets and periodicals that appeared.

huzzas. One might have supposed it was Henry the Fourth entering his capital.

Whilst his accession was thus hailed by the people, and by the National Guard, the Liberals were at first gratified to learn, that on the Peers and members of the Lower Chamber presenting their respects, Charles declared his determination to maintain the Charter and constitution of the late King. The Charter indeed, since it had been made to give a royalist majority, was all that the King could require. He had no reason to dislike or denounce it. With a parliament of his own way of thinking, Charles found for the first time a people equally loyal, equally eager to applaud. And being a prince who never looked below the surface of things, he did not see the truth, which was, that the people put faith in his frank and free demonstrations of liberalism, and merely came forward on their part, to forget the past and meet their once reactionary prince half way on the road he had apparently taken to conversion.

It was a flagrant mistake on both sides, and only stands as a proof how ready the French people were to accept the Bourbons, had they taken pains to render themselves acceptable. A little incident first awakened the public to suspicion. A popular actor, named Philippe, having died, the priest refused to receive his remains into the church, or perform any service. A similar refusal to receive the remains of an actress had occurred at the commencement of Louis the Eighteenth's reign, and that prince at once commanded the clergy to desist. Charles the Tenth, it now appeared, would do no such thing. Neither would Corbière, the Home Minister, interfere with the clergy. This at once opened the eyes of the Parisians to the character of the new reign.

An act as unpopular about the same time issued from the War Office. It was an order, placing upon half pay the veteran officers of the empire, all, in fact, who had not served for a certain time.

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Yet previous to such acts as this, Charles the Tenth personally compelled his ministers to abolish the censorship. The monarch deemed that his own popularity could cover at once himself and his ministers' reprobation, when, the next moment, both indulged in measures that were certain to provoke it. The popularity of the new reign did not last above a month. The parliamentary session soon opened and displayed the real intentions and action of the government.

The royal speech, opening the session on Christmas eve, 1824, announced a bill of indemnity to the *émigrés* whose lands had been confiscated. Some days after the New Year, M. de Villèle explained that a milliard (1,000,000,000 fr.) would be required for this purpose. He accompanied it as before with the conversion of the Five per Cent. to Three-and-a-half. The *Garde des Sceaux* at the same time proposed a new law of Sacrilege, with increased facilities for the founding of convents and nunneries. A civil list of 1,000,000*l.* sterling was proposed for the King.

The Duke of Orleans had been treated with some dislike and jealousy by the late King. His unsold estates, which were the greater part of the former possessions of the family, a considerable portion consisting of forests, were restored him only under the title of *apanage*. The Duke wanted them to be secured by a parliamentary vote, and Charles the Tenth proposed to do this. The ultra-royalists objected and showed their rancour to the Orleans family, but the law passed. The Duke was also styled Royal Highness, a title that Louis the Eighteenth would never allow. But Charles the Tenth restored all the old appellations and dignities of the family. His son became Dauphin, the Duchess d'Angoulême, Dauphiness, the Duchess of Berry, Madame. The Dauphin was the supposed title of a young prince, and attached to him were *menins*, or boys to suffer whipping for him. The very mature Dauphin

had now his *menins* in the shape of old courtiers. No wonder that Béranger mocked and that the French people grinned at them.

Had M. de Villèle been allowed to follow the dictates of his own policy he would have been contented with introducing the indemnity to the *émigrés* and the accompanying conversion of the stock at high interest. This, with the vote of the civil list, would have satisfied him, and occupied the session without awakening the passions of the multitude. But Charles the Tenth sanctioned M. de Villèle's continuance in office solely on the condition of his satisfying the priestly party, which surrounded the monarch. Lamartine has sketched the personages, lay and ecclesiastic, which formed that camarilla. They were the most inept and silly persons that could be collected from a large and intelligent society. Charles the Tenth contrived to skim the froth of the age, and to form his secret council, leaving out all the genius and intelligence even of the royalist party. No writer had done more for religion than Châteaubriand: the innate dulness of the King's private circle could not abide him. Although he was more of an amateur religionist than a real one, he could at least give good counsel, and would have prevented his party from incurring unpopularity themselves and bringing it upon the King, for the sake of passing laws which were of no use to the cause.

The law of Sacrilege, for example, which condemned to the punishment of parricide, the cutting off the hand first, and other tortures, persons guilty of profaning the Holy Cup or Wafer. What result could it produce? No one could be found capable of insulting the great object of Catholic reverence, unless he were a madman or an idiot. Yet for him were revived the barbarous penalties of the middle ages. There were already 1,800 convents in France under the existing law, and surely they prospered sufficiently and propagated fast enough,

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without facilitating heritage to monastic establishments. It was for such futile aims that the Church sacrificed the monarchy. The latter, as M. Guizot observes, could have stemmed the current of opposition, had the efforts of government been directed merely to the restoration of lay institutions. Laws respecting these, such as the re-establishment of entail, and the right of the eldest son, would have been considered as not affecting the peasant or the citizen. But the clergy were ubiquitous, their tyranny was everywhere. Not the smallest place or favour under government was to be had, in the reign now opening, without the applicant having attended confession and obtained a priest's certificate. This kind of tyranny came home to every cottage, and divided not only towns but villages into independent and hypocritical devotees. "Up to this period," says M. Guizot, "the current of ideas was in favour of religion and its restoration. But from the moment that the clergy made use of their power at court to dominate and tyrannize, a reaction took place, infidelity became the stronger current; and the works of Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau, which had almost disappeared, once more saw the light, and, despite of prohibitions, became the intellectual food of even the humblest readers."

If the law of Sacrilege afforded a fertile theme for the philosophic orators of the liberal press, like Royer Collard, the indemnity to the *émigrés* was chiefly opposed by those of imperialist leanings. The scheme itself could scarcely be considered by impartial judges as illiberal or unjust, however foolish and criminal was the first emigration, which ran away rather than submit to constitutional reforms, and undertook to invade France and subdue it, in concert with the foreign enemy. But those who escaped from the Terror, or from the proscription of successive parties, could not have deserved the loss of property. If the nation had benefited by the division of the soil and the substitution of

the lower and middle for the upper class in the possession of land, the nation could afford to pay for what in this case had been unwarrantable spoliation. All indeed would have admitted this, had the old proprietorial families accepted the new order of things, and could it be seen that the pecuniary indemnity fully satisfied them. Far from this the Royalists, chiefly *émigrés* who formed the court, and the majority in the Chamber, were making use of their power to reverse all that had been achieved by the revolution; and therefore the indemnity to them was resisted, as so much paid into the treasury of a foe. The late severe measures against the general officers of the empire was coupled by General Foy with the present munificence to the *émigrés*, and he asked if the crumbs which fell from the splendid banquet table of the *émigrés* might not be allowed to fall to those discarded veterans who had immortalised the republic and achieved the glories of France.

Whilst the opposition in the Lower Chamber to the law of indemnity thus aroused all the passions of party, in the Chamber of Peers the objections had more weight because they were purely financial. Count Roy, ex-minister of finance, brought forward the principal objection to the bill, which was, that the rate of interest had not fallen below 5 per cent. The subsequent year proved him to be correct, the Three per Cents in some months after conversion being quoted at 60, not at 75. Great bankers had, however, speculated on Villèle's former bill of conversion, and still held large quantities of Five per Cent. stock which the new law of conversion alone would allow them to get rid of without loss. Hence urged the opposition to M. de Villèle's law: "Reject it, and the only untoward result will be lamentations and loss in Jerusalem." The law, however, passed for the conversion of 140,000,000 of francs of the Five per Cents. which, by a singular coincidence of figures,

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were in the hands of 140,000 holders. How circumscribed was the monied interest in France at that epoch is shown, not only by these figures, but by the argument admitted on both sides, that the holders of the higher stock must accept the terms of the minister, there being at the time no other possible mode of investment.

Fierce as had been the cries of opposition against the indemnity to the *émigrés*, the liberal party obtained no small portion of it. The Duke of Orleans received a large sum; the Duke de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt, 60,000*l.*; the Duke de Choiseul, 40,000*l.*; Lafayette, 18,000*l.* Whilst Villèle was pouring these sums into the laps of the *émigrés*, he was singularly ungrateful to the man who had enabled their government and the Duke d'Angoulême to achieve the conquest of Spain. Ouvrard demanded his price, a large one certainly, between two and three millions sterling. He received the greater part, but with opposition in parliament. The Liberals and the Ultra-royalists thundered against the dilapidations of the War Office, and hinted that Ouvrard could never have obtained such a bargain except by bribing all around the commander-in-chief. Villèle could not screen Ouvrard, and abandoned him, even although, by so doing, he abandoned his colleague the Duke de Bellune, and even the Dauphin. Ouvrard, another Beaumarchais, was sent to prison and there wrote his memoirs, which, if not so witty, are quite as piquant as those of the dramatist.

The ceremony of the coronation followed the close of the session, and was as splendid as the zealots of the old monarchy could make it. Hugo and Lamartine were its laureates. Châteaubriand poured forth his loyalty in prose on the occasion, and got little in return save an empty jest from Charles the Tenth. The King perhaps remembered that Châteaubriand had hailed with equal enthusiasm the birth of the King of Rome. The vial of Holy Oil which had anointed Clovis, and which the

Convention had broken on a dung heap, was miraculously discovered and used again, far more to the amusement of the wits, than the edification of the multitude. Both the Sacrilege law and other sacerdotal ones of the session, the crowning and anointing of Charles the Tenth, might have been accepted as a national pageant. But the spirit of the new reign and government was already too evident for the public to feel any other sentiment towards it than derision.

Although Villèle succeeded in carrying his financial measures, they passed in both Chambers opposed by a minority far more formidable than the minister expected. The truth was, that the Septenniality, which he intended to result in increased servility, produced on the contrary more independence. Whilst La Bourdonnaye drew away the Ultra-royalists, Châteaubriand seduced the Moderates, and liberalism though counting few voices in the Chamber, acquired louder action in the nation. The death of General Foy at this time from a heart disease, revealed the immense popularity of this chief of opposition. His loss eclipsed every topic, and almost suspended business. As he died poor, a national subscription, set on foot for his widow and children, produced a large sum; Lafitte contributed 2,000*l.*, the Duke of Orleans 400*l.*

Such events as these kindled the national enthusiasm in favour, unfortunately, of all that the government repudiated. And the clergy took most preposterous pains to excite animadversion, and keep alive the anger against them. As the year 1826 began a new quarter of a century, they instituted what they called a Jubilee, which was the occasion for religious processions, fêtes, and scandal. For all who did not join in these processions were marked out for disgrace by the ruling powers. The consequence was that the timid and the time-serving joined in them. The Duke of Orleans showed his gratitude to the King by figuring in these

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exercises, even Marshal Soult thought it prudent to bear in one of these processions the torch of a penitent. All the Royalists did not show equal submission to the times. An Auvergnat gentleman of this party, named Montlosier, came forward to denounce the existence of the Jesuits, and their establishment in France as illegal and as menacing.* The liberal journals took up the theme, and the *procureur-général* commenced prosecutions against them for a tendency to bring religion into contempt. The journals chose M. Dupin for their advocate. No individual more fully represented the spirit and character of the old French lawyer than Dupin. Steadily monarchic, his jealousy of ecclesiastical encroachments upon the rights of judge and jurisconsult equalled that of the old parliament which banished the Jesuits. The Cour Royale could not resist his eloquence. And the journals were acquitted.

By gratifying the religious party in their schemes for sacerdotalising the internal government and administration of France, Villèle at least succeeded in putting an extinguisher upon the plans of the Châteaubriand party for initiating a new and aggressive foreign policy. His colleagues indeed of the War Office pursued a dangerous course, if France was contemplating a new war. For not only were all the imperialist officers dismissed, but the army itself so disgusted by its subjection to the priests, that even young officers resigned, and abandoned the military career in disgust. Châteaubriand had chalked out a far different course, and the Czar Alexander for a long time counted on his co-operation. That monarch expired about this time at Taganrog; and his death suspended for a while the schemes of the French ultra-royalists for a Russian alliance. Europe indeed was interested by a cause far more sacred than the

* The tomb of Montlosier stands erected at a few paces from his family château, the ecclesiastics of his district refusing him sepulchre in their cemeteries.

greed of sovereigns or the cold calculations of statesmen. After years of heroic struggles the Greeks were now threatened not merely with subjugation, but extinction. And the Liberals of all countries, of France as of England, came together to aid the Hellenes, with money, with arms, with eloquence. One statesman alone seemed fully to sympathise with their cause. And this was Canning.

Villèle, drawing to the close of his influence and his career, confessed himself too much harassed to undertake so vast an enterprise. Châteaubriand and the ultras had drawn him into Spanish intervention, the consequences and embarassments of which still weighed upon the government. Villèle therefore declined what Canning proposed, which was, that England and France should intervene to save Greece, taking the initiative of the generous act out of the hands of Russia. The French minister failing him, Canning appealed directly to the new Czar, and the First Protest of European diplomacy in favour of Greece was signed in April, 1826, between England and Russia, France joining.

A difference had arisen between Spain and Portugal, much more pressing and, for the Western powers, more important. The death of the sovereign of Portugal, John VI. had opened the succession of that country to his eldest son, Don Pedro. He already reigned in Brazil, and found it impossible to occupy two thrones, one on either side of the Atlantic. He therefore proposed transferring that of Portugal to his daughter, Donna Maria, and at the same time marrying her to his brother, Don Miguel. The latter, however, claimed it for himself exclusively, whilst the partisans of Donna Maria maintained her rights, coupled with the establishment of a constitution granted by Don Pedro. There arose in Portugal the same quarrel between Cortès and absolutism which had prevailed in Spain, and which the French had solved by putting down the Cortès. The government proposed to do the same in Portugal, but

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Canning intervened and despatched 10,000 troops to Lisbon, which proved an insuperable obstacle, not only to Ferdinand, but to the French ultras. Villèle alone admitted that Mr. Canning's conduct was justified by treaties. He was not, like M. de la Bourdonnaye, for following up the crusade against Spain, by a war against England for Portugal. On the contrary, he joined England so far in blaming the conduct of the Spanish government, that the French ambassador was withdrawn from Madrid. Villèle was prepared to go even further than this, and join England in recommending the Spanish government to recognise the independence of its South American colonies. The French minister had passed his youth in these countries, and knew how vain it was for Spain to hope to recover its lost dominion. Spanish statesmen were obstinate, however, and Villèle saw with displeasure England acquire that predominance in South America which Spain, and conjointly with Spain, France, might have acquired.

"During the three years," writes M. Guizot, "which elapsed between the accession of Charles the Tenth and his own fall, M. de Villèle did not struggle against the fickle inconsequence of the King but took advantage of it to ward off the blows of his various enemies. Too clear-sighted to hope that Charles would persevere in that line of steady and sagacious moderation which his brother had pursued, he managed that the new king should at least show himself, now and then, moderate and popular, so as not to appear altogether given up to reaction. Clever to seize the proper moment for influencing the monarch, Villèle induced him to abolish at one time, if he re-established at another, the censorship, soften the rigour of the laws, as well as to aggravate them, and to utter phrases that might be considered as liberal, amongst other expressions of his admiration for the bygone state of things. Similar was Villèle's policy before the Chamber. He proposed laws which went to

the address of all parties. The indemnity of the *émigrés* was intended to satisfy the lay Royalists, the recognition of Hayti was a sop to the Liberals; his financial regularity and reforms gratified intelligent men, and especially the functionary class, in France the best able to form a judgment on these matters. The law of entail and right of the eldest son flattered the would-be aristocracy; that of sacrilege, the priesthood; and in the midst of this there was always an effort to do something, if possible, for progress. Villèle flattered himself that this was the wiser policy for the epoch, an epoch which he characterised as the end of revolution." In this he was mistaken, for his prince and his party so worked and so befooled themselves and the nation, that they resuscitated, instead of lulling, the old spirit of revolution, which rose and grew, and at last menaced with such violence as to defy all such timid and one-sided policy as Villèle attempted. That minister was trodden down at last by the united passions and antipathy of the two extreme parties.

M. Guizot exaggerates when he represents Villèle as, in the slightest degree, favouring progress. He performed a few acts in that direction at first; but later he was able merely to bring forward those laws which the reactionists dictated, suppressing or moderating some few of their extravagant demands. Amongst his concessions to the Liberals is counted his recognition of the independence of Hayti in 1826. He did this at the price of an indemnity of six millions sterling to be paid by the new republic to the old colonists, and of a tariff, by which French commodities were to pay one-half of those of other countries. It was a measure dictated by the simplest good sense, and one of course fiercely denounced by the Ultra-royalists, who desired to reconquer San Domingo, as well as Spain, France, and the world to monarchy and absolutism.

If the recognition of San Domingo, the first measure

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of the session of 1826, was hailed by the Liberals, that which followed it was a move in a far opposite direction. The proposal was to change the law for the equal division of property, at least for those fortunes which paid more than 800 francs territorial impost. Of such properties a large share was to fall to the eldest son, if there was no will to the contrary. Facilities for entail, or substitution, as the French call it, were also given by another clause. No attempt could be more foolish, more unpopular or out of place. In a country where the possession of land, especially to a certain extent, implies political influence, and, with political influence, the power of providing for younger children, the *droit d'aînesse* may have arguments in its favour. But in France where land brought no more influence than other property, it was idle to attempt to distinguish it, or reconstitute it feudally. M. de Peyronnet, the author and patron of the law, endeavoured to uphold it from the necessity of putting a stop to the subdivision of landed property, which in some Departments deprived the state of all revenue from land-tax. It was not worth collecting from so many and such small holders. But if this was the case, why limit the operations of the law to the highest tax-payers? The true correction to the extensive subdivision of the land was the increase of capital. Economical reasons had, however, little weight. The objection to the measure was that it went to restore the *ancien régime*, and against this the outcry was loud. The middle class was peculiarly indignant. How such a law could affect the shopkeeper of the rue St. Denis would have been difficult to explain. This class might certainly derive higher profit from selling to an aristocracy than to their equals. But it mattered not, the *bourgeoisie* were furious at the idea that any class should be considered above them. Not even priestly domination more depopularised the Bourbons, than this poor and futile attempt to preserve the old rustic manoir.

Villèle incurred all the unpopularity merely to please the squires, for really what he proposed would have gone a very small way towards reconstituting aristocracy or maintaining squirearchy. The national prejudice ran contrary to the *droit d'aînesse*, and one of Villèle's published letters bears witness how fully aware he was of the nullity of his legislation, yet he allowed himself to be overborne by Corbière and Peyronnet, the latter of whom, especially, was the chief originator of this attempt to bring back France to the ideas and organisation existing previous to 1789.

Strange to say, the great obstacle to the enterprise of restoring feudal aristocracy was found in the constitutional aristocracy of the day, viz. the Chamber of Peers. This was avowedly composed of the highest fortunes and greatest eminence of the country, and it absolutely refused to be feudalised. De Peyronnet's ideas of a landed interest, perpetuated in a class, and gifted with political influence, eagerly favoured and abetted by the small gentry of the Chamber of Deputies, was repudiated by the notability of the country. The principal clause of the law was rejected by the Upper Chamber; that facilitating entail to one generation alone passed; of this Napoleon himself had set the example. Loud and universal was the jubilation throughout every part of the country, not merely for the rejection of a law subversive as it was considered of the great conquests of the revolution, but at the fact of there having arisen in the Chamber of Peers an unexpected bulwark against the menacing tide of ultra-royalism.

This check to Villèle, or rather to the ultra-royalist faction, was the principal event of the session of 1826. If it served as a warning to the minister, it had no such effect upon the King, who appeared more eager than ever to gratify the reactionary zeal of the priesthood. In the same session the petition of M. de Montlosier against the Jesuits came before the Chamber of Peers,

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which, while it condemned the violence of his denunciations, admitted that the establishment of the Jesuits which he denounced was illegal. The young Duke of Bordeaux had at this time reached the age when it was the custom to remove a prince from female tutelage to that of a precentor. There were not wanting prelates who, to exemplary piety, added learning, tolerance, and respect for the advanced ideas of the age. All these were passed over in the choice of a preceptor for the young prince, and a prelate was chosen, Bishop Tharin, who alone of his class had come forward with loud panegyrics of the Jesuits, and a desire that all education should be submitted to them. The committal by Charles the Tenth of his grandson to such a preceptor was a kind of spiritual divorce between the prince and the people. When the days of revolution came, many who would have accepted the Duke of Bordeaux as a sovereign repudiated the pupil of Tharin.

It was a great misfortune for the family of the Bourbons, that M. de Villèle, at the close of 1826, did not stop short in the course of political and religious reaction through which the court was driving him. The minister had ample sagacity to perceive the danger, of which indeed he received sufficient warnings. The turning of the Chamber of Peers against him, and the colour of such partial elections as took place, were indications of a change in the opinions of the electoral body, and consequently of those who were considered Royalists. These, like all parties which find themselves completely masters, had divided to pelt and damage each other. Not only Châteaubriand and the *Journal des Débats* wrote down Villèle and, with Villèle, the court and priesthood, but La Bourdonnaye and the furious lay ultra-royalists did the same. It was these enthusiastic monarchists who first directed the most fatal batteries against the monarchy. The opinions of Villèle were not antagonistic to those of the

more moderate Royalists who seceded from him. He regretted the sacerdotal leanings of the King as much as they, and he was far less fanatical in general policy than Châteaubriand. But personal rivalry divided these two men, and Villèle, however moderate his sentiments, would not rally or have recourse to the party which Châteaubriand led. They, indeed, would have repudiated him, for the Viscount hated Villèle as much as Villèle hated him. This was one of the causes of the ruin of the Restoration, for Villèle had no resource but to cling closer to the religious and reactionary party. Moreover, he suffered personally from the hostile press, as did the reactionists; and when these prepared in the recess from 1826 to 1827 to propose and bring forward a law to muzzle or destroy the journals, Villèle inconsiderately consented. He could not have committed a greater error, for the liberty of the press was at the time precisely the ground upon which the liberal and the anti-ministerial Royalists agreed. The latter, and notably Châteaubriand, made the greatest use of their literary superiority. The prints which represented the sentiments of La Bourdonnaye were no less vehement. Villèle merely thought of mowing both down with one sweep of the legislative scythe. He forgot that the union of these two parties could place him in a minority in the Lower Chamber, and thus inflict upon him the fate of Decazes.

Unaware of the danger, or despising it, Villèle allowed Peyronnet to open the session of 1827 with his law, not merely for gagging the press, but annihilating the trade and industry of printing altogether. The principal regulations for the daily press were, first, a law limiting the number of proprietors of a journal to five, of which three, assuming the character of *gérants*, were to possess half the property and furnish the *cautionnement*, and present themselves as the objects of fine and punishment. A formidable series of these was

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added, sufficient to alarm any capitalist. The expected result was to disorganise and ruin the journals already existing, and prevent any other from springing up. "You want to annihilate all journals save two or three," exclaimed La Bourdonnaye in the ensuing debate. "On what grounds do you accuse us of such an intention?" asked Villèle. "Your own words in the committee," replied La Bourdonnaye; "all the members of it heard you, and some thirty of these are present. Can you deny having said so?" M. de Villèle remained silent!

The censorship in fact allowed the journals to live, and, in living, to amass force and vengeance for a future period. Peyronnet proposed to kill them outright. But it was against books and pamphlets that the chief prohibitions of the new law were directed. When the minister re-established the censorship at times during the interval of the session, the writers, such as Châteaubriand, had recourse to pamphlets. To prevent this, all such publications were subjected to a stamp duty of a franc a sheet, which rendered them more costly than a large volume, and consequently precluded pamphlets altogether. A deposit of some days after printing and previous to publishing was enjoined. In that time not a sheet was to be removed from the printing-office, even for the necessary operations of stitching and binding. The heavy fines and the loss of *brevet* were imposed upon printers for infringing any one of a host of restrictions and regulations. The printers declared, one and all, their trade to be at an end. This was serious, not merely to them, but to the number of workmen connected with or engaged in printing. They were said to consist of from 40,000 to 50,000 in Paris alone. This was a formidable recruital for popular turbulence or *émeute*. Amongst the crowd of petitioners against the prohibition of all publicity appeared no less a body than the French Academy, which had

lately assumed the colour of Royalist, and had recently elected such members as Frayssinous and Montmorency. When the Academy went to the Tuileries with the petition in behalf of the existence of the printing-press, Charles the Tenth would not receive them; nay, he went so far as to punish two or three of the most noted Royalists of the academical body for daring to remonstrate. Villemain was deprived of his place, Lacretelle of his pension; and Michaud, who had been an agent of the Bourbons during the Imperial reign, and had risked his life for the dynasty, was superseded as King's reader for petitioning against the Law of Love. Peyronnet in one of his speeches had styled his Draconic law against the press as a *Loi d'Amour*. The expression was so monstrously ridiculous that every one caught it up and repeated it, and Peyronnet's bill soon became known under no other name than that of the Loi d'Amour.

The project led to fierce and eloquent debates in the Lower Chamber. La Bourdonnaye was one of the first who spoke against it, as contrary to the principles of the Charter; but its most powerful opponent was Royer Collard. "It was the first time," he said, "that the government of a civilised nation attempted to destroy the press altogether. This it did, assuming the false principle that the intelligence given to man was a mistake of Providence, which it was for rulers to correct. It was thus considered good policy by them to brutify the human species, and reduce it to the minimum of ignorance. Ignorance, according to the rulers of France in 1827, was the true science of man, and the only sane law of society. And who was it that dared to introduce such a tyranny of mind and body?—Men without reputation, and with nothing but ephemeral power. The terrorists in the revolution made such an attempt; they had the guillotine at their disposal, which M. de Villèle had not. Then Napoleon crushed the press, but he covered his crime by the glory of his character and his

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deeds. But who were the present men who made a similar attempt? Where are their deeds, their glory, their conquests, their superior talents? These nobodies," said M. Royer Collard, regarding M. de Corbière, "surpass their predecessors in temerity, as much as they sink below them in incapacity and folly. The war which the government has undertaken is waged against civilisation. Does any one imagine that it can prevail?"

Casimir Périer asked was it intended to proscribe Voltaire and Rousseau?

Ministers were silent, but their zealous supporters at once answered the question in the affirmative. "In that case," continued the orator of the opposition, "you make war upon literature in the past as well as in the future. You must invade and despoil existing libraries, you must imitate the Inquisition in its old *auto da fès* of books, and renew the legislation and the acts of ten centuries ago."

The *Law of Love* passed notwithstanding, and obtained a majority of a hundred votes. The Chamber of Deputies with few exceptions represented the non-intelligence of the nation, and the rancour of the greater number against the press was intense.

It was then brought before the Chamber of Peers, who had just given symptoms of their dislike to ministerial extravagance and tendencies by the favour which they had shown to Montlosier in his denunciation of the Jesuits. They had appointed a committee on that occasion to examine into the question previous to the debates. They did the same now, and this new committee summoned printers and others to give evidence and information as to the result of the proposed press law upon the capitalists and workmen connected with that kind of industry. This was ominous. Ministers grew alarmed, and blamed the King for not having allowed them sooner to swamp the independent majority of the Peers. Villèle had proposed this at the time of the coronation, and

Charles the Tenth, then deeming himself all popular, declined it. The Upper Chamber, however, might have hesitated to take so bold a step as to reject a measure on which the government had employed all its influence and power, when an incident occurred to increase opposition, and even throw the moderate out of their moderation.

The Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt was one of the most respected personages in France. He had shown courage in undergoing the perils of the revolution, and had slackened neither in his loyalty nor his philanthropy. He was at the head of numerous charitable establishments not emanating from the ultra-religionists. These did not pardon such independence; and the Home Minister, Corbière, made himself the instrument of their rancour by depriving the Duke de la Rochefoucauld of a variety of gratuitously filled and charitable offices. About this time the Duke died, at the advanced age of eighty. One of his beneficent acts had been to found a scientific college at Chalons. The pupils there proposed to the family to come up and act as bearers of the coffin of their benefactor. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Doudeauville, representing the family, accepted the offer. When they came to perform this pious act, a commissary of police, by order of the Home Minister, intervened. There ensued a panic and a discussion, but the Duke de Doudeauville, a cabinet minister then present, overruled the commissary of police. The procession was again put in movement, whilst the police consulted M. de Corbière, and received from him the injunction to prevent the pupils from carrying the body. In consequence the funeral procession was again stopped in a street ere it reached the cemetery, and a scuffle ensued with the pupils and the police, in which the coffin was thrown on the ground and broken, and the remains of the aged Duke shattered. The Chamber of Peers as well as all the Rochefoucaulds felt

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the act of Corbière as a personal insult, and the expression of indignation was so strong both on this subject and upon that of the press law, that the government found it necessary to withdraw the latter altogether or to accept its inevitable rejection. If the rejection of the law of *Droit d'Aînesse* was the occasion of general illumination and feasting throughout France, the withdrawal of the *Loi d'Amour* gave rise to louder acclamations. The population of the great towns especially, such as Lyons, of which printers formed so considerable a body, were most enthusiastic in their demonstrations of joy.

Charles the Tenth could never comprehend his being unpopular. He was good-humoured, affable, and gracious, and scarcely failed to elicit from the people, when he came frankly in contact with them, the customary tribute of favour and applause. Just as Peyronnet's law was about to fall, the anniversary came round of the Royal family's return to Paris, which it was usual to celebrate by the National Guard exclusively furnishing the guards and sentinels of the palace. This was preceded by a review in the courtyard. The day was the 12th of April. Whilst passing the review, the citizen soldiers, not visiting on the monarch the unpopularity of his ministers, greeted him with loud and general cries of *Vive le Roi!* Charles was more than usually gratified with the manifestation, so much in contrast with all that he heard or witnessed of the unpopularity of his government. He expressed his satisfaction to the officers as well as his regrets that the entire body of the National Guard was not present. Those whom the King thus addressed replied, that all the National Guards were of the same opinions as those just expressed, and that a review of the whole force would prove it. Charles caught at the proposal—an imprudent one under the circumstances, and some would say, a fatal one. It was, certainly, one of the first steps, the *Law of Love* being the first, which

conducted Charles the Tenth down from the throne to exile.

Ministers sat in Council on the subject of this review, which they naturally dreaded, amidst the popular manifestations for the withdrawal of the recent law. Besides, they meditated, in concert with the King, the most unpopular acts, the re-establishment of the Censorship and the subjugation of the Peers by a large promotion. To pass a review of the Parisian citizens and claim their applause under such circumstances was neither fair nor frank; but Charles had promised, and the review was ordered to take place in the Champ de Mars on the 29th (April).

From 20,000 to 30,000 National Guards mustered on that day. The King on horseback, the Princesses in carriages, proceeded to the field. The Guards were distributed in Legions according to the different quarters of the city. The first belonged to the opulent districts. The National Guards of these welcomed the King with the accustomed cry of *Vive le Roi!* Those of the more central quarters mingled this cry with another of *Vive la Charte!* But when the Royal cortége passed the legions of the popular and manufacturing districts, *Vive la Charte!* alone was heard, and *Vive le Roi!* suppressed. The King displaying ill humour, "Do you find the cry of Long live the Charter offensive?" cried out a bold soldier from the ranks.

"I came here to receive homage," observed the King, "and not a lesson." Still there was nothing flagrantly hostile or offensive to the King himself. But the Duchesses of Angoulême and Berry were not so well received. Instead of *Vive la Charte!* they were greeted with the cry of "Down with the Jesuits!" It was upon the ministers that the popular indignation was chiefly vented. They were, to be sure, not present at the review. But on quitting the Champ de Mars, the popular legions took their way home by the

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Rue de Rivoli and the Place Vendôme, where the Hôtels of Finance and the Chancery were situated, in the front of which they stopped to vociferate "Down with Peyronnet and Villèle!"

Had ministers been wise, they would have passed over these popular ebullitions, especially as the King was disposed not to show any resentment at the semi-disapprobation shown him. But Villèle himself began to lose temper and moderation at this time—qualities which Peyronnet and Corbière never had. These met in council to consider the cries vociferated before their hotels—as if statesmen had not grievances enough to consider; and the ministers who were so affronted proposed no less than the dissolution of the National Guard of Paris. Messrs. Chabrol and Frayssinous objected, as did the Duc de Doudeauville. Charles the Tenth himself presided the Council. He had immediately after the review been inclined to moderation, but the Princesses, and especially the Duchess d'Angoulême, urged him to resent the insult offered them, which recalled to her those proffered to Louis the Sixteenth and her mother. Thus influenced, the King proclaimed the dissolution of the National Guard. The citizen soldiers, relieved from a disagreeable duty, piled up their arms in silence, and were pleased to have no longer to meet or to defend the Bourbons. The Duc de Doudeauville resigned: he had sagacity to foresee the coming storm.

After this but one more law was brought forward to complete the session. It was for enabling the Prefects to pack the jury, and by a side wind at the same time modify the electoral lists. The Chamber of Peers did not indeed reject it, but so modified and amended it as to make a somewhat liberal law of what the government intended to be a reactionary one. It deprived the Prefects altogether of the power to modify the lists of either electors or jury, as the government purposed. The ministry did not smother its menaces against such an

Upper Chamber—so much so that there were several interpellations in the Chamber as to the bruited intentions of the government. The ministers maintained an ominous silence. The session closed; and it was immediately followed by a decree re-establishing the Censorship.

But not even the severe restriction of the Censorship could satisfy Corbière. Soon after its promulgation expired Manuel, somewhat forgotten during the last years, which his poverty compelled him to spend as the guest of Laffitte at Maisons. His death summoned all his old friends to his funeral, when they expressed in no extravagant terms their love and admiration for the deceased. The discourses were collected and published by Mignet, who, with the printer and publisher, was immediately summoned before the Correctional Police to suffer condemnation for the act. Lafayette instantly claimed to be the object of prosecution, as his was the speech incriminated. But even the Judge of Correctional Police could not respond to the fury of the government, and acquitted those brought before it.*

About the same time the King visited the Camp of St. Omers, from whence the general expectation was, that he would issue an *ordonnance*, assuming absolute power. But the time was not yet come. The only legal obstacle in the way of court and ministry was the Chamber of Peers; and this, there was the constitutional mode of overcoming by a large creation of Peers. The field for political men had, however, been much narrowed by an electoral system so restricted. Of those whom it had thrust forth into political life, very many, even Royalists, had gone against the administration. If therefore, for the sake of swamping the liberal majority of the peerage, some sixty or seventy deputies were promoted to the higher rank, the more important majority in the Chamber of Deputies might be lost.

* Lafayette's Letters. September, 1827.

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New elections, thought Villèle, will at least return deputies of similar sentiments to those promoted. But to complete these manœuvres it was indispensable to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies when the list of new Peers was announced. It was with much reluctance that the King assented to these measures of Villèle. Not that he deemed them too strong, but that the courtier party attached to him personally denounced that minister as the cause of the King's unpopularity, and recommended already a bolder statesman in the Prince de Polignac.

Villèle for the moment had his way. Seventy-six new promotions to the Peerage were proclaimed, and the Chamber was dissolved on the 5th of November. The elections were ordered to take place in ten days, thus allowing, it was hoped, no time for the Liberal party to concert or organise opposition. The unpopularity of the minister, even with the Royalists, proved to be organisation enough. The Royalists and Liberals in opposition coalesced, the journals of one recommending the candidates of the other. There spread through the country a general hurra against Villèle. And whatever colour were the candidates elected, they were at least antagonistic to the minister. Paris returned none but members of opposition. The wealthy and the poor quarters showed the same spirit. When it was known that none but Liberals had been returned, the shopkeepers of the Rue St. Denis resolved to illuminate, as they had done when the *Droit d'Aînesse* was rejected. It was at first but good sport to them. It became less so when the populace joined in it. They descended in force from the suburbs, and when they perceived a house ill-lighted, they called for *lampions:* if not immediately satisfied, they broke the windows. The police tried to stop them, and the people for the first time showed an inclination to resist the authorities. Taking advantage of an entanglement of carriages and carts, or of a

house in demolition, the mob here and there entrenched themselves against the police, and threw up barricades of planks and paving stones. The same manœuvre had been employed centuries back against the Valois, and now reappeared like a national protest against the Bourbons. Opposite the passage *du Grand Cerf*, in the Rue Grenetat, near the great market, and the church of St. Louis, barricades were erected, which the police were unable to force. The troops were obliged to be employed, and before their first volley the defenders of the barricades disappeared. A circumstantial account of the making and taking of these barricades appeared afterwards in the *Moniteur*, and considerably encouraged the people at a future opportunity to erect them, as it unfortunately inspired the government with confidence in its powers of overcoming such disturbances. Such was the peril to which even the sage Villèle had already brought the Bourbons.

Insignificant as this first serious *émeute* might appear, it still suggested to one of the liberal journalists of the day a panacea for existing troubles and disaffection, without going the length of revolution. Cauchois Lemaire, in a letter to the Duke of Orleans, which he had the hardihood to publish, recommended him to come forward and bid for the throne. "Courage, Prince," said the pamphlet; "exchange your ducal blazon for a civic crown. Take, in the monarchy, the place which Lafayette would hold in a republic. Be our first citizen. The French people is a great child that must have a tutor. Do you assume the office, to prevent it falling into worse hands. The car of state is upsetting. Do you on your side, the people on theirs, come forward to keep it from total overthrow." The prophetical advice cost the writer a heavy fine and fifteen months' imprisonment.*

* Cauchois Lemaire, Histoire de la Révolution de 1830.

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The elections were to Villèle complete shipwreck; he stretched out suppliant hands to one party after another—to the Royalists and Liberals. Both repudiated him. If he retained position and influence during December, it was merely to give the King advice as to the construction of a ministry, and to exclude from its composition all who were his personal enemies. In this last effort Villèle succeeded. The Count de Chabrol undertook the office of forming or choosing a new administration. He presented a succession of lists to the King, who consulted Villèle, and drew his pen through many names. He would not hear of Châteaubriand. He objected to La Bourdonnaye. The King was determined that the ministry he was about to appoint should only be temporary, and therefore he did not object to Casimir Perier or Sebastiani. These would not accept office. At last on the 2nd of January the following ministry was constituted: M. de Martignac, Home Minister and real head of the cabinet; Count Roy, Finance; Portalès, Justice; De la Ferronnayes, a friend of Châteaubriand, Foreign Minister; St. Cricq, Commerce; De Caux, War. With this semi-liberal administration Charles the Tenth inaugurated the year 1828.

Villèle's chief merit may be summed up in a few words: he managed to retain power in the midst of most fluctuating circumstances and fickle people for a period of eight years. He did nothing, however, to consolidate the monarchy. If Charles the Tenth was an insurmountable obstacle to this in the latter half of Villèle's administration, Louis the Eighteenth in its earlier years might have been made to second and approve of such an attempt. But Villèle's hands were tied by the party on whose back he had clambered to power. So that, in reality, the minister was merely able to attain office and enjoy it without making it subservient to aught greater than personal aims. His chief cause of weakness proceeded from want of mastery

over his own party, which was owing to his lack of sincerity and truth. By nature and disposition a moderate Royalist, he was prevented from acting as such by men like the Duc de Richelieu, De Serres standing before him as well as Châteaubriand. He was thus obliged to lend himself to the ultra-royalists—not only the lay politicians, but the ecclesiastical ones. Among and over these he could only hold pre-eminence by dissimulation, nor could he counteract their extravagance except by occult and insidious means. In this false position his best aim was always neutralised, and he spent so much time and power in merely holding the helm of this ministerial bark, that he could attain nothing else. He kept afloat—that was all; and instead of conducting the vessel to any safe or honest port, he was driven to windward, and was finally unable to preserve either it, or himself, or the monarchy from wreck.

Kings have an instinctive horror of intellectual superiority, that being the only quality to which they must bow, and which is able to put a yoke upon them. Can Charles the Tenth be so much to blame for obeying this instinct, when even Napoleon, himself an intellectual giant, could not bear any who equalled or approached him? Cleverness and ability is the highest range to which politicians who serve a monarch ought to pretend. Villèle had these. His successor, Martignac, had infinitely more.

A native of the Gironde, he recalled by the warmth and blandness of his eloquence those celebrated orators of the Revolution who bore the name. Like them he was highly educated, of cultivated and literary intellect, the very contrast of Villèle and Corbière. He was a man of society too, and even of pleasure, which Charles the Tenth in the asceticism of his age chose to frown at. Martignac, a disciple of Lainé, had been to Spain with the French army of intervention, and had brought back from it a horror of ultra-royalism and ultra-sacerdotalism,

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both of which he saw so egregiously developed and illustrated by the government of Ferdinand.

That Martignac was the real chief of the ministry, and that he wanted not firmness to maintain that position, was shown at the first meeting of the cabinet council. The King presided, and as usual he opened the business of the day. He did so by declaring that M. de Villèle's policy had been his, and that though compelled to part with the man, he was still influenced by his ideas. Martignac instantly observed that no ministry could face the new Chamber with declarations or sentiments like these. There had been a change of men, and a change of measures was the inevitable consequence. Charles the Tenth did not show himself obstinate. He consented even to Châteaubriand becoming minister, but this personage would accept no post save the Foreign Office.

The great difficulty with the new ministry was the Royal speech. It was absolutely necessary to announce to the Chambers some liberal measures, contrary to and implicitly condemnatory of the policy of the late administration. To this Charles the Tenth was most adverse. Still even he consented to a compromise, and agreed to promise the partial freedom of education from exclusively sacerdotal control, and at the same time to redeem Villèle's lukewarmness in the cause of Greece by a hearty approbation of the battle of Navarino. As this had been more regretted than approved of by the British government, its acceptation by the French cabinet was more significant.

The votes for the presidential chair gave some idea of the composition of the new Chamber. The thoroughly liberal opposition had retained its old number of votes. Joined to the Left Centre or Doctrinaires it mustered nearly half the votes of the Chamber. The Right and Right Centre formed the other half. Parties were thus nearly balanced. La Bourdonnaye and Casimir Périer

were equally put forward as candidates for the presidentship. The King, at the desire of Martignac, chose Royer Collard. Such homage to the Left Centre was necessary, since in the composition of the new ministry Martignac had altogether left out the Doctrinaires. The debates and votes upon the address were even more insignificant than the presidential election. A paragraph censured the late *deplorable system*, which had paralysed the good intentions of the Crown. The King was furious on learning the natural consequence of the overthrow of Villèle. He proposed to dissolve the Chamber at once. But Martignac, alarmed, hinted that *he* could not sign such an ordonnance, and observed that the word of blame was far better than an impeachment, which the late minister might have incurred.

The Royal ire was at last appeased. But the ministers felt strongly the necessity of measures directly opposed to the policy of Villèle. In obedience to this they completed their cabinet by separating public instruction from ecclesiastical affairs, and appointing Vatimesnil minister of the former. The Bishop of Beauvais, a liberal prelate, replaced Frayssinous as ecclesiastical minister. And a commission was named to examine into the subject of education, and report what change was requisite to free it from the undue control of the clergy.

The first law presented to the Chamber was also a popular one. It was an amplification of what the Peers had lately laboured to establish—a certain freedom of election. When the franchise is low, the violence or influence exercised by government or a party on the mob of electors is often treated as a joke. But all the electors of the Restoration were the better classes, paying the highest rate of direct taxes. Injustice done to them, their exclusion from the lists,* ministerial

* Paul Louis Courrier, though a landed proprietor, paying the due amount of tax, could never get his name inscribed upon the electoral lists.

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threats or vengeance, uttered or exercised, the arbitrary use of power by the authorities—these extremes, from which Villèle and Corbière did not shrink, formed no small portion of their unpopularity. M. Guizot's chief complaint against Villèle indeed is, that he wore out all the springs and resources of government for no greater end than keeping himself in power, and that he thus left government authority so hated and disrespected that he rendered the task impossible to his successor. Even Martignac, in restoring independence of election, although he thereby increased the popularity of his cabinet, threw away, as his adversaries reproached him, much of the salutary influence of whatever party was entrusted with the government.

A new law respecting the press was also a necessary measure, as the censorship could not be maintained. It was accompanied or followed by another which greatly facilitated its working—a law with difficulty wrung from Charles the Tenth, but which the Martignac Cabinet insisted on—the expulsion of the Jesuits not only from public instruction, but from recognised existence in France. The committee appointed to examine this, impartially composed by the minister, had reported, five against four, that the eight great Jesuit colleges were not illegal. This decision by a majority of one was so outrageously contrary to law and the public opinion, that the government was obliged to come forward to reverse it. The King resisted. The ministers told him that his resistance followed by their resignation would infallibly lead to an impeachment and condemnation of M. de Villèle. This staggered Charles the Tenth. He submitted, and a royal ordonnance appeared subjecting the Jesuits' seminary to the control and supervision of the university. This, in other words, was the expulsion of the order. The decree made much noise. It was, however, not really so important as the re-organisation of the system of primary

instruction by the minister Vatimesnil. He established a school committee in every *commune* of nine members, the curé, mayor, and juge de paix, with two assessors nominated by each, forming the council. The governing lay authorities thus outnumbered the ecclesiastical; and as the Martignac ministry meditated a reorganisation of municipalities also, and the introduction into them of more freedom, this reform was really popular and liberal.

The expulsion of the Jesuits rendered the legislation concerning the press much more efficient, since it removed from the breasts of the judges and from the courts of law that resistance and opposition to the government which had induced them to absolve the journalists. The judges, indeed, showed at once, by their sentence on Cauchois Lemaire for putting forward the claims of the Duke of Orleans, that they would not tolerate treason. The new law of the press therefore was one of repression by the tribunals, not one of precaution by the censorship or of ruin to publishers and printers. It required responsible *gérants* of newspapers, and a large *cautionnement*, establishing heavy fines and punishments on conviction. These two were no longer to fall on men of straw, the *gérants* being required to own a considerable portion of the property of the paper, or of the money lodged for security. Such a law, however, though so much more liberal than Peyronnet could have devised, still did not satisfy the Left, whose orators denounced it. They found the sum required to be vested as security (8,000*l.*) infinitely too large, and they also desired the jury to decide in trials of the press. Some of the Royalists supporting the former amendment, it was carried; but the latter was rejected. Indictments for a *tendency* to do this or that were prohibited, and finally the law passed.

A popular act of the Martignac Ministry at this time was the despatch of General Maison to Greece at the

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head of an army. Although the naval forces of Turkey and Egypt had been crushed at Navarino, Ibrahim still continued to hold and to ravage the Morea. Although the new Finance Minister, Count Roy, accused his predecessor of a deficit, M. Martignac still made the large demand of 3,000,000*l.* for the Greek expedition; and it was willingly granted. Hyde de Neuville, Châteaubriand's *alter ego*, was Marine Minister; and both pressed the liberation of Greece, as some kind of a set-off to the enslavement of Spain. The French thus acquired the honour of putting the coping-stone to the liberation of Greece, and to the final establishment and independence of the Hellenic Kingdom.

The year and the session of 1828 produced to all appearance a complete triumph for the Martignac Ministry. It seemed to have overcome the obstinacy of the King without deeply offending him. It had expelled the Jesuits, who, driven from the schools, took refuge in Switzerland. It had opposed the Pope to the bishops. It had rendered the elections independent of the government functionaries—had restored the press to a fair degree of freedom—had reorganised the Council of State, so as to place it in harmony with a liberal administration. Count Roy's management of finance was more honest than Villèle's, and as able. Martignac in the Home Department had encountered more opposition from the King than any of his colleagues. There was an ex-prefect of police, a creature of Villèle's and of the Congregation, named Franchet, whom Charles the Tenth consulted in private respecting the merits of each functionary; and fortified by his advice, the King opposed most of Martignac's nominations to the Prefectures and other posts. That minister could bring the rest of the cabinet to his aid in the enforcement of measures, but in the choice of men he was left to himself, and often fought an amicable battle with the monarch. Charles was annoyed at Martignac's bland-

ness: he preferred the rudeness of Count Roy, and was wont to mock the soft and silky oratory of the Home Minister, whom he in jest compared to a favourite *prima donna* of the day. "Have you heard La Pasta?" asked the King once, alluding to an eloquent speech delivered by Martignac. Nor was he alone in this opinion, for Dupont de l'Eure was heard to ejaculate during one of the minister's speeches, "What a syren!" *

The influence of the political syren was in fact more charming than commanding; and even 1828, his great year of success, had but the effect of rendering friends and enemies more impatient. A great portion of the Royalists, angry with Villèle, had hitherto supported him, and did not shrink from joining with the Liberals in their votes. But they soon perceived that Martignac was not going their road, but that on the contrary he was paving the way for the advent of the Left to influence and power by the liberality of his measures. One of the causes indeed of the shipwreck of the Restoration was that a great body of Royalists, and even the most sensible of them, did not know what to aim at or whither they were going. Those men attached to the monarchy deprecated its subservience to and close alliance with the priesthood. They were impatient too of ministerial control, and had found the advantage of a free press and free elections. Why then not have become surely and permanently allied with the Left, which rejoiced in these same gains? Unfortunately a great portion of the Left indulged in revolutionary and Imperial preferences. In their writings and orations they had been wont to oppose the glories of the Empire to the ingloriousness of the Bourbons. Manuel, Lafayette, Constant, and the song-writer Béranger—they who had formerly conspired against the Bourbons—now, though they had ceased to conspire, continued to deride. And this created an abyss between

* Guizot.

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them and the thorough Royalists, however moderate and constitutional.

These circumstances allowed the Villèle party to raise its head once more, and prompted the King to look for the resuscitation of his old Minister, not indeed by himself, but associated with the men and the aims of all the Royalists. If Charles the Tenth had meant by this a reconciliation between Villèle and Châteaubriand, he would have been nearer to success. But far otherwise, he looked to a coalition between Villèle on one side, the Court and Sacerdotal party led by Prince Polignac on the other. This neither Villèle nor the lay Royalists would hearken to. And yet this was the aim that Charles pursued, blinded by his predilection for Polignac and impelled by the Clergy. And the blind thus leading the blind, the inevitable result followed.

Martignac was too clear-sighted not to be aware of all this; and he entered upon the year 1829, and made preparation for the parliamentary session, with anything but confidence. If he came to the King, he found him reading Villèle's journal, the *Gazette de France*, ably edited by Genoude, full of the complaints and arguments of the ultra-faction. When the Minister reproached the Monarch, the latter excused himself by saying it was an old friend and an old *habitude*. Where the mild and moderate Martignac ought to have found most support was with the Princesses, but the females of the House of Bourbon were more infuriated than their male relatives. The Duchess d'Angoulême breathed counter-revolution and sacerdotalism. The Duchess of Berry had made a tour in La Vendée, where she had been welcomed by and responded to sentiments and cries which suited the old civil wars rather than times of peace and reconciliation. Noble and loyal as was the Count de la Ferronnays, he resigned in disgust. He saw that nothing could come of so infatuated a royal family. Charles immediately thought of supplying his

place by Prince Polignac, whom he summoned from London, where he was ambassador, for the purpose; but none of the ministers would have aught to do with the Prince, who was consequently obliged for this time to return whence he had come.

It sufficiently depicts the ravelled and contradictory state of French politics and constitutionalism to say, that whilst Charles the Tenth was doing his utmost to thrust Prince Polignac into the Cabinet of Martignac, the latter was negotiating with the Left for the accession of two of its members, Casimir Périer and Sebastiani, for whom he offered to find ministries. The King most likely would have consented to let them in at one door, if Polignac was admitted at the other, and Martignac himself would probably * have assented to a compromise; but other ministers objected strenuously, and both schemes failed.

Martignac therefore opened the session with the announcement that he had prepared a law for the better and more popular organisation of municipal and departmental councils, being the foundation of those local liberties and independence so earnestly demanded. During the debates on the address in answer to the speech in the Upper Chamber, Prince Polignac took the opportunity to make a profession of political faith. He had been calumniated, he said, in being marked out as the peculiar enemy of representative institutions. Far from this being true, the Prince declared himself attached to the Charter, which he considered as the true and secure port for the country after so many tempests. When Charles the Tenth's political *alter ego* thus eulogised the Charter, he included a certain article of it—the 14th, which appeared to allow the King the full use of absolute power whenever he might deem it expedient. This was so well understood, that Polignac's

* Études, par Prince Polignac.

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confession of faith was merely looked upon as a menace to Martignac, or a kind of proclamation issued by his rival and eventual successor.

After the address, Martignac produced his scheme of municipal councils and administration. These hitherto, according to the system of the Empire, had been conducted on the simple principle of government nomination. The prefect appointed the members of the municipal council, as he did the mayors. Martignac abandoned these powers on the part of the government, and handed them over to the same class which was master of the elections for the Chamber, viz. the highest taxpayers. This, one should think, ought to have satisfied the Royalists, and would have done so two or three years previous. But recent elections had shown that the moneyed class, or that of the highest taxpayers in towns, who at one time returned a Chamber exclusively royalist, had been thrown by Villèle into discontent, liberalism, and opposition. The Royalists no longer trusted the highest taxpayers, because in fact Villèle's government had abused its power, and set the country against it. In 1829 the Royalists therefore rallied back to the standard which they had so lately fought against, that of Villèle, and in the consideration of the new municipal law preferred the system of government nomination to that of election, even by the rich.

It was a great oversight of Martignac not to have consulted and made sure of the support of either Royalists or Liberals for his law; for when produced, it found both opposed to it—the Royalists for the reasons stated; the Liberals, though pleased with the principle of election, dissatisfied with the narrow basis of a small class of rich to be the only electors. A commission being appointed to examine the law, Dupin was chosen reporter, and he drew up a satire rather than an encomium upon it. He proposed the substitution of the word *elector* for that of notable, as it admitted all

paying 300 francs amount of taxes to vote both for municipal and departmental councils. Certain orators of the Left went in the discussion much further than Dupin, and accused the minister of seeking to establish an aristocracy of wealth in both town and country. This might be all very well in England, where land was owned by the landlord and tilled by tenants; but in France, where neither class existed, the law could not make or support them.

The Royalists finding Martignac so hard pressed and denounced by the Left, abstained from debate and looked on. They well knew that a schism between the government and its Liberal supporters would infallibly produce the overthrow of the former, and consequently it observed with delight the attacks of the Left. Certain members of the party, more sensible and more provident of the consequences, deprecated these attacks, and advised their more furious partisans to accept the benefits of the new law without endangering a semi-liberal government by asking too much. On its part the government was in its private communications equally explicit. Martignac told Sebastiani that the King was determined to make no further concessions, and that if the ministry was tripped up by the Liberals, who ought to have supported it, the King would seize the opportunity to recall and reinstate the Ultras in power.* When making this sad and serious warning, Martignac deserved to be listened to. And it was most necessary, or would have been wise, at such a moment to have supported him. But the body of the Left would make no compromise, and it thus unfortunately contributed to the catastrophe that was about to follow.

One of the principal amendments of the Commission,

* Vaulabelle accuses not only Sebastiani, but Guizot, of having prompted the Liberals to resist on this occasion and support the amendment which overruled the ministerial project. M. Guizot, in his Memoirs, does not reply to the charge.

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which indeed altered the whole nature of the law, was the doing away with the council of district, the intermediate assembly, that the minister insisted on. This was put to the vote on the 8th of April. The ministers were for rejecting the amendment, and accordingly kept their seats, whilst the Left stood up in support of it. It was naturally to be supposed that the Royalists would sit with a ministry against an amendment of which they disapproved. But on this occasion they abstained. And the consequence was that ministers were beaten, and the amendment carried against them by their own friends of the Left.

Martignac and his brother ministers instantly left the Hall of Sitting and repaired to the King's presence. "I told you," said Charles the Tenth, "that you could not depend upon those Liberals. There is no use in going any further to please them." In a very short time the ministers resumed their seats in the Chamber, and the moment the tribune was vacant, Martignac ascended it, and announced "that the King withdrew both municipal and departmental laws."

The Liberals having turned their backs on the Ministry, the Ministry in retaliation turned their backs upon them, and both remained powerless. Martignac was at the mercy of the King; the latter, however, could not sacrifice him at once. It was necessary to tide over the session, and get the budget voted. There was no difficulty in this—at least no serious difficulty. Opposition limited their efforts to contesting with the Justice Minister, Peyronnet, a sum which he had expended upon his drawing-room. There were some slight and temporary changes in the administration. The real change, the result of the abandonment of Martignac by the Liberals, was deferred till after the prorogation of the Chamber, which took place in the last days of July. We have, thus, still a year to recount of the reign of Charles the Tenth.

If the Liberals of the Left had been imprudent in treating Martignac and his measures so harshly as to afford the King a pretext for dismissing him, the sensible Royalists and their chief, M. de Villèle, were equally imprudent when, manœuvring in the Chamber, afterwards in concert with the Left, they too precipitated the overthrow of the Minister. They hoped no doubt that Villèle would return to power in conjunction with the ultra-Royalists, without overcoming or rallying the Châteaubriand party. They were mistaken. The King's political hopes and affections were placed on Polignac, whom Villèle could not abide, and with whom even he refused to embark in the same boat. M. Guizot, however, thinks Villèle to have been impossible, and no doubt he was so with the existing Chamber. But his presence and his counsel, if listened to, would have been most salutary to the King. Polignac, who had neither brains nor ideas, scorned to adopt or consult those of others. Villèle remained all through 1829 in his country-seat at Toulouse.

The King gave indications of what was passing in his mind. The Chamber, during the discussion of the war budget, had harshly treated the minister, M. de Caux. The Left were in extreme ill humour since the withdrawal of the law, and showed it. De Caux, writhing under their severity, ejaculated in the King's presence that the Chamber was abominable.* The King instantly seized him, and drew him to a window to observe that such a state of things could not last. "Am I sure of the army?" "For what, Sire?" asked the astounded De Caux. "Oh, without conditions." "Anything that your Majesty might require in the name of the Charter, and in accordance with it, the army would zealously execute," observed the wary minister; "anything against it, *no*. There is not one officer in forty who is a gentleman born, and not a thousand of them with six

* Capefigue.

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hundred francs a year revenue of his own. You must not try to establish the *ancien régime* with an army like that." "But no one wants to violate the Charter," exclaimed the King: "what has the army to do with the Charter?"*

The Martignac Ministry still held office, as well as councils, at the Tuileries, whilst Charles the Tenth was receiving in his closet, whither they were conducted secretly, the chiefs of the ultra-Royalist party. Polignac also stole back from London, and only left a card, after he had been in Paris some days, on the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The old Villelist president of the Chamber, Ravez, assured the King that a royalist majority existed in the Chamber, if it could be kept together. And probably it might have been kept together, if some one who stood between Villèle and Polignac were declared minister. But this seemed merely a repetition of the Martignac experiment, all but a change of names. The King cut the matter short by nominating on the 8th of August a Polignac Cabinet.

It must be confessed that both the King and Polignac made efforts to render the new cabinet not altogether *ultra*. The former besought Count Roy to remain Minister of Finance, and offered him a dukedom in recompense. Roy refused to remain without Martignac. Polignac would have retained the latter, were it possible. He might have refused to remain, but he was not asked, as La Bourdonnaye objected to him. This furious partisan—*le plus mauvais coucheur qui fut oncques*,† although Guizot depicts him as more furious in words than in acts, took the Home Office, which had the same effect on the public as if Robespierre had been resuscitated with royalist proclivities. Prince Polignac himself was Foreign Minister. Bourmont had the War Department. This general officer had deserted the army in full campaign

* Capefigue. † Châteaubriand.

just before the battle of Waterloo, and gave testimony against Ney of a most ungenerous kind. He was about the most unpopular man in all France for the post. Courvoisier, Chabrol, De Rigny, were declared Ministers of Justice, Finance, and Marine. The latter declined, and was replaced by Baron d'Haussez. Monbel, the only friend of Villèle in the Cabinet, took Ecclesiastic Affairs and Public Instruction again combined.

The very name of Polignac as minister was a declaration of war on the part of the government against the nation. This was responded to at once by associations, commenced in Brittany, for the refusal of taxes if any breach of the constitution took place. Lafayette, who happened to be on a tour through Auvergne and Dauphiné, was welcomed and feasted as if the fears and hopes of 1789 had fully revived. Ministers retaliated by prosecuting the journals which published the speeches and relations of what passed. But the judges, who had resumed their severity against the press during the moderate ministry of Martignac, abandoned it at once in the presence of Polignac, and acquitted journals and persons of the sedition laid to their charge. The most remarkable subject of their prosecution was an article published by the *Journal des Débats*.

"Behold," said the writer, "the bond of love and confidence between prince and people now broken. Behold once more the court with its old rancour, the *émigrés* with their prejudices, the priests with their hatred of freedom, flinging themselves between France and its King. What the country has gained in forty years of struggle and misfortune, it is now to be deprived of. Everything that it most abhors is forced upon it. The glory of the dynasty was its moderation in the exercising of authority. But moderation is henceforth impossible. The present ministers could not observe it, how much soever they desired it. They may murmur the words of Charter and Liberty, but it can only be

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with the accents of fear or of hypocrisy. Yet what can they do? Recur to bayonets? But even bayonets have become intelligent. Will they tear asunder the Charter? Let them beware. All the efforts of despotism cannot prevail against it. The people pay 20,000,000fr. to the law. They would not pay 1fr. to the ordonnances of ministers. If they try to raise taxes illegally, a Hampden will be found to resist them. A Hampden? Are we reduced to invoke a name synonymous with civil war? Unhappy France, unhappy monarch!"

The proprietor of the journal, M. Bertin, pleaded his own cause. He had been to Ghent, and had suffered for his spirited Royalism. The Royal Court pronounced in his favour.

In consequence of these acquittals, the judges in their robes were but ill received at the Tuileries when they went to present their homage on the first day of the new year. The King scolded them. The Duchess d'Angoulême in reply to their address merely said, *Passez*— "Move on." "Shall I inscribe her Royal Highness's gracious reply upon our register?" asked the President Seguier.

Amidst these skirmishes, the ministry lost the alliance of M. de la Bourdonnaye. He had from the first declined either to be Prime Minister himself or to cede that place to Prince Polignac. But to a government manifestly of reaction a head was necessary to declare the new spirit of the administration, and serve as a rallying point to the zealots. La Bourdonnaye would not hear of it. "The game we were playing," he said afterwards, "was for no less than our heads; and in such a game, I insisted on holding my own cards." Therefore, when Polignac was declared Prime Minister, La Bourdonnaye resigned.

Guernon de Ranville succeeded to the place of minister in lieu of La Bourdonnaye. He was a weak, though a clearsighted man, who plainly foretold to

Polignac the consequences of his provoking the middle classes by a *coup d'état*, and yet who, when summoned afterwards to sign the ordonnances, did so. Whilst the King thus made up his ministry of the refuse of politicians, the electors, more provident, having two or three members of the Chamber to choose, returned Guizot and Berryer, which showed at least that if the King knew not how to discern or employ talents, the country did.

On March 2, 1830, the King opened the Chambers. He announced an expedition to Algiers, the conquest of which, by Bourmont, was looked to as a crown of glory for the new government. The Chamber listened without interest or approbation. The Monarch concluded his speech with a casual menace. "If culpable manœuvres," said he, "should raise obstacles in the way of my government, which I cannot and will not foresee, I shall find the force to overcome them, in my resolution to maintain the public peace, in the just confidence of the French people, and in the affection they have always shown to the King." "The King's attitude," observes M. Guizot, "betrayed agitation and embarrassment. He read his speech with precipitation, and the last passage, which contained the menace, was accentuated by him with more affectation than energy. As to the Chamber, it is difficult to say whether the prevailing sentiment was that of coldness or of sadness."

"A fortnight later," continues M. Guizot, "the Prince de Polignac attended the committee of the address, much out of his place, amidst a world of which he knew little, and where he was little esteemed. Some one having made him a reproach, he replied awkwardly, in hurried and confused words, anxious to sit down again and be silent. My eyes met his on one occasion, and I was struck by their expression of astonished consciousness. Evidently, whilst meditating their *coup d'état*, neither the Prince nor the King were at their ease. In their minds, as in their physiognomy, was a mixture of resolution and

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weakness, of confidence and of trouble, which attested at once blindness of intellect and presentiment of misfortune.*

If Charles and Polignac had allowed themselves to be persuaded by Ravez and other courtiers that a Royalist majority or their power could easily be resuscitated, they found themselves grievously mistaken. The choice of candidates for the Presidency sufficiently showed this. The address declared it. That document proclaimed the existence of "great disquietude." The country, it declared, was in presence of an administration which was actuated by a distrust of its sentiments and its reason. The people considered such an administration as inimical to it, and moreover as a menace to its liberties. It was impossible for the King to participate in the distrustful sentiments of such a ministry. He must know that France did not desire anarchy, no more than it would suffer despotism. The address ended by plainly saying that the King would at once put an end to this state of things by dismissing his ministry.

M. Guizot styles this language of the address as modest in its pride, and tender in its frankness. Modesty and tenderness are not its attributes. A more decided slap in the face, deserved or not, was never given by parliament to monarch. Charles certainly deserved the rebuff. But as certainly it was calculated to irritate, not reclaim him. Unfortunately for Charles the Tenth, the ministers whom he had chosen were totally without oratorical powers, and unable, although three or four of them spoke, to make anything like a parliamentary defence. They had a fair ground to stand upon in alleging that the administration had committed no act, and that it was condemned upon suppositions which would be found to be calumnies. But ministers were unable to say even this. Polignac himself was a helpless mute. Yet most moderate men, Martignac

* Guizot's Mémoires.

amongst them, tried to soften the harshness of the address by an amendment. The Chamber rejected this, and voted it, as it stood, finally, on March 15, by 221 votes against 181.

Charles consented to receive the injurious address, which was read to him, not without emotion, by Royer Collard. To the demand of changing his politics and his ministers, the King replied that his resolves were immutable; and summoning his ministers, he informed them of his intention to dissolve the Chamber. As Chabrol and Courvoisier protested against such a course, the Chamber was merely prorogued, and the question of dissolution adjourned. In this, and in his subsequent acts, it is evident that Charles was his own minister, the prime adviser and originator of the policy to defy the parliament and the country. If he chose and held by Polignac, it was that the latter obeyed the royal impulse, instead of giving it. Prince Polignac was a dreamer, only half awake and half alive. He looked upon the counter-revolution, upon the path of which he was entering, as something quite accordant with the Charter, and which Providence could not but sanction as a devout proceeding. But whatever the King advised, Polignac was prepared implicitly to follow. This is quite evident in Prince Polignac's *Études*, and in the conversation he had with Lamartine, when he endeavoured to persuade that young diplomatist to accept the post of Foreign Minister. But, although so insensible to political danger, Polignac was unfortunately very sensible to personal rivalry. He disliked and dreaded Villèle. That statesman came to town with the hope of directing Royalty in a safer path than it seemed disposed to follow. Polignac displayed strong aversion to him. Yet when it appeared that as soon as the decision was taken to dissolve the Chamber, Chabrol, Courvoisier, and perhaps Guernon de Ranville, would resign, the thoughts of several ministers turned to Villèle.

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He was for a dissolution and for turning it to the best account, so that his entrance into the ministry with Peyronnet was mooted. But Peyronnet repudiated Villèle as decidedly as Polignac. And that statesman, who saw the monarchy on the brink of the precipice to which he had contributed to steer it, withdrew in disappointment and despair. Chabrol and Courvoisier resigned, Guernon de Ranville was induced to remain. Peyronnet was appointed to the Home Department. Chantelauze, a friend of the Duc d'Angoulême, with the Baron Cappelle, afterwards joined the Cabinet.

In April M. de Bourmont embarked upon his expedition against Algeria, begging of his colleagues to await his return at least ere they provoked civil war. The Dey had given frequent cause of umbrage to France, of which since its defeat in 1814 and 1815 Orientals and Barbaresques made too little count. The French government wished to protect the Papal flag from the Algerian corsairs, and the latter did not understand the grounds of this. The French Consul had at last an altercation with the Dey, who struck him with his fan. It was a fair *casus belli*. When Ambassador in London, Prince Polignac had represented the necessity of taking revenge, but accompanied it by the assurance that he would not make conquests or seek territorial advantages. Summoned to renew this promise as Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris, Prince Polignac hesitated and was evasive in his replies, whilst his Marine Minister, D'Haussez, was insolent. Prince Polignac had at first announced the project of employing the Pasha of Egypt to reduce the Dey; but many objections were made to the plan, and Bourmont's idea of winning glory at Algiers in order to reconcile the French to absolute government was caught at and adopted. It was no difficult achievement with an army of 40,000 men and a formidable fleet. Landing at some short distance from Algiers, the French were attacked

by the Dey's army, not inconsiderable, but of course no match for their opponents. The Algerians were defeated. Algiers was then invested. The fort of the Emperor, on the apex or summit of the town, was battered, and was about to be the object of an assault, when the Dey's officers blew it up. This but the more effectually opened the town to the French, who found ample treasure in the Dey's coffers. That potentate was allowed to retire with his family, and Algiers became French. This was achieved early in July.

Meantime the Royal Ordonnance dissolving the Chambers appeared. Never did general election under worse auspices for the Crown take place. And yet the electors formed the wealth and education of the kingdom. Had the Monarch shown either moderation or sense, he could not but have had a majority amongst such a class. But the King in a proclamation pronounced the late address of the Chamber repudiating Polignac as a personal insult to himself, which he was determined not to overlook. At the same time the ministerial press and some functionaries spoke plainer. They pleaded that the King had by the 14th article of the Charter a full right to make use of extraordinary measures to save the State, even by decreeing a change in the electoral law. Others pointed to a conflict as the likeliest result of their policy, and the Crown was said to be prepared for this trial of force, and assured of victory. This language, instead of intimidating the electors, irritated and provoked them. The opposition members were everywhere returned, the ministerialists losing some fifty. The Liberal majority of 221 became 270. To this had abutted the boasts and efforts of De Peyronnet.

To meet such a Chamber with his present ministers and with the only language that they could use was merely to provoke an address stronger in censure than that of the 221. It was sure, however, to be respectful

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to the Monarch, who had but to abandon his ministers in order to be reconciled to his parliament. There was nothing humiliating in this, if Charles would have considered himself a constitutional King. If any one would endeavour to represent to himself what Charles the Tenth really aimed at, and what were the counter-designs of the parliamentary majority, no very great chasm would be found between them. The King had abandoned the Jesuits. He still wished to give the clergy influence, and desired to see the old historical noblesse resume its splendour and its station. There was nothing very despotic in this, nor did Charles the Tenth look to make himself a despot. He was much more afraid of what the Liberals meditated towards him than bent upon any project of his own. Unfortunately he had the Revolution ever before his eyes. He looked upon the Chamber as a Convention, and its orators as so many Vergniauds and Robespierres, who, if they were not crushed, would abolish the monarchy and send its present occupant to the scaffold. "I had rather mount on horseback and fight than mount the scaffold there [pointing to the Place Louis Quinze] as my brother did." All this was mere phantasmagoria—the ravings of a mind steeped in the past, and unable to extricate itself therefrom so as to take an active and just view of the present. His family was worse than himself; his niece and daughter-in-law imbued with the same silly sentiments, that the Liberal politicians were Mirabeau and Barrère, Danton and Robespierre. When the King appointed Martignac, the Duchesse d'Angoulême exclaimed that he had descended the first step of his throne. Those unfortunate Bourbons were in fact stricken with insanity, and petrified into obtuseness by the spectre of the past.

All this time what did the Liberals, even the extreme ones, desire? We can now judge from the letters of Lafayette written at the time. The principle of election in

municipalities, the restoration of the National Guard, the press moderately free, a liberal policy towards foreign nations. In fact they wanted nothing that Charles the Tenth in his senses might not have granted, and which he would in reality have found nowise inimical to the fair influence of the clergy and the gradual restoration of the aristocracy, provided neither flung themselves athwart the current and onward sentiments of the age.

Unfortunately all appreciation of measures, or even of tendencies, had been superseded, ever since the fall of Villèle, by the rivalry of persons. Of this indeed Villèle himself set the example. The King followed it by placing his own royal person in the foremost rank of party, and considering the enemies of his ministers as his own. By giving up Polignac and appointing a Périer and Sebastiani ministry, Charles would have yielded nothing save empty ideas of pride. Not so Polignac and Peyronnet: if they were sent adrift, they would have floated down the current of oblivion, and become the nothings they deserved to be. Against this they struggled, and to avoid this they imperilled and lost the monarchy. *They* would not yield. Prince Polignac proposed to go back fifty years and resuscitate the policy of Calonne. He would convoke an Assembly of Notables. But Chantelauze, the lawyer of the dynasty, was for making use of the 14th article of the Charter, and by virtue of it convoke a new Chamber, to be chosen by a new system of election, and thus get the semblance of parliamentary sanction by a *coup d'état*. Such was the plan discussed and decided by the Government, and such were the measures foreseen and dreaded by the party or conglomeration of parties in opposition. All these met and were affiliated together in the society *Aide-toi, le Ciel t'aidera*. And the frequent question was, what they should do if ordonnances destructive of the Constitution were promulgated. There was but one view as to what was to be done—this was to

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resist paying taxes, and enter on a course of passive resistance. All were prepared to play the Hampden, nobody the Cromwell. The ministers chuckled on learning that this was the resolve of their enemies. They knew very well they could put down the Hampdens, provided the population of the Paris Fauxbourgs would but remain quiet. The Prefect of Police, Mangin, assured the King and the government that they would. "*Paris will not stir*," was his vehement and fatuous assurance. One person questioned the justice of this promise. M. de Vitrolles, once Charles the Tenth's favourite, but no longer so, intruded into the palace to warn the King that there existed a silent but dangerous agitation amongst the masses of the capital, and that, if any violent measure burst upon the popular mind, there would be a formidable insurrection. Peyronnet, relying upon the Prefect of Police and on his own assurance, laughed at the idea. The Duke de Mortemart, French ambassador at St. Petersburg, came to Paris expressly to warn the King not to infringe the Charter. The Czar had been informed of such intents by Pozzo di Borgo, and sent Mortemart to warn the French King that he must not look to the Allies for support if his own rash acts should hurl him from the throne. The warning of Nicholas was no more listened to than that of Vitrolles.

On the 11th of July Charles, with his son and the two Princesses, went in state to Notre Dame to attend a *Te Deum* for De Bourmont's conquest of Algiers. At almost any other moment the population would have greeted the Monarch with enthusiasm and sympathised with his feelings of exultation. Now it was but too evident that any victory of the Crown would be turned against the people. And the royal family in their solitary glass coach were the only persons who displayed any signs of joy or satisfaction.* The Archbishop, Quelen, however, must be excepted. He prognosticated

* The writer witnessed the procession.

that his Majesty would soon have to celebrate another Te Deum for a still more splendid victory—meaning evidently one over his people. The Archbishop was no prophet.

Three or four Ordonnances were drawn up by Chantelauze, and communicated to the ministers assembled on the 24th. They were as follows:—

First Ordonnance.—The liberty of the press is suspended. No journal to appear, and no book or pamphlet above or below twenty sheets to be published, without special authorisation.

Second Ordonnance.—The Chamber of Deputies dissolved.

Third Ordonnance.—The future Chamber to be composed solely of Deputies of Departments.

Electors must pay 300 francs land-tax: no other will be counted. By this Ordonnance the Chamber was to be composed of what in England are called county members. They were chosen in France by the highest tax-payers. The final Ordonnance fixed the elections for the coming September.

Such were the Ordonnances proposed on the 24th, and laid on the Council Table at St. Cloud on the 25th of July (Sunday), 1830, for decision. Charles himself presided, and his son, the Duc d'Angoulême, was present. Read over, they were assented to in silence by the ministers. The King was the first to sign them. He hesitated for a moment, and then declaring that nothing was left for him but to sign, did so. His example was followed by all present. And they were then brought to the proprietor of the *Moniteur* for publication on the following morning. That personage, M. Sauvo, could not believe his eyes. He had lived through many revolutions, and he now rushed to the Chancellor's to be assured of the authenticity of the documents placed in his hands. They were published on the morning of the 26th.

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The persons first struck at by these Ordonnances were the members of the press, as well as all who lived by publishing and printing. The offices of the journals became in consequence the first *foci* of the agitation. Editors and writers met there, whilst the printers with no work before them thronged in the Palais Royal and other places of public resort to mount chairs and read the Ordonnances to the people who gathered round. This took place, as if instinctively, before the Café Foy, on the old ground where Camille Desmoulins had harangued his audience. The printers were not long left alone; for the managers of other trades and manufacturing establishments dismissed their workmen, or gave them the holiday which they hastened to spend in the *forums* of the day, the *places publiques*.

Whilst the working classes were at once afoot, there was, indeed, little activity shown by the higher, except by the class of journalists. There were certainly few deputies in Paris. In the month of July, of a very hot summer too, wealthy persons generally quit the capital. Some of the journalists came to Dupin to ask him to sign a protestation. This he declined, being no longer, he said, a deputy then.* But as a lawyer he informed the journalists that they had a right to resist—nay, would deserve to lose their journal if they did not do so. Other legists were found more courageous. M. Debelleyme, Judge in *Première Instance*, and M. Ganneron, Judge of the *Tribunal de Commerce*, declared from their seats of judgment the Ordonnances illegal, and not to be obeyed. Bertin de Vaux, Sebastiani, Casimir Périer were in town, but could not decide on any immediate action. Laborde, one of the deputies for Paris, finding no sufficient encouragement amongst his few colleagues, betook himself to the office of the *National*, where he found editors and journalists *in conciliabule*. They had

* Memoirs of Dupin.

already resolved to draw up a protest. M. Thiers, editor of the *National*, took the pen to do this.

They declared "the legal system of government to have been put an end to, and that of brute force substituted. The press was under the protection of the Charter: its rights had been violated. They, the printers and writers, determined to disobey Ordonnances of the kind, and published their journal in despite of them. The Crown had also infringed the Charter by dissolving the Chamber of Deputies ere it had met or been constituted. It was for Deputies to see how they would act. Pressmen would at least stand up for the press." Forty-one signatures were affixed to this bold protest, the first step to the Revolution of July. The principal names were those of Thiers, Mignet, and Carrel, of the *National*; Cauchois Lemaire and Dumoulin, of the *Constitutionnel*; Chatelain, of the *Courrier Français*; Remusat, of the *Globe*; Baude, Haussman, Dussard, Coste, of the *Temps*. The Deputies, who met in the same evening to the number of 14 or 15, resolved also to sign a protest; and several drafts of such a document were drawn up, but finally left for the morrow to be decided on. The office of the *National* continued to be crowded by the most zealous; but even there, M. de Schonen, who was for open resistance, was silenced by Thiers asking "where were the means," as the people showed no signs of stirring.

Nothing therefore took place on the day of the issue of the Ordonnances to alarm the Monarch or the ministers. Polignac's carriage was pelted, indeed, but no more. Still Marmont, who commanded the troops, was in anxiety at having to repress any popular tumult. He complained aloud to his friends of such a duty being forced upon him. He attended a meeting of the Institute, and spoke on the subject to his friend Arago. On Tuesday he was ordered by the King to take such military precautions as were necessary. These very

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precautions brought on a collision and provoked a struggle. On the morning of the 27th the police proceeded to breaking the presses of the *Temps* and *National* by order of the Prefect, and orders were issued to arrest the 41 gentlemen of the press who had signed the courageous protest. The police were unable to lay their hands upon any. But the presses of the *Temps* and *National*, which had printed the protest, were broken after a long and stubborn opposition offered by M. Baude. A crowd gathered in the Rue de Richelieu, before the office of the *Temps*, when the police were engaged breaking the presses; but there was no resistance. The people then hurried to the Palais Royal, and being expelled from the garden, thronged in the streets and passages around. Yet, had no soldiers appeared, it is probable that the mob, not knowing what to be at, would have separated on the Tuesday as on the Monday. But. Marmont had brought the Swiss regiments to the Place Louis Quinze, and filled the Carrousel with troops, which in the evening were ordered to clear the environs of the Palais Royal. The Lancers charged up the Rue de Richelieu, the mob retreating to a heap formed by the ruins of a house near the Théâtre Français, and pelted the Lancers with bricks.* The infantry sent to clear the Place du Palais Royal were pelted too, and at last lost patience and fired. Some of the crowd were killed; and their deaths became the signal for insurrection. The bodies were placed on biers, and transported into different quarters, words and tears of rage being vociferated and shed over them. Every vehicle caught in the streets around the Palais Royal was thrown down—paving stones rooted up and heaped round them so as to form a barricade. These obstructions, when raised in the face of the soldiers, were soon destroyed. But the constructors, thus defeated, withdrew to more

* The writer was on the spot.

distant parts of the town, where they could build barricades and strengthen them at leisure. The chief business of the evening was, however, the search for arms and procuring of ammunition. The shops which sold them were broken open and soon emptied. Several depôts of powder were obtained possession of, and the people immediately began to make cartridges. The arms of the National Guard were all forthcoming, whether in the hands of the owners or of others.

The night of the 27th passed in comparative quiet, the preparations being carried on for the greater part indoors. The darkness, indeed, consequent upon the universal smashing of the lamps prevented circulation, and, save the burning of a wooden guardhouse near the Bourse, no act of violence took place that night. But the agitation was far from allayed. From the people it had gained the shopkeeping classes, and a proclamation to the National Guard to assemble having been placarded, the civic uniform made its appearance everywhere on the morrow. The young men of even the higher classes began to take part in the enthusiasm, and crowds of them might be seen with fowling-pieces on the Boulevards, where the fallen trees protected them from charges of horse. The people, however, as day broke, re-manned the barricades, or gathered in the central squares. The first act of the morning of the 28th was an attack upon the Hôtel de Ville by the people, who easily overcame the slender guard that held it. The object was not to instal any insurgent committee or municipality, but simply to replace the white flag on the summit by the tricolor. Similar was the object at Notre Dame, where moreover the great bell or *bourdon*, better known as the *tocsin*, was set in motion, informing all Paris that the insurrection was flagrant and victorious in its centre.

Marmont awoke at the sound to the gravity of the insurrection; and reports soon came to explain the

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ominous sounds, telling that the suburbs, left as well as right of the Seine, were pouring down combatants, with the pupils of the Polytechnic School acting as officers and leading them. The Marshal's first impulse was to forward to St. Cloud an advice of pacification, in other words, a submission on the part of the Crown. This recommendation found King and Ministers deaf or obstinate. It was answered by orders to act with energy, and put down the tumult by force. Paris was declared in a state of siege. Marmont prepared to obey the command, and directed three corps to advance into the insurgent portion of the city. One was to follow the quays and take possession of the Hôtel de Ville, another to the left of it was to occupy the Marché des Innocents, whilst a third was to follow and clear the Boulevards from the Madeleine to the Bastille. The divisions having fulfilled their first tasks, were to open communications with each other, clearing the Rue St. Denis and the principal streets between the Hôtel de Ville, the Marché, and the Boulevards. Other corps, smaller in number, were charged with the less important mission of patrolling and keeping quiet the western quarters of the city.

The first division, under General Talon, achieved the task of taking possession of the Hôtel de Ville and its Place. This was not done without a fierce struggle and some loss. The mob stood firm before the musketry, but a discharge of grape infallibly dispersed the groups, and left a large portion of them dead.

The second division, which proceeded by the Rue St. Honoré, succeeded in occupying the great market *des Innocens*, not without having had several barricades to overcome, whilst a heavy fire from all the windows that look on the market rendered the position perilous. The third division had also some encounters, especially at the Porte St. Martin; but it too succeeded in reaching the Bastille, and even pushed a detachment to the gate

of St. Antoine. But the three divisions, however successful so far, were unable to communicate with each other. The Rue St. Antoine was impassable from barricades and armed crowds. The soldiers on the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville, after a vain combat, seemed more inclined to come to an armistice with the people than attack them. Their commander therefore made no attempt to clear the neighbouring streets, or open communications. The division occupying the market were obliged to attempt this, galled as it was by the fire of musketry. Colonel Plainselves led a battalion to traverse the long and narrow Rue St. Denis to the Boulevard. It was more than a battalion could effect, there being a barricade at every hundred paces, high as the second story, and insurgent muskets at every window. Nevertheless the battalion succeeded after much delay in emerging from the street upon the Boulevard, but not till it had left the greater part of its soldiers wounded as well as the Colonel. To have effected the passage was moreover idle, for the barricades rose again, and the street filled with the insurgents behind the column as it passed.

Whilst the several divisions of the army were engaged in this perilous task, the Deputies, to the number of thirty, met at M. Audry de Puyraveau's, to consider the question of a protest. That gentleman kept a kind of *roulage*, and whilst the Deputies discussed the object of their meeting in a saloon on the ground floor, the workmen in the court joined in and made it a very democratic meeting. Laffitte and Lafayette, just come to town, soon attended. They would hear of no lame protest. What had taken place, they said, was a revolution, and what was wanting was a Provisional Government to be at the head of it.* Alarmed at such an extreme measure, the more moderate proposed a deputation to

* Lafayette's Memoirs.

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Marmont to suspend hostilities. This was agreed to. That general had already learned the partial success of his divisions in reaching their positions, but at the same time the difficulty of maintaining them. Polignac and the ministers were in the next apartment; but whilst they were resolving to seize the Deputies and try them by a council of war, Marmont was inditing a letter to the King, imploring him to yield in time. Orders had already been issued for arresting the Liberal Deputies, when their presence was announced. Marmont recalled the issue of arrests, but when the Deputies urged a cessation of hostilities, confessed his inability to do more than inform the King. He had deserted a great cause once, and could not repeat such an act. When the deputation as well as his friend Arago urged him, he said they had better see Polignac. The latter, however, declined the interview. And whilst Marmont, at the very time when his troops were meditating a retreat from before the people, warned the King of the danger which impended, Polignac sent simultaneous despatches insisting on the necessity of holding out, and making no concessions. At this time the minister was warned of the important fact that several regiments refused to fire upon the insurgents. "Fire upon them then!" was the Prince's fatuous reply. Somewhat shaken by the Marshal's account, Charles the Tenth at St. Cloud asked Vitrolles, who came to insist on the necessity of a change of measures and of the ministry, "Would it not be better for me to be at the Tuileries?" "Certainly," replied Vitrolles, "but for the council of war, which has been installed there to pass sentence upon the Deputies and others arrested in flagrant revolt. If there be executions, the name of Charles the Tenth will recall the acts of his predecessor Charles the Ninth." The allusion to the St. Bartholomew massacre confirmed the King in his purpose to stay away from his palace in the capital; and he thus remained ignorant all that fatal afternoon

of the events which were destroying the very foundations of his throne.

The efforts of Marmont were in fact no longer to reduce the centre of Paris north of the Seine, held by the insurgents, but to extricate his troops from amongst them. This was effected by two of the divisions withdrawing from the strife and retreating to the Champs Élysées by making the circuit of the exterior Boulevards. Those in the centre of the town, at the Market and the Hôtel de Ville, were only able to effect a similar retreat after nightfall. The troops were in fact defeated on every side, and Marmont merely held the Louvre and Tuileries, with the issues from thence towards St. Cloud. The only answer from the King to Marmont's entreaties, even at a late hour, was to hold the Placé Louis Quinze, and employ the troops *en masse* against the people. The soldiers, however, by this time formed an insignificant mass in presence of that of the whole population of the capital.

The Deputies met in the afternoon and the evening of the 28th. All the efforts of Lafayette and one or two others could not induce them to step out of the path of legality. They said nothing was possible but a reconciliation with Charles the Tenth. Still a protest, much stronger than the former one, was proposed by M. Guizot. Even then there was reluctance to sign, and the proprietor of the *Temps* refused to print it unless it was signed. A list of those present was at length affixed. But the time for such documents was passed. The King himself remained more passive than even the Deputies. He withdrew to bed after his game of whist at St. Cloud; and etiquette forbade his being awakened. The Ministers remained in the Tuileries trusting in Marmont, who assured them that, however beaten out of Paris, his troops could hold for a long time the Louvre, Carrousel, and Tuileries.

The Parisians invested this Quadrilateral with more

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and more energy, more and more force. The barricades opposite the Louvre and entrance to the Carrousel rose high, and were manned by a people almost inebriated with powder, enthusiasm, and victory. The soldiers within the palace walls and court were without bread, and were indignant that no prince made his appearance or took his stand in the palace of his forefathers for direction or defence. The first act of Marmont on the morning of Thursday the 29th was to order a suspension of arms—such as the Deputies had vainly demanded of him the day before—and to try to get it accepted by the insurgents. This he found impossible: the offer was met by threats and volleys. The Marshal then sought to convoke the municipal and judicial authorities of the capital, to make and enforce this proposal, when he was relieved by the appearance at the Palace of M. de Semonville, Grand Referendary of the Chamber of Peers, accompanied by M. d'Argout.

This was not indeed the personage calculated to persuade the people, but he might have influence with the Crown. They insisted on seeing the Ministers; and when Polignac appeared, they pressed him at once to save the monarchy by withdrawing the Ordonnances and abdicating power. Polignac and his colleagues replied that this was not their affair, but the King's, who was absent at St. Cloud. D'Argout then besought Marmont to arrest the Ministers, which, if announced, would satisfy the insurgents and stop the effusion of blood. This would have been but another form of that act of treason which Marmont shrunk from. Peyronnet soon after entered with a reproach to Semonville not to have already set off for St. Cloud. This turned Marmont's purpose, and he urged the Peers to hasten to the King. They set out, and were warned by Peyronnet to make speed; for if not, Prince Polignac would outstrip them and mar their errand.

They were not long upon their journey when events

occurred to show how ill-advised had been the Monarch, and how fatal the hour's delay was to the King and his dynasty. The first event was the defection of two regiments quartered in the Place Vendôme. The 15th regiment on the preceding evening, whilst stationed on the quay opposite the Hôtel de Ville, had refused to fire upon the people, and many of its men even gave away their cartouches. The example was followed on Thursday by two regiments on the Place Vendôme, the soldiers of which, when ordered to remove barricades, merely went up to reconnoitre and then turned on their heel.* Some of the officers sent to General Gérard to take the command. He could not come; but others did, who brought the officers of the regiment opposite to the Hôtel Laffitte. The Tuileries Gardens in Marmont's rear were thus left unprotected; and the Marshal, to provide their defence, was obliged to recall one of the Swiss regiments which then guarded the Louvre. The commander thought it best to send away that regiment, which had all the morning resisted the assailants from the colonnade, and to replace it by the other which occupied the great court. Orders to this effect being given, the Swiss soldiers manning the colonnade withdrew with alacrity, whilst those who were to replace them proceeded to do so with no alacrity whatever—so much so that the colonnade for an interval remained undefended. The people behind the barricade opposite were not slow to perceive the suspended fire. The boldest advanced to the gate of the Louvre, near which a wooden trough for shooting rubbish was left standing, and afforded a communication with the colonnade above. Some of the mob soon climbed it, rushed through the apartments of the Louvre, and showed their shaggy heads and menacing guns through the windows. The Swiss soldiers still in the court perceived this, and

* Me ipso teste.

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cried out that the palace was taken; in a trice a panic seized them, and all, who could, fled through the portal into the Carrousel. The mob, still more alert, had already broken in, and little mercy was shown the unfortunate Swiss who remained behind. In a few minutes their naked bodies covered the court, whilst red fragments of their uniforms adorned the breasts, as broken helms the heads, of the victors.

When the armed people had penetrated into the Louvre by the eastern colonnade, there was no obstacle to their traversing its halls, to reach the great gallery of pictures. Its windows overlook the Carrousel, where Marmont was endeavouring to infuse some order into the retreat, for resistance had become impossible. The popular guns and heads from the Louvre Gallery precipitated this operation; and the troops as speedily evacuated the Tuileries as the Louvre, marching through the garden to the Champs Élysées. The palace was on the instant assailed and entered from all sides. A youth of the Polytechnic School, struck by a ball, was placed upon the throne to die. There was at first some disorder and some plunder. Valuable pictures were destroyed. But guards soon sprang up to punish robbers with instant death, and to protect what was valuable in the palace.

The troops did not pause till they reached the Bois de Boulogne, where they were no longer molested. As to Marmont, he proceeded to St. Cloud, and entered the King's closet covered with the dust and disorder of the contest. He could no longer, he exclaimed, defend Paris. The Swiss regiments charged with the defence of the Louvre had abandoned it: he had in consequence been obliged to retreat beyond the barriers. The King said little, save that he had transferred the command of the troops to the Duc d'Angoulême.

Whilst the struggle still continued, and Marmont held the Louvre, as well as the Carrousel, in the morning

the 29th the Deputies assembled at the house of M. Laffitte, more removed than others from the scene of strife. One of them undertook a mission of his own. This was Audry de Puyraveau, who, seeing the numbers in the uniform of National Guards manning the barricades and mingling in the fight, felt the expediency of their having a chief. In the name of many of them he besought Lafayette to take the command. The latter would not do so except when empowered by his colleagues. He was not able to make the proposal to them at Laffitte's until mid-day. The idea was of course accepted and applauded. Lafayette's previous recommendation to form a Provisional Government had been considered premature. M. Guizot instead of it proposed naming certain members, who, under the title of Municipal Commissioners, should undertake the government of the capital. Messrs. Laffitte, Périer, Lobau, Schonen, and Audry de Puyraveau were named, Marshal Gérard taking the command of the troops.

Whilst Lafayette installed himself at the Hôtel de Ville, the Parisians gave themselves up to a general burst of joy. On this last day the insurrection had gained the left bank of the Seine, and the military posts were attacked and carried. The barrack of the Rue de Babylone offered a stubborn resistance, and was won by much daring and effusion of blood. It was no sooner achieved than the victors formed a procession to proclaim their triumph and bring their trophies to the Hôtel de Ville. Dragoon horses captured served the improvised leaders of the late assault. A cannon dragged in triumph was bestridden by women who had joined in the fray. The combatants, inebriated by powder and fight, strode and shouted like bacchanals. Amidst these manifestations of triumph, the procession traversed Paris, and visited the suburbs, one after the other, installing new mayors and authorities. Whilst some indulged in [illegible]parade of power, others, more usefully employed,

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removed the dead to courts and covered places, where they lay in heaps, begrimed and beclotted, the human form scarcely recognisable from dust and gore. On the following day pits were opened to receive many of those who had fallen, whilst the rest were conveyed and packed in boats to be floated down the Seine to the Champ de Mars.

The exultant joy of the people was indescribable. It was too full for them even to think of the future. On one thing alone they were determined—to be rid of the Bourbons. What or who was to be put in their place, the people had as yet scarcely asked themselves the question. And as to authority, any one might have it who assumed it. A half insane officer named Dubourg bought a general's uniform in an old clothes shop, and went to the Hôtel de Ville, of which he took possession by the sole right of his garment. His fancy was to hoist the black flag. M. Baude, of the *Temps*, came also to the Hôtel de Ville, and assumed authority by right of his energy and loud voice. But Baude gave way to the municipal commission named by the Deputies, whilst General Dubourg bowed before the superior authority of Lafayette.

Tidings of these thick coming events soon reached the unfortunate King at St. Cloud. Polignac had arrived there at the same time with Messrs. Semonville and D'Argout. The latter, instantly received, told his tale, but found Charles at first inflexible. The Louvre had not then been taken. But when the certitude of defeat was made apparent by the presence of Marmont, Charles the Tenth called a council of his ministers to decide the question, which had been already decided elsewhere, of yielding or not yielding. The ministers were still for holding out, for retreating to the provinces, and in fact commencing civil war. The Duc d'Angoulême inclined to the same opinion, incapable as he was of acting upon it. But the old King, who [redacted]

now full proof of the incapacity of his ministers as well as of his son, declared he would recall the Ordonnances, and appoint the Duc de Mortemart Prime Minister, with the power of nominating liberal colleagues.

Messrs. de Semonville, D'Argout, and Vitrolles were commissioned to go to Paris and make these concessions known. They were given no credentials, no documents. The King was too agitated to sign them at once. They set off nevertheless full of zeal, and managed late in the evening to reach the Hôtel de Ville. The Municipal Council and Lafayette received them immediately. Semonville announced the recall of the Ordonnances and the new ministry. Feeling themselves incompetent to reply, the Commission, or rather Casimir Périer, asked for the Royal signature and decrees confirming these changes. Vitrolles said they had come away in too great a hurry, not being aware that there existed a Provisional Government. The Commission declared its incompetence, and referred the three negotiators to the Deputies assembled at Laffitte's. D'Argout instantly repaired thither. Semonville was too wearied: Vitrolles, aware that his known ultra-Royalism would form an obstacle. D'Argout found M. Laffitte himself by no means willing to listen to the accommodation he proposed. Many of those present, however, would have jumped at it, notwithstanding the cries of the crowd in the courts of the mansion denouncing any pact with the Bourbons. But D'Argout had brought no Ordonnances, no credentials; and it was resolved to await M. de Mortemart, who was expected as the bearer of these.

That personage had remained at St. Cloud, expecting as well as the King the tidings of how M. de Semonville had speeded. Charles sat down to a rubber of whist, and then went to bed. In the night D'Argout and Vitrolles returned. Had they had full powers and clear credentials, they might have done something. M. de Mortemart was to be instantly despatched with these.

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But Charles the Tenth was asleep, and etiquette forbade his being awakened. Vitrolles insisted, but was met by the Monarch with reproaches for coming to intercede for his rebellious subjects. "Will your Majesty then go to La Vendée, and recommence civil war?" Charles liked this less than signing the counter-Ordonnances; and he did sign them, as well as that appointing the Duc de Mortemart Prime Minister. It was understood that Casimir Périer and Gérard were to be his colleagues. The Duke set off in the middle of the night; but the Duc d'Angoulême would sign no pass for him, so he was obliged to skulk along the roads south of the Seine, and get into Paris by a breach in the wall.

It was then the morning of the 31st, and by that time another combination had made progress, which left no chance or opening for the emissary of Charles the Tenth. The idea of transferring the crown from the elder branch of the Bourbons, as soon as it was evident that they were one and all inimical to the Charter and to Constitutional government, and placing it on the head of the Duke of Orleans, was too obvious not to have been mooted by all who employed their minds upon politics. The Prince had been often sounded, nay tempted, but had declined to give any encouragement to those who sought to raise him to the throne. A short time previous to the Ordonnances, at a fête given by the Duke to the King of Naples—a fête which the people had hailed by making a fire of the chairs in the gardens of the Palais Royal—M. Salvandy observed to the Duke that the fête was quite Neapolitan, taking place on the crater of a volcano. "It may indeed be so," rejoined the Duke, "but eruption or earthquake will at least leave me here. I shall not budge from this palace." This was to say that if Charles the Tenth managed to get himself and his family expelled from France, he, the Duke of Orleans, would neither join nor accompany him.

That the Duke did not expect the Ordonnances is

evident from his letter of the 25th to his Aide-de-camp Rumigny.* Laffitte sent to warn him on the 29th to beware of St. Cloud. The Duke did so by sleeping, not in the palace of Neuilly, but in a kiosk of the Parc. On the morning of the 30th, equally alarmed at what either Charles the Tenth or the Parisians might attempt, he hurried off to Raincy. On the previous evening Messrs. Thiers and Mignet, neither of them in the confidence of the Duke, published and placarded a Proclamation, printed in the bureau of the *National*, stating that the Duke of Orleans was preferable at the head of a government to either Charles the Tenth or a republic. It was issued with the cognizance of M. Laffitte.

When the Deputies met at the Hôtel of the latter, at mid-day of the 30th, they came struck with the effect of this proclamation. Some certainly of the successful insurgents were opposed to it, but the greater number were acquiescent. An attempt had been made in the morning to get Laffitte to espouse the succession of the Duc de Bordeaux, with the Duke of Orleans for Regent. He had rejected it as impossible, and was confirmed in his opinion by Béranger and his other intimate friends. When therefore at the midday meeting, and after the capture of the Louvre was announced, M. Delessert† proposed to confer the Lieutenant-Generalship of the Kingdom on the Duke, the idea seemed to almost all the only solution.

M. Dupin hastened off to Neuilly to inform the inmates of that palace of the intentions of the Deputies. The Duke himself had returned to Raincy, but M. Dupin was received by the Duchess and Madame Adelaide, the first of whom was shocked at the idea of her husband superseding the authority of Charles the Tenth,

* Published by Nouvion in the Appendix to his Histoire de Louis-Philippe.

† M. Dupin, in his Memoirs, says positively it was Delessert who first made the proposal.

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whilst Madame Adelaide, the Duke's sister, was by no means so firm or so outspoken in that opinion.

In the mean time the placards putting forward the Duke of Orleans had disgusted and aroused the rising Republican party. They lost no time in issuing counter placards to the cry of "No Bourbons!"—"Lafayette Provisional President." That personage at the Hôtel de Ville was assailed with importunities. A republic meant himself for its President. This caused him to hesitate. Would such a proposal be accepted by the country? It certainly would not be accepted by the majority of his colleagues; and his first step must be war with them. He therefore rejected the idea, and strove to pacify the young republicans by promising they should have every thing short of a republic. Word was brought that the Duke de Chartres had been arrested at Montrouge. Whilst some of the republicans took steps for his further detention or for slaying him, Lafayette ordered his liberation.

This movement of the republicans greatly accelerated the appointment of the Duke of Orleans; for the Deputies were made to feel that the alternative was between him and a Republic. Such was the conviction with which both the Municipal Commission and Laffitte received D'Argout on the evening of the 30th; and a perfect knowledge that this was the general sentiment kept the Duc de Mortemart inactive and paralysed during the forenoon of the 31st. He merely sent M. de Sussy to signify that he had counter-Ordonnances, and that he had also his own nomination as minister.

The Deputies met at Laffitte's first, and then adjourned to their own Chamber on the 31st. The majority were already prepared to confer the Lieutenant-Generalship of the kingdom upon the Duke of Orleans. But they had not his assent. M. Thiers, accompanied by M. Scheffer, set out for Neuilly on the morning of the 31st to procure it. He merely saw the Princesses,

as Dupin had done. But as Thiers was more positive in his offer, and more urgent in his argument, the Duchess of Orleans was more passionate in her refusal, and Madame Adelaide, on the contrary, more firm in her declaration that the offer of the Chamber was not to be refused by the Duke.* "Would she come to Paris, and accept in his name, if the Duke still remained absent?" To this Madame Adelaide consented; and this semi-acceptance M. Thiers brought to the Deputies assembled in their hall.

The Duc de Mortemart had, in the mean time, taken no step save sending word of his counter-Ordonnances to the Hôtel de Ville. He remained at the Luxembourg, the Palace of the Peers. The Upper Chamber, when there assembled, seemed little inclined to support the envoy of Charles the Tenth. Châteaubriand himself made no motion, and proposed no resolution. He merely stammered out "Save the liberty of the press." There was something else to be saved and thought of at the moment. "What is to become of Legitimacy?" asked some one of the Viscount. "Oh! give me freedom of the press for two months, and I will soon raise up the fallen throne with my pen," said Châteaubriand. His goose-quill was of as little avail as his counsel.

The Deputies who assembled in the Palais Bourbon at the same time were more determined. They felt the necessity of a government, and some were for endowing the Municipal Commission with it, in the absence of any message or envoy from either Charles the Tenth or the Duke of Orleans. At last M. Thiers came with a kind of assurance from the sister of the latter. M. de Mortemart sent the counter-Ordonnances about the same time. But the Duke's appointment seemed likely to prevail, when the Royalist Hyde de Neuville, in order to defeat it, proposed a conference with the Peers, and the

* Madame Adelaide had been encouraged to act thus by a message from Prince Talleyrand.—Sir H. Bulwer's Talleyrand.

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nomination of a commission to that effect. This was instantly adopted. And the members had scarcely gone upon the errand when Odilon Barrot came from Lafayette with a protest against any precipitation in naming a new government or sovereign without preliminary guarantees of the chief public liberties. This menacing dictation from the Hôtel de Ville precipitated the movement within the Chamber in favour of the Duke of Orleans; and a message was sent to recall the commission from the Chamber of Peers. There the question of the moment had also been seriously discussed; and whilst the friends of Charles the Tenth urged that the Duc de Mortemart was there with the recall of the Ordonnances, and a new ministry appointed, assurances were brought that the Royal troops showed signs of hostility at St. Cloud, and that the ex-ministers were still there around Charles. This completely upset all Mortemart's hopes, and he himself rallied to the idea which the commission from the Deputies, proposed of naming the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-General. They returned accordingly to the Lower Chamber with the consent of the Peers. The consequence was an almost unanimous vote of the Deputies* that the post of Lieutenant-General should be conferred upon the Duke of Orleans.

A messenger from Neuilly, with an account of M. Thiers' mission and offer, had been despatched to the Duke at Raincy. Laffitte, at a late hour, sent another with the vote of the Chamber. The Duke came instantly to Neuilly, and informed Laffitte that he had arrived, and would be at the Palais Royal in the morning. Laffitte's answer was to come thither immediately, as events were pressing. The Duke accordingly hastened on foot to the Palais Royal, which he reached at 11 o'clock at night. The first person he sent for was the Duke de Mortemart, to whom he stated the un-

* M. Villemain and two others were the only dissentients.

certainty of his position, and how circumstances more than his own will forced him to it. Mortemart advised him to accept the Lieutenant-Generalship temporarily. The Duke still thought this possible, and he wrote a letter, no doubt to this effect, to Charles the Tenth, confiding it to M. de Mortemart. The events of the following day rendered the letter idle: instead of being delivered to the King, it was returned to the Duke; so that its contents, however reproduced and conjectured, remain really unknown.*

At 6 o'clock on the following morning the Duke of Orleans sent for M. Dupin, and declared his readiness to accept the Lieutenant-Generalship, and thus preserve the kingdom from anarchy. Dupin drew up a proclamation of the Duke to the Parisians, stating his acceptance, as also that he had adopted the glorious tricolor, and that the Chamber would devise the proper means for ensuring the reign of the laws and the rights of the people. "The Charter shall henceforth be a truth." To the Deputation of the Chamber, which came at 8 o'clock, the Duke showed some decorous reluctance. A repetition to the Duke, through Sebastiani, of Talleyrand's previous advice to Madame Adelaide had great influence on the final decision. This the Duke of Orleans signified by acceptance.

The Chamber of Deputies met without loss of time, and ordered a Declaration, drawn up by M. Guizot, to be issued. The following guarantees, it said, would be required:—Re-establishment of the National Guard, with the right to elect its officers; the participation of citizens in the municipal and departmental administration; the jury for the press; the responsibility of ministers; officers secured in their grades. It concluded as did the Duke's proclamation with the words "The Charter shall henceforth be a truth."

After this the Deputies returned to the Palais Royal

* See Appendix to Nouvion.

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in order to accompany the Lieutenant-General in his proposed visit to the Hôtel de Ville, where he was to raise the popular banner after the Parliamentary one. The Duke proceeded on horseback; Laffitte was carried in a chair, on account of a sprain. The other Deputies, on foot, formed a guard on each side of the Duke, keeping off, with some difficulty, the populace, who displayed "neither violence nor respect."* A band of men and boys accompanied them singing the Marseillaise, and treating the procession to no very reverent remarks. There were many who awaited on the Place and the steps of the Hôtel de Ville with far more impatience, which their looks betrayed. The Duke with good countenance and good fortune passed these, and once within the municipal palace was received with acclamations by Lafayette and the crowd. He solemnly re-accepted the high offer made him, and the Prince and Lafayette then came forth on the balcony, where feelings of welcome and content overcame those of discontent and resentment, and the multitude hailed the new Sovereign with something like enthusiasm.

The act was no sooner consummated than his young and ardent friends surrounded Lafayette to reproach him with having awarded the popular crown without one popular guarantee. "Put your demands on paper," replied the General, "and I will bring them at once to the Palais Royal. I will answer for their acceptance." Lafayette went in the evening with his long list of republican demands in writing. He accosted the Lieutenant-General personally with the expression—"You know that I am a republican." "Why, so am I," rejoined the Duke. "But do you think American institutions applicable here?" "No," said Lafayette; "all we want is a popular throne surrounded by republican institutions." "Such are precisely my wishes," said the Duke, "but these institutions must be the work of the Chamber, not of me."

* Guizot's Memoirs.

Whilst the Duke of Orleans was thus cautiously taking possession of the steps of the throne, rashness and panic alternately prevailed in the family of Charles the Tenth. On the evening of Friday, the 30th, Marmont, in order to stop, if possible, the desertion of the troops, drew up a proclamation announcing to them that the Ordonnances were withdrawn, and that all required of them was to defend the Royal Family till an accommodation took place. He was not able to find the Duke d'Angoulême when he came to show it him, but deeming it urgent he had it read to the sergeants. Somewhat later the Duke took it into his head to lead an attack upon the Parisians, and drew up a spirited proclamation in consequence. General Talon, to whom it was communicated, then mentioned the previous proclamation of Marmont. Furious, and with the idea that he was betrayed by Marmont, the Prince flew into a passion with him, seized the Marshal's sword, and endeavouring to break it, cut his fingers. He then ordered the guard to arrest the Marshal. This scene of stupidity, passion, and error Charles the Tenth tried to atone for by every kind of obsequiousness to the Marshal. Marmont met the Duke d'Angoulême, and mutual apologies passed; but the old soldier refused the Prince's proffered hand.

The Duke of Angoulême persisted in his idea that resistance was still possible, and in the night his order was read to the regiments on and before the bridge of St. Cloud. He soon saw, however, from the countenances of the officers, that the order to renew the fight would not be obeyed. Instead of preparing for combat, the soldiers quartered in Boulogne eagerly gave up their arms. The Royal family in consequence found it prudent to retreat in the night of the 30th from St. Cloud to the Trianon, and, for the same reason, on the following day from the Trianon to Rambouillet. They were joined there by the Duchess d'Angoulême, who had not without difficulty found her way back from Vichy.

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The Duc d'Angoulême had sent orders to whatever regiments such missives could reach to direct their march to Rambouillet. Those who came, however, soon learned the true state of things, and the greater part disbanded. A Royal proclamation begged them to remain united, as the King had come to an understanding with the Government established in Paris. At the same time Charles addressed a letter to the Duke of Orleans, appointing him Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. This was dated "Rambouillet, August 1." Read by the friends of the Duke assembled in the Palais Royal, M. Dupin undertook to answer it by saying that the Duke had become Lieutenant-General by the vote of the Chamber. The Duke took the letter, withdrew, and, substituting for it a more moderate one, but much to the same purpose, forwarded it.

On the receipt of this reply the unfortunate King resumed his thoughts of resistance, which Marmont rejected as too late. The Marshal advised the abdication of the King and his son in favour of the young Duke of Bordeaux. Charles the Tenth and the Duke d'Angoulême drew up this act, and signed it; on which Marmont once more took the command of the troops, the abdication being forwarded to Paris. Soon after this important document had been despatched, commissioners arrived from Paris, offering personal security to the King, and empowered to negotiate his retreat. Charles could not receive them. He awaited an answer to his act of abdication. It came in the double shape of a new batch of commissioners and an army of volunteers from Paris, raised and despatched by Lafayette under the orders of General Pajol. Their vanguard, under Colonel Poques, arriving first, proceeded to force their way in despite of the Royal guard, which rallied on a few shots being fired, and Colonel Poques received a ball in his ankle. He was brought to the Château and well treated by the orders of

Charles. In the evening of the 3rd the second batch of commissioners penetrated to the King. He asked what they wanted. "They came to prevent a collision between the King's troops and the people, who, to the number of 60,000, had advanced to Rambouillet." The King said he was ready and willing to depart if the rights of his grandson were acknowledged. "Whatever these rights are," said Odilon Barrot, "they would be marred, not aided, by the spilling of more blood." The King after some time asked Marshal Marmont if it were true that 60,000 Parisians were coming to attack him. Though not one-third of that number had reached Rambouillet yet the Marshal might calculate that fully as many as would complete the number were on the march. Marshal Maison replied he had no doubt there were that number. The King then said he would withdraw. Marmont, pointing out the difficulty of defending Rambouillet with troops that could not be relied on, confirmed this resolution, and Charles the Tenth gave orders to retreat to Maintenon. There, on the 4th, Charles dismissed his guards: the body-guard and gendarmes were alone retained to serve as an escort to Cherbourg, where he proposed to embark. It was arranged that the ex-King should find a considerable sum at that port to take with him on his embarkation.

Meantime the two Chambers were opened on the 3rd by the Lieutenant-General, who did little more than announce and hand to them the abdication of Charles the Tenth and the Duke d'Angoulême. Their abdication was certainly conditional upon the recognition of the Duke of Bordeaux. But not a word was said of the condition. So that the declared vacancy of the throne as the voluntary act of the late Monarch was a somewhat undignified trick.

Whilst Charles the Tenth and his family were proceeding slowly and by short journeys to Cherbourg, the

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Deputies were busied with the necessary alterations to be made in the Charter previous to its acceptance by the new King. M. Bérard took the lead in proposing corrections. A commission was appointed to report upon them. This being completed, the sitting of the Chamber took place on the 7th, to consider the amendments to the Constitution. The preamble of the *octroyed* Charter was of course and manifestly set aside. So was the article establishing a State religion. The former article 14, giving the King apparent power to issue ordonnances, was remodelled. The initiative of laws, hitherto confined to the King, was given also to the Chamber. Peers were to be chosen from a list of Notables—whether they were to be hereditary or not was a reserved question. Lafayette spoke against it, and an *émeute* was got up at the gates of the Chamber to enforce the abolition of hereditary rights. But it was dissuaded from proceeding to violence. All the peers created in the previous reign were unseated. A proposal to renew the judges was set aside. None in fact but the changes then most imperatively called for were made in the Chamber.

When these were voted, the Chamber hastened to declare that the throne being vacant required to be filled. On the condition of his accepting the amended Charter, the Chambers called to the throne Louis-Philippe as King of the French: 219 yeas to 33 noes voted the transference of the crown. Two days after, on the 9th, Louis-Philippe proceeded to the Chamber, took the oath required, and was solemnly proclaimed.

Charles the Tenth and his family passed that day at Argentan, from whence they took another week to reach Cherbourg. The King was resigned, the Princesses were overwhelmed with their disaster, the Duchess of Berry especially refusing to consider it as final. Even of those remote districts, the inhabitants of towns enrolled as national guards, hailed as salutary the revolution which

had taken place. And the peasants themselves acquiesced, although ready to pay every outward respect to the last members of the fallen dynasty as they passed into exile. The sight of Cherbourg on the morning of the 16th, with the fleet in its bay that was to bear them off from France, deeply affected the royal party. It was arranged that there should be no delay in their embarkation. The carriages traversed the town to the port, princes and princesses went on board, the little Duke of Bordeaux most reluctantly. Charles made a pathetic adieu to his guards, a courteous one to the commissioners who had accompanied him, Marshal Maison, and Odilon Barrot; and whilst he fell on his knees in the cabin, the vessel that bore away the last relics of the Restoration cleared the harbour, and made for the coast of England.

CHAPTER XLVI.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE: FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE BREACH ON THE EASTERN QUESTION.

1830—1840.

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INTERESTING as the current events of French history must be to the English reader, it is not always that they come home to us as examples or experiments to be studied. There is such diversity in the position and character of the two nations. The Republic and the Empire are anomalous epochs; and even the Restoration, which approaches us as an essay at Constitutional government, set to the task under conditions and with ideas which excite our wonder rather than our sympathy. With the reign of Louis-Philippe it stands otherwise. That was a genuine effort of the nation first to constitute and then govern itself under a monarch of parliamentary choice, and within the sphere of liberty supposed to be suited to that attempt. The parties which then arose, the questions which were debated, and the aims and principles which they avowed, resemble those discernible amongst ourselves. We are thus infinitely more interested in the struggle and moved by its unhappy termination than we could be by the war of divine and popular Right under Louis the Eighteenth and Charles the Tenth.

It must be confessed, however, that the commencement of the July Revolution seemed unlikely and ill-fitted to produce that struggle and balance between

moderate and constitutional parties which characterise English politics. Charles's ministers had displayed the banner of Divine Right, and the people, in marching to combat it, knew of scarcely any other than the red flag of the Republic. The Deputies who met during the Three Days by no means came forward to head the movement or the strife. Some of them, like Dupin, showed pusillanimity, or like Périer and Sebastiani, over-caution. Laborde, Audry de Puyraveau, and Lafayette sought to be up to the popular mark; but on the whole the Deputies lagged even behind the journalists. It was therefore not without exciting considerable obloquy that they undertook the settlement of the throne, and with it their own predominance.

By their aid, and through the popular indifference, the Lieutenant-General was able to set aside the pretensions alike of Legitimists and Republicans. The attempt of the former, indeed, to survive the barricades was more theatrical than real. Châteaubriand stood forth for the rights of Charles's grandson. Summoned to the Palais Royal, and cajoled by the Princesses with the hopes of favour and high place, the poet-politician insisted that the Lieutenant-General should merely keep the throne warm for Henry the Fifth. When the difficulty of accomplishing this, against both popular and parliamentary opinion, was urged, Châteaubriand proposed that Louis-Philippe should practise deceit, gain time, organise the National Guard, and force Henry the Fifth down the throats not only of the people, but of every politician who had founded or was founding the new throne. The tissue of absurdity and treachery which constituted this proposal is told and exposed by Châteaubriand himself as the essence of rectitude and heroism!* M. Guizot has done justice to the motives which swayed the King and his councillors. "Personal fidelity," he says, "was the

* Mémoires d'Outre Tombe.

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great political as well as social principle of the old *régime*. When it was broken up, the state, the country itself, became substituted for the monarch, and patriotism succeeded to loyalty."

The principle of popular rights was at the time more menacing than the antagonistic one which Royalists called Divine. Had their national and true interests been fully understood by the chiefs of that popular party which triumphed in the Revolution, they might have been largely and materially advanced then; but these interests, unfortunately for them, were comprised at the time in the word Republic, which recalled to the educated classes proscription and the scaffold, to the commercial classes a suspension of all industry and livelihood. Lafayette himself owned that to proclaim a republic would have gone against the general wish, and produced a civil as well as a foreign war.* He limited his desire therefore to surrounding the throne with republican institutions. No one, however, at the time seemed to have any clear idea of what these meant. M. Thiers managed to bring the more eminent of the young republicans—Cavaignac, Guinard, and Bastide—to the Palais Royal. The Lieutenant-General listened to their observations. They objected to the Treaties of 1815, to the hereditary rights of the Peerage, and to the crown being conferred except by the primary assemblies of the people.† The first of these demands was European war; the last was anarchy. When Louis-Philippe shook his head at such crude suggestions, the young republicans withdrew, exclaiming that the new monarch was after all but a 221—one, in fact, of the parliamentary majority which overthrew Charles the Tenth. Nothing could be more true: Louis-Philippe was just that and no more, and it was in that character that the Chamber of Deputies elected him to the throne. A monarchy at once

* His Letters. † Sarrans, Louis Blanc.

democratic and constitutional will, we fear, never be realised to endure. A very liberal monarchy is intelligible; and had Lafayette and his friends, instead of raising or reconstructing a throne with a republic flung in menacing position before it, insisted from the very first upon a broad popular franchise, such as that which Lafayette some months later abetted—viz. that every one paying 100 francs taxes should have a vote—more would have been achieved for liberal and popular progress than by the ambiguous phrase of "half monarchy, half republic."

Immediately after his enthronement, on the 9th of August, Louis-Philippe, as he was proclaimed,* formed his ministry. The Provisional Municipality at the Hôtel de Ville had already made appointments of almost the same names in the same places. There was no President of the Council. The Foreign Office, at first given to Bignon, was transferred to Molé, as less Imperialist and offensive to Foreign Powers. Baron Louis took the Finances, Gérard the War Office, the Duc de Broglie Public Instruction, Guizot the Interior, and Dupont de l'Eure was Justice Minister. Laffitte, Périer, Bignon, and Dupin were ministers of state without portfolios.

The first consideration with the Government was to quiet and employ the people. The Revolution had naturally interrupted trade and manufactures. In order to restore activity to them, 200,000*l.* were voted for public works. The younger combatants of July were enrolled in a *Garde Nationale Mobile*. Until Charles the Tenth quitted the soil of France, there existed fears of a Royalist rising or resistance. Even as this died away, people looked to foreign war as the inevitable result of the Revolution. The visit of the English Ambassador to the Palais Royal was indeed hailed by the people as a surety that at least one nation accepted the recent decision.

* The retrogrades wanted to proclaim him as Philip the Seventh. The *Débats* of the 10th announced "*Philippe Ier est proclamé.*"

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Still great uneasiness prevailed. The anarchy of the streets had extended to the army. A regiment at St. Cloud repudiated its officers. Marshal Gérard changed almost all the colonels, and the Home Minister had to do the same by the prefects. The Ministry was not a fortnight in existence when towards the end of August two circumstances came to task their utmost wisdom and energy. One was the capture of the ex-ministers, and their trial; the other the insurrection by which the people of Brussels expelled the soldiers and the House of Orange.

The few days which had elapsed between the creation of the new Government and the capture of Prince Polignac had sufficed to collect and animate the republicans. They had lost their opportunity. The Monarch was established, and the young spirits who had been so prominent in the movement were completely set aside. The trial of the ministers offered a good opportunity for re-seizing the lead. The people were immensely excited by it, whilst the King and the greater number of Deputies who flocked around him were seized with an exaggerated dread of death punishment being inflicted upon Charles's rash advisers. A Court of Peers had condemned Ney, and why not Polignac? To preclude any such catastrophe, M. de Tracy brought forward a law for abolishing the penalty of death. The Chamber took it up and presented an address in the same sense to the monarch, who was zealous in approval. The people saw in this act of humanity nothing but a trick to save Polignac, and they got up counter-demonstrations. They thronged the Palais Royal—cried aloud "*Death to the ministers!*" They collected a multitude and went to Vincennes to seize and immolate the captives. General Daumenil, who commanded the fortress, with little difficulty persuaded the mob to depart. They could make no impression upon his walls or his determination. So the people returned to Paris, where they behaved still more tumultuously.

Whilst the mob were thus renewing the agitation of the streets, the popular orators were venting their complaints in clubs which met in the evening, and collected excited crowds within and without their halls. The trading folk of the National Guard complained that these conciliabules caused alarm, and interrupted their business. They were denounced in the Chamber by a deputy, who demanded a law to repress them. M. Guizot, the Home Minister, replied that a certain article of the penal code, which forbade more than a few persons to assemble, was quite sufficient; and acting upon it the National Guard closed the club of the Rue Montmartre and others on the same evening.* The Justice Minister, Dupont de l'Eure, did not approve of so serious a proceeding, and still less liked the article of the penal code, which, if applied, would put an end to all right of meeting or assemblies. It gave rise to differences in the Cabinet, but at first led to no rupture, Louis-Philippe being full of condescension for the more liberal ministers of his administration, and by no means as yet taking part against them.

Moreover, at the end of September King and ministers joined, one and all, in an act sufficiently bold to satisfy even Lafayette. Prussian troops had collected on the frontier of Belgium. Count Molé took the opportunity of informing the Prussian envoy that if their troops passed the frontier, the French Government would at once order an army to enter Belgium and assume its defence. At the same time the street riots became more menacing; and although Lafayette took up his quarters in the Luxembourg to defend the Peers and the prisoners whom they were about to try, fears were entertained that the mob and the republican leaders would have recourse to some act of violence. The

* The author was present at the disruption of the club, in company with Mr., afterwards Sir William Follett, who was delighted at the suppression. The act struck me as one that would merely render clubs secret and more dangerous.

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moderately liberal members of the Cabinet, with whom M. Barrot, the Prefect of the Seine, fully agreed, were for practising patience, and using dissuasive rather than any harsh measures with the people. Messrs. Guizot, Périer, and their friends were for energetic repression. Whilst these contrary opinions divided the Cabinet, a proclamation from the Prefect, M. Barrot, appeared immediately after some act of popular disturbance, in which the proposal of M. de Tracy for abolishing the punishment of death was styled *inopportune*. This was a grievous offence to the Court, and it was proposed to dismiss M. Barrot. But Dupont de l'Eure would have at once resigned, and the more popular portion of the Cabinet would have been seen to quit it precisely at the moment of the highest popular excitement. In such circumstances the more Conservative of the Cabinet thought it more advisable for them to retire; and the King agreed with them, as certainly Laffitte and Dupont de l'Eure were better able to tide through the agitated period of the Ministers' trial, and would better succeed in saving their lives than Messrs. Périer and Guizot could have done.

In the middle of November Marshal Gérard resigned, pleading ill health. He was replaced at the War Office by Soult. Guizot, De Broglie, and Molé withdrew from their respective offices, and Périer from the Cabinet. Marshal Maison for a time, Sebastiani later, took the Foreign Office, and Montalivet the Home Department. Both were men under the personal influence of the King, who thus wielded the two chief offices of the State. M. Laffitte remained President of the Council, Dupont retaining the seals of Justice.

Notwithstanding the abrupt retreat of Périer and the Doctrinaires, as the friends of M. Guizot were called, the differences which divided them from Molé and Laffitte were evidently more personal than political—differences of character and tendency, rather than of principle. There ensued a debate in the Chamber on

the ministerial changes, in which Odilon Barrot summed up his objections to the ministers who had withdrawn, in the reproach that they merely sought to continue the government of the Restoration. As for himself, Barrot declared his first idea was to base the government upon the middle classes, and be guided by their feelings and their interests. This was far from republicanism. The new ministry too seemed, he said, to have got rid of its Conservative members merely to show itself more Conservative than before.

Foreign questions were really the most important. To the Belgian insurrection came to be added the attempts of the Spanish refugees; and still more important, the insurrection which broke out at Warsaw towards the close of September. All these events, as well as the troubles which convulsed Italy later, had the effect of flinging the new King of the French into an attitude which he dreaded and deplored, that of hostility to the allied courts of Europe, and to the arrangements which they had made in 1815. It was not pusillanimity, but the commonest degree of wisdom and prudence, which prompted him to deprecate and avoid the revived combination and enmity of the potentates of Europe. The failure of their arrangements was due indeed not to him, but to themselves; and much as the plenipotentiaries of the Congress have been abused, this failure was owing in some measure to their liberalism. They imagined or took for granted from England that a constitution was a grand panacea for all political evils springing from popular discontent. They soon found that the wrong and injustice of centuries cannot be removed in a day, even by grants of freedom, and that constitutional forms often aggravate rather than appease political discord and international hate. Alexander imagined that a constitution would reconcile Poland to dependence upon a nation which, though inferior to it in civilisation,

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had contrived to effect its conquest. A charter, it was thought, would reconcile revolutionised France to the unchanged Bourbons. Holland had for ages considered and treated Belgium as a country not to be classed with, but sacrificed to it. It might oftentimes have absorbed Belgium and the Belgians, and added both to the Dutch empire; but the narrow traders of Amsterdam would not allow Antwerp to be a port, and would never consider the Flemings but as aliens and helots. To bind the two together in a constitutional monarchy was thus to bind two enemies together by a silken band.* Holland was still to be the dominant country, as its King was to be sovereign. Yet Belgium surpassed its old rival in population, whilst it was not inferior to it in the elements and traditions of freedom. To render strife inevitable, the countries were of different religions. William of Holland is scarcely to be blamed for not succeeding in what was impossible. The two extremes of the Church and the Liberal party united first to oppose, and then expel the Dutch, whilst the King made but tardy and ill-judged efforts at conciliation.* At the news of the July Revolution in Paris, Holland and Belgium flew asunder. That it was not the mere rabble who began the insurrection in Brussels is manifest from the fact of the movement having been commenced by a number of youths issuing from a theatre, excited by the songs of Masaniello. The *émeute* took place on the 25th, and the example was followed in all the Flemish towns, which imitated Brussels, as Brussels imitated Paris. The mob threw up barricades, too formidable for the soldiers to force. The National or Burgher guard then appeared to enforce and regularise the demands of the people. They might have consented to a compromise. These would not. Angered by the hostile spirit shown to them,

* Nothomb, Essai historique.

the Dutch, led by Prince Frederick, attacked Brussels in September, but were repulsed from the barricades; and as the Prince retreated, all hopes of the House of Orange reigning over Belgium departed with him.

It was impossible for Louis-Philippe or the most moderate of French statesmen to take up a neutral position with regard to Belgium. They might not interfere, indeed, especially as the current of events themselves sufficed to undo all that allied Europe had done in 1815 to make Belgium a bulwark against France. But if any other power had interfered against Belgium, France threatened to interfere likewise for the people of that country. Prussia was the only power that threatened to intervene for Holland; and to it, or its envoy, Count Molé's warning was emphatically addressed. Without England, Prussia could not move; and England was paralysed—its Tory government struck with hesitation and defeat.

The French King had already taken an important step, to which the popular portion of the Cabinet had reluctantly consented. He had appointed Prince Talleyrand to be his ambassador in London, with directions to win the alliance and secure the co-operation of England. The Duke of Wellington had the sense to see, and the courage to maintain, that what popular insurrection had done in Brussels could not be undone, and that his own party had made a mistake in seeking to join such incompatibles as Holland and Belgium. He fell in with the idea of Talleyrand, supported the separation of the two countries, and merely insisted that France should not seek to profit by it or make Belgium a dependency.* To this Louis-Philippe acceded, and the Whig ministry which succeeded Wellington adhered. Laffitte was induced to sanction this policy, although his friends, and especially Lafayette, were for

* D'Haussonville, Hist. de la Politique extérieure.

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breaking with England, and defying Europe by either throwing Belgium into a republic or accepting its crown for Louis-Philippe's son, the Duke de Nemours.

The Spanish question was far more simple, as no power could take the part of Ferdinand, who was as fanatic and blind, but far more cruel than his brother Bourbon of Paris. Moreover, Ferdinand affected not to recognise the new King of the French. The minister of the latter accordingly let loose the Spanish refugees, and supplied them with money to pass the Pyrenees. When they failed, however, and when Ferdinand hastened to make amends by recognising Louis-Philippe, encouragement was withdrawn for a time from the Spanish patriots.*

The failure of revolutionary attempts in Spain was more than compensated by the insurrection which broke forth in Warsaw in November, and which terminated, as street revolutions then always did, by the expulsion of the troops, and of the Viceroy, Constantine. The right arm of the Holy Alliance being thus paralysed, the *Movement* party in France felt that the Government had ample opportunity for pushing its principles of non-intervention to the utmost by abetting the aims of the *Movement* party in Belgium, and even going so far as to forbid the Russians sending their troops into Poland.

But whilst giving vent to these extreme opinions with regard to foreign policy, Lafayette and his friends exerted themselves courageously, and at the risk of losing popularity, to defend the Chamber of Peers, and give to it full independence and security in trying and passing whatever judgment seemed good to them upon the ex-ministers. Lafayette set up his head-quarters at the Luxembourg, and the National Guard were kept in arms and in force to suppress any attempt at disturbance.

* Guizot's Memoirs, Louis Blanc.

It was under the influence of the exciting news from Poland and from Belgium that the ex-ministers were brought in the early part of December from Vincennes. The people, already agitated by the thick-coming tidings of successful insurrections all around it, and who had suffered material privations as well as moral repression as the sole result of their own victory in July, were of a temper that induced them to take advantage of any opportunity for sedition and tumult. Their instigators, the more rash and advanced of the Republicans, were anxious to profit by such a moment, and make the ex-ministers' trial the means of treating Louis-Philippe in December as Charles the Tenth had been treated in July.

To such seditious extremities none were more averse than Lafayette, Barrot, and Arago, although the Conservatives had the ingratitude and injustice subsequently to accuse them of being privy to it. Far from listening to the suggestions of younger and bolder speakers, that the present moment should be taken advantage of to wring from the King and Chamber concessions which ought to have been obtained at the first moment of revolution, Lafayette and his immediate friends remained firm in the purpose of not confounding the judicial with the political question.

The portion of the trial that told most against the accused ministers consisted of the testimony given. Arago and others but too forcibly bore witness to the fatuity of Polignac. Peyronnet excused himself, and spoke deprecatingly, not arrogantly. They were most ably defended. Martignac was truly eloquent in behalf of Polignac. Sauzet was equally so in his remarkable defence of Chantelauze, in which he pleaded the principle of fatalism. According to this advocate, the elder Bourbons were doomed from the first day of their accession. They were brought in by the foreign invader, compelled to do his bidding and enter on a policy

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of resistance to the nation, which could only end as it did. This ingenious apology of the legal sophist might be taken as a warning by the dynasty of July, whose fate it foreshadowed. It gave the Peers what they wanted—a pretext for indulgence, however mistaken the advocate was in his facts and his philosophy. When the pleading was over, and merely the sentence left to the consideration of the Peers, the ex-ministers were placed in a carriage, and with the Minister of the Interior, Montalivet, riding boldly by its side, they were carried off at once, ere the people could be aware, to their old quarters in the Donjon of Vincennes. On the same evening the Court of Peers condemned them to perpetual imprisonment, which of course meant temporary captivity and exile.

There were few more critical moments in French history. The excitement of the people at first knew no bounds. They had indeed already given demonstrations of their rage during the trial, and had broken several times into the Luxembourg. Lafayette, Barrot, and their friends were not idle: they, as well as Arago, flung themselves among the people, not always supported by the National Guard. The pupils of the Polytechnic School this time offered and came forth to help them; and their joint efforts saved not only the new Monarch from peril, but the Republican party from disgrace. Had it triumphed in a demand for the lives of the four guilty ministers, it must have struck off their heads, and thus inaugurated a reign of terror and of blood that would have proved fatal to any opinion or any party.

One is sorry to add that very small gratitude was shown to the chief personages who had saved the monarchy and the capital from the imminent danger of insurrection. Ministers had some time previous presented a bill to the Chamber of Deputies for the organisation of the National Guard. It was referred

to a commission, and that commission, whilst avowing that a commandant-general of the National Guard of the Kingdom was a position which gave power too great to one individual, still was of opinion that Lafayette should not be removed from it.* The King objected to this limitation of his authority, and the commission again considered the question; but no one dreamed that the result would be an affront to Lafayette. The sentence on the ex-ministers was given on the 21st of December, and Lafayette thus released from his unceasing efforts and anxieties. On the 23rd the Chamber of Deputies passed to the question of the National Guard, and voted that there should be no general-commandant, not even of a department. The National Guard of each division was to be exclusively under its own officers. It was the intention of Government to palliate this by conferring on Lafayette the honorary command. As soon as he heard the vote, he resigned. Louis-Philippe in reply pretended not to know what had been done. He begged that the General would come and speak to him. The King sought to soften to him the asperity of the Chamber, and made several offers. Lafayette, instead of listening to them, replied that he was not sorry for the occasion of having nothing more to do with a Government whose tendencies he disliked. Its policy abroad and at home was far too Conservative, and too much in opposition with the hopes and promises of July.† If the Chamber and its commission, not without the connivance probably of some of the ministers, had treated Lafayette most ungraciously, the General certainly acted no less so by mixing the question of his dismissal with that of the general policy of the Government. So that Lafayette not only resigned the command of the National Guards of the Kingdom, but even that of the Guard of Paris,

* Sarrans' Lafayette. † Sarrans.

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which was conferred, not upon him, but upon Marshal Lobau.*

Dupont de l'Eure resigned the Seals upon Lafayette's dismissal. Laffitte continued to remain in office, which was a mistake on his part. The Conservatives, who formed the majority of the Chamber, and enjoyed the King's preference, could not endure a Prime Minister who was for calming and cajoling popular turbulence instead of repressing it with the strong hand. But as an historian of this party avows,† "it was then premature to overthrow him." He was still the burgess personification of the Revolution, and to throw him into opposition would have augmented his importance and power. In order to avoid having so dangerous an adversary, it was necessary "*to prove him an incapable minister.*" The Chamber thought it better that Laffitte's influence should die out of itself, than that it should expire under parliamentary intimidation.

This political avowal, revealing the intentions of a great party, was very mean and very unworthy. Laffitte was weak or short-sighted enough to retain office under such circumstances. He foolishly imagined that he could continue to govern without the support of any party, and upon the strength of his own personal merit. He dissolved the artillery companies of the National Guard, all republicans; and he introduced to the Chamber a series of laws which were much too Conservative for his friends, or indeed for the public.

The first was the municipal law, which was the same which had been presented under the Restoration, little altered. Another, presented soon after, was the new electoral law. Both proceeded upon a similar principle, that of awarding electoral powers to the highest taxpayers. The opposition thought with justice that all householders might vote for municipal councillors, and

* Deux Ans de Règne, par A. Pepin.

† Nouvion, Hist. du Règne de Louis-Philippe.

that these in turn might choose their mayor. The Government would have neither. Many districts were Carlist, several towns might become republican. The King could not run the risk of being received by local authorities who spurned allegiance to him. The electoral law gave rise to animated discussions. The first project was merely to double the number of electors which existed under the Restoration, taking the highest tax-payers and admitting the *capacités*, or professional men. The parliamentary commission was for limiting the franchise to those paying 240 francs direct taxes, in lieu of the 300 requisite under the former reign. M. de Sades proposed 200 francs taxes as a reasonable franchise, whilst Lafayette insisted upon 100 as sufficient. The discussion on the electoral law lasted a long time, to the satisfaction of the Conservatives, who had a strong argument in the want of it for not awaiting another Chamber. That the Conservatives pushed too far their fears of an extended suffrage is evident from the fact of M. de Sades' amendment being carried, as well as of such men as Dupin and Bertin de Vaux voting against them. It was indeed this discussion which first displayed the Doctrinaires as the Tories of the new régime, and gave birth to a middle or *tiers parti* as it was afterwards called, which thought at least a show of liberalism to be expedient.

M. Laffitte was not even successful in that which he understood best, finances, although he had procured an able supporter in the financial under-secretary, M. Thiers. But the Revolution had necessitated his failure by a diminution of taxes. Those upon drinks had ceased to be levied, whilst the attitude of the Revolution towards foreign powers demanded a respectable armed force. M. Laffitte could not revive the excise lest it should offend the people, nor increase direct taxes lest he should offend the Chamber, which was the representative of property, so that he was powerless as a finance minister.

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It was not, however, the weakness of the Government, so much as the ultra-Conservatism attributed to the Chamber, and its illiberal mode of discussing and determining the new laws, that created wide discontent, and encouraged the different parties hostile to the new dynasty. What was considered over-obsequiousness to foreign powers in the treatment of the affairs of Belgium, and the discussion of those of Warsaw, added to the discontent, and offered certainly a powerful theme for the denunciation of such orators as Mauguin and General Lamarque. The Belgians in order to put a seal to their revolution were bent upon choosing a king. There were two names put forward which united most suffrages, the Duke of Nemours, son of the King of the French, and the Duke of Leuchtenberg. The Belgians preferred the former of course, but if assured that the French prince would be denied them, they threatened to transfer their vote to his competitor. This was at all events to be avoided; and on the eve of the election, early in February, Van de Weyer felt himself warranted in declaring that the French King would not reject the award of the crown to his son, were it duly made. No doubt Sebastiani had induced Van de Weyer to risk such a declaration. The Duke de Nemours was consequently elected, and the Duke de Leuchtenberg set aside. But then came the necessity of rejecting the proffered crown, and stultifying Van de Weyer. Louis-Philippe performed this act courageously and declined the Belgian crown for his son, but not without exposing himself and his policy to great obloquy in both countries. It was about the same time that the King in answer to a deputation declared his policy to be that of a *juste milieu*. The expression was caught up and made the subject of sarcasm and abuse for many a year to come.

As the maintenance of Louis-Philippe and of his family upon the throne depended unmistakably upon his personal character, an event which greatly affected

this cannot be passed over. As his prudence and his policy forbade him to make appeals to the French love of heroism, it was the more necessary for the King to be immaculate in his private conduct. He was indeed so in most respects; but his tenderness for his children was that rather of a private individual than of a prince. To provide his sons with wealth and apanages, and to marry his daughters advantageously, was a passion with him that overbore more serious policy. He had long been observed to pay sedulous court to the old Prince of Condé, who was heirless in consequence of the sacrifice of the Duc d'Enghien. The Prince lived with an Englishwoman of the name of Sophie Dawes, whom he had married to the Baron de Feuchères, his aide-de-camp, for the sake of conferring upon her an honourable title. Even this woman had been the object of marked attention on the part, not only of the princes, but the princesses of the Orleans family. All this was remembered when the last of the Condés was found dead, and suspended to the espagnolette or bolt of a window, at his residence of St. Leu. Inquests upon suicides are not as in England held publicly under the presidency of a public officer. The State undertakes this in France, as it does everything else; and when the cause of the Prince's death was hushed up, or set down at once as natural, the anti-Orleanist parties in the public, especially the Legitimists, expressed a contrary opinion. In the Prince's will, his ready money, a considerable sum, was left to the Baroness; the estate of Chantilly and other property to the Duc d'Aumale, who indeed still enjoys it. This was enough for calumny to impute the crime of murder to the Baroness, and even to accuse the King of having aided to hush up the catastrophe by which his family so largely profited. I have heard, long after Louis-Philippe had disappeared, from the law officer engaged in the inquiry, that the Prince's death was an undoubted suicide.

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So many causes and symptoms of discord between the French public and the new dynasty encouraged the old dynasty to make a kind of demonstration. The 14th of July was the anniversary of the death of the Duke of Berry. The clergy and Legitimists resolved to celebrate the day by a solemn service. It took place at St. Germain l'Auxerrois, opposite to the Louvre, and was attended by such a crowd of carriages that the people gathered to witness the ceremony, and soon perceived that it was more than a funeral service for the dead. A *catafalque* in the middle of the church adorned with the Bourbon arms showed a portrait of the Duke of Bordeaux in royal robes. If it was intended to awaken the people to loyalty, the scene was singularly ill-judged. It forcibly awakened their resentment. This had not reached its height until the Legitimists and their equipages had disappeared. The church was then closed; but the *presbytère*, or dwelling of the *curé*, who had performed the ceremony was near. The people broke in and pillaged it. This redoubled their fury and excitement. The grating of the church was then forced open and the people filled the sacred edifice, which they treated with every mark of desecration, tearing down altars, breaking statues, destroying pictures. Pulpits and confessionals were broken up. An iron cross on the top of the church was flung down as in the worst days of iconoclasm. The turbulent then dispersed through different quarters, but threatened no other edifice, save the hôtel of M. Dupin, behind the Post-Office.

As this scene of disorder had been caused by the imprudence of the Legitimists, the Prefects of the Seine and of the Police, Messrs. Barrot and Baude, looked upon the acts of the people as reprisals somewhat just. The former even sanctioned the taking down of the Cross. The next day, however, the *émeute* was renewed, and became more serious. The archbishop's palace was entered, gutted, and destroyed; the furniture first; then

the books flung into the Seine. But, satisfied with this act of vengeance, the multitude, though storming through the streets, indulged in no further excesses. The *fleur-de-lis* was, however, the especial object of popular enmity. All crosses bearing the emblem were thrown down. And at Laffitte's desire the King, who had hitherto preserved the *fleur-de-lis* in his arms, ordered it to be effaced—a subject with him afterwards of bitter regret.

When the Chamber of Deputies met, the anger of its majority was directed, not so much against the Legitimists, who had occasioned the disturbance, as against the Government, and the two Prefects, who had not put it down.* The Prefect of the Seine, M. Barrot, excused himself by saying that the Home Minister, M. Montalivet, had never warned or applied to him, or sent his orders. The Prefect of Police, Baude, more bold, not to say impertinent, declared that the excesses and danger of the *émeute* proceeded from the unpopularity of the Chamber, which ought to be dissolved. This made matters worse, and led to open quarrel. M. Guizot attacked the ministry, and charged Laffitte himself with incapacity and inertness. He accused the latter of seeking to retain popularity, and of sacrificing everything to that, "as if," continued the orator, "it was possible to govern without being unpopular." M. Guizot here gave utterance to his great political mistake. He made unpopularity the basis of his government and perished by it. Unfortunately, the King adopted the same principle, and him too it dragged into the abyss.

The opinion of the Chamber was so condemnatory of those who were even lenient to the *émeute*, that it was necessary to suspend M. Baude and M. Barrot. It was for much the same reason found requisite to dismiss M. Comte, *Procureur du Roi*. M. Merilhou, who had been named minister, as a kind of shadow of Dupont de

* Pepin, Nouvion, Louis Blanc, the journals of the day.

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l'Eure, rather than consent, resigned the seals. M. Thiers quitted the under-secretaryship of Finance, and advised M. Laffitte to abandon office. But the latter sought to make up another ministry with the aid of the Left. Had the King allowed him to do this and then dissolve, he might have prolonged his reign. But the Chamber saw the design. The finances were in considerable disorder, owing to the rejection of Laffitte's plan for raising a revenue. He was therefore compelled to demand a large credit, about 8,000,000*l.* sterling. It was obtained with difficulty, and granted in such a manner as to be a slur upon the minister.

Other causes than that of want of political support then undermined Laffitte. As a banker he suspended payment. He had sunk a great portion of his fortune in the purchase of land. And the Revolution brought a time when all moneys flowed out and none flowed in to a bank of credit. Louis-Philippe came to Laffitte's aid by purchasing a large forest, and guaranteeing a considerable loan to him. It was not enough. And his enemies with some justice proclaimed Laffitte as an unfit minister of Finance.*

Whilst the influence and importance of the Prime Minister were thus sinking, there arose another difficult foreign question, to add to the general discontent and complication. Early in February successful insurrections took place at Modena and Bologna; an example followed by other cities. Neither the Police nor the ducal governments of Modena or Parma could suppress these disturbances without the aid of Austria. The French Liberals were for applying the principles of non-intervention, and forbidding the Austrians to succour the Princes of the minor Italian States. Marshal Maison, French envoy at Vienna, put forward such pretensions, but Prince Metternich altogether declined to be bound

* See Nouvion, Appendix.

by them. The Italian Dukes, menaced or dispossessed, were of the Imperial family. Austrian troops would certainly cross the Po, to their defence. All that Prince Metternich could engage was that, the disturbance once put down, the Austrians should withdraw within their own frontier. A despatch from Marshal Maison signifying this, and taking it for granted that it should be answered by hostile resolves, arrived in Paris in the first days of March.* The Foreign Minister, Sebastiani, and the King did not think it expedient to bring this matter at once before the Cabinet. The despatch was therefore not communicated to the President of the Council, Laffitte, who was certainly tottering. The attitude taken by Metternich was revealed to him in other ways. And Laffitte then learned that his colleague of Foreign Affairs was aware of it, whilst he remained in ignorance. He came to an explanation on the subject with the King, with which, according to the King's friends, M. Laffitte was quite satisfied; according to M. Laffitte's followers he remained much the reverse. In a few days after, as much in consequence of the hostile attitude of the Chamber on the former vote as of any mortification felt from the withheld despatch, Laffitte resolved to quit office; and Louis-Philippe set to work to compose a new Cabinet.

It is to be regretted for the monarchy of July that Laffitte was not a politician, and that he wanted alike the experience and the character required for that great profession. For he held just the position which might have enabled him, were he more intellectually endowed, to reconcile and lead the two fractions of moderate and extreme Liberals. A revolution naturally generated new men along with new ideas, and to amalgamate them with what was most liberal and worthy of the old, ought to have been the aim of a monarch so sagacious

* Annuaire Historique.

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as Louis-Philippe. Unfortunately he came to mistrust and alienate the new men and new ideas of 1830. This no doubt was partly their fault, and partly his. Too much condescension for the mob, too much leniency, if not tendency, towards schemes of revolutionizing Europe, and enacting the Convention over again, misled Barrot as well as Lafayette, and made a severance between them and the politicians who were for order and peace. A statesman that could have commanded the respect of both parties, united them, and corrected their extravagance, would have been invaluable. Laffitte might have accomplished this, but he wanted the political sagacity and firmness requisite. Hence he allowed the schism to take place and to widen. The two parties fell asunder, Laffitte floating off with the one, and Casimir Périer rising to power on the other.

The one banker was scarcely more of a politician than the other. The multiform necessities of state were not appreciated by the rude organ of Périer, who felt the hatred of a man of commerce and business for aught that savoured of anarchy and confusion, and did not make allowance for the natural effervescence and aspirations of such a time. Society at the moment resembled a school broke loose, triumphant in a barring out; and Périer regarded it as a pedagogue only anxious to apply the birch. The subsequent history of Louis-Philippe's reign proves that repression alone is not sufficient to cure disorders of the body politic, and the popular exigencies or aspirations demanded some treatment other than brute force. It was no boon to Louis-Philippe, and no support to his dynasty,—that policy which flung not merely Lafayette, but such men as Barrot, into a permanent opposition which alienated so many of its natural adherents from the dynasty, and placed it in a state of hostility to the liberty as to the dignity of the nation.

Casimir Périer, however, was the man whom the

majority of the Chamber designated at the moment as the fittest Premier. He had proved himself most able as a financier and as an orator in the parliament of the Restoration. In manners he was as rude and resolute, as Laffitte was bland and weak. The Conservatives put high trust in him, but the Liberals began to mistrust him. The credit of a leading journal having been shaken by the Revolution, its proprietors besought him to support it, especially as it had always supported him. "Don't talk to me of journalism," replied Périer roughly; "all I ask of the press *now* is to let us govern." The financial state of the country deterred him from accepting office more than the turbulence of parties or the exigencies of foreign powers.* But when Baron Louis consented to accept the Finance Ministry, Périer agreed to take the post of Prime and Home Minister. He insisted, however, that he should be really Prime Minister, be not interfered with, and that he and not the King should preside over the Council. In this pretence he did not altogether succeed, for Louis-Philippe continued to preside the Council. And whether he did or not, Sebastiani and Montalivet, men devoted to him, continued to hold the portfolios of Foreign Affairs and Public Instruction. M. Guizot was not offered place, although his were the pointed and vehement attacks which overthrew the Laffitte Ministry. Casimir Périer deemed the name of Guizot too unpopular; but as their opinions were precisely the same, being that of *resistance*, there was certainly a want of courage as well as of gratitude and justice in setting aside the most able partisan of the policy to be adopted.

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The Revolution of July, however justly provoked and gloriously accomplished, left behind it the unfortunate precedent of a change of dynasty and government effected by violence. It ended by the establishment of

* The Three per Cents. were quoted below *53*.

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a King, merely voted such by Parliament. That Parliament too was neither an influential aristocracy nor yet a broadly elected representation of the people. Legitimists and republicans had thus some reason in alleging that the new dynasty rested upon a narrow basis. When it came to reign no longer in the spirit of the language held by the King in July, or supported by the principal actors in that revolution, the majority of those who meddled in politics were inclined to condemn it. The Legitimists of course prepared to struggle for a Restoration; the Republicans and semi-Republicans were at least for overthrowing a dynasty apparently determined neither to advance the principle of liberty at home or abroad. The middle, the trading and mere professional classes held to the settlement that had been made. They were disgusted with revolution, as almost beggared by its consequences in the suppression of all trade, business, or gain. These classes formed the National Guard, and were quite prepared to put down perturbation; whilst the army, reorganised and under the direction of a man like Soult, were much more inclined to support the authorities than had been the soldiers of Charles the Tenth.

Casimir Périer wielded the government for somewhat more than a year, which was marked by efforts at insurrection, and these were made by both and all extreme parties. The efforts on the part of the Government were equally energetic to suppress them. Périer was a rude and practical statesman, who knew and cared little for theories of government—who saw anarchy and sedition everywhere opposed to order, to peace, and to property. To crush these by the strong hand, rather than punish them by the judicial one, was his instinct. But it is to be doubted whether his bold and undisguised way of avowing a policy of resistance and a determination to repress and chastise did not create much of the disturbance and opposition which his energy put down.

One of his first acts was to proclaim and expound this policy in the Chamber. In the course of his opening speech he utterly scouted the allegation that the new Monarch had made promises or issued any *programme* in July except what was laid down in the Charter. Périer afterwards challenged Lafayette on this point; the General avoiding a discussion that must have been a personal impugning of the King. That the latter had accepted a throne surrounded by republican institutions in a conversation with Lafayette was a fact and a phrase known to all the world. Périer, however, was right in declaring that no such promise had been made publicly at the Hôtel de Ville. With regard to foreign politics, the minister asserted that the French Government had never promised protection to any insurrectionists. They upheld the doctrine of non-intervention, but were not prepared to prevent it by force except when they found it expedient to do so.

That Casimir Périer might be warranted in adopting such principles of government is possible, but his avowal of them in the face of a recent revolution was certainly provocative, and the measures with which he followed up his announcement were still more so. The country generally was aroused by the Legitimist attempts in La Vendée and in Paris. In the Chamber, when the *émeute* caused by the scene of St. Germain L'Auxerrois was discussed, the patriots were much more severely censured than the Legitimists, and by the very party which now assailed the ministers. There arose in consequence a *National Association*, commenced in Lorraine, for the defence of the country against the men it had expelled in July. This association might have been irregular, but it was at least patriotic. Périer, however, regarded it with violent indignation, denounced it to all his subordinates in very vehement language, and threatened them with removal if they patronised or adhered to it. He even dismissed from office such men as

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Odilon Barrot and Delaborde for the crime of belonging to it. Périer's admirers call this energy. To a distant and impartial spectator it appears misdirected and exaggerated.

These efforts and acts of repression were followed by others still more ill-judged. One was the arrest and prosecution of certain young republicans for the suposed part which they had taken in the turbulence during the trial of the ex-ministers. This might have been well founded or otherwise, and Cavaignac, Guinard, Trelat, and the chief republicans were, nineteen in all, placed on the accused bench under the pretext that they had tried to excite civil war in December. How ill-judged such a trial appeared is evident from the circumstance that nothing could be proved against the young men except what they themselves avowed. "We are republicans," they declared. Under the circumstances of recent history, how could such a manifestation of opinion be punished? The ten days' trial in fact served but to heroize them, and ended in their acquittal. A *quasi émeute* followed in the streets, to celebrate their triumph. It turned out fortunately but a harmless street riot, and no more. But the republicans gathered hopes and organisation for the future.

It was to be regretted that Casimir Périer, in his early acts, did not accompany his policy of resistance and menace by measures at the same time of progress and liberal improvement. His vigorous police repression pleased the trading classes of towns, and the educated who found themselves threatened by the mob. But this did not speak to France at large, to the rural classes, who merely felt increased taxation, and the coming amongst them of a new class of functionaries and officials not always calculated to command respect. A revolution by which nobody profited save a few officials is one not likely to last; and the recent one, which the Parisians so gloried in, brought nothing, not even in the way of

local independence, to the country districts. The first duty of the statesmen of the new *régime* was certainly to have made the rural classes feel and appreciate the superior worth and condition of really Constitutional government. That was more important than even putting down *émeutes* in the streets. But it was what the Orleanist Conservatives never thought of. They were men of the desk and bureau, of the city and the camp, not of the broad country, of which they knew not how even to feel the pulse.

Instead of winning the affections of the rural classes, the Orleans dynasty and its statesmen were afraid of them. Hence their narrow legislation with respect to the electoral franchise. The payment of 300 francs direct taxes was an exorbitant qualification for an elector. Actual proprietors of lands or houses alone could pay it. The throne of July was, however, menaced on both sides. If the rural classes were largely admitted to the franchise, they might return Legitimists; if the middle classes, shopkeepers and professional men in provincial towns forming the majority of voters, they would return ultra-Liberals. It might and may be asked, what dangerous policy could these supposed ultra-Liberals enforce? Economy perhaps, an extension of local liberties, more freedom of person and of press. All would have been gain to the dynasty of July. But in truth, what Périer and his Monarch feared was less democratic progress or reform than the prevalence of national feeling in the delicate questions of foreign affairs. Delicate these no doubt were. As long as the Belgian question remained unsettled, peace depended upon the English Government being satisfied with the acts and intentions of those of France. Such a reason for moderation could not be alleged, and therefore the Government feared a thoroughly national Chamber.

It was impossible, however, to go on with the old Chamber of the Restoration—equally impracticable to

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have an election with the old franchise. It was proposed, therefore, to lower the 300 francs direct taxes to 240. This was considered too narrow and too mistrustful even by semi-Liberals, such as Dupin. And the franchise was finally fixed at 200 francs, which gave 200,000 electors, instead of half that number. It was copiously and fiercely debated, yet the real point of the question was not touched. What class was it that necessitated and supported if they did not actually effect the late Revolution? That humble portion of the middle class which did not pay taxes and now asked for the franchise. To exclude them from contributing to the support of the new *régime* whilst leaving the arms of the National Guard in their hands was on the part of Government a committal of suicide. It shook and alienated the only firm basis of the new throne. Yet this was called conservatism, and the future apotheosis of Périer was founded upon such policy as this. This narrowness and mistrust was very near not answering its immediate purpose. When the members met, it was evident that the conservative policy of the Government was not so popular with them as was expected. In the vote for the choice of a President, the House was almost equally divided; Girod de l'Ain, who had been Prefect of Police, being chosen by only one more vote than Laffitte, the candidate of the Opposition.

The first impulse of Casimir Périer was to resign. He could not carry on the government, he truly announced, with a majority of one. An event occurred, however, which saved the Conservatives, and prolonged their administration. The Belgians, disappointed in obtaining the Duke of Nemours for their King, had appointed as Regent M. Surlet de Chokier. He was in no position to enforce moderation, or to calm the excitement kept alive by disputes respecting the frontier. The King of Holland insisted on retaining Luxemburg, to which he had just claims. The Belgians denied this,

and the Dutch reorganised their army and prepared for war.

But the difficulties were not confined to Luxemburg. The arrangement made by the Protocol of the 20th of January was that Holland should preserve all the territories it possessed previous to 1790. This gave them a right to a portion of Limburg, to the left bank of the Scheldt, and to other territories in the north, which the Belgians claimed as necessary to their new kingdom. The Conference therefore, to accede to their wishes, formed a new line of demarcation, or what was called the Treaty of Eighteen Articles, which ceded to the Belgians a portion of their demands. Even then the Belgian Chamber displayed the greatest reluctance to accept the award, and it was only by dint of great exertions that the treaty was finally settled. Leopold of Saxe-Cobourg's acceptance of the crown was thereby secured. Although elected in June, he had deferred his decision till the Treaty of the Eighteen Articles had passed the parliament. But though the Belgians were content, the King of Holland professed himself the reverse. With some show of reason and right, he adhered to the settlement made in January. Nay, more, he declared that Leopold, in accepting the crown on conditions repudiated by Holland, had placed himself in hostility to the latter power.*

On the 1st of August the Dutch not only declared, but commenced war; and the new King, Leopold, taken by surprise, could, whilst rallying his few troops, but recur to the King of the French for instant aid. The demand, and the news of the war which produced it, came at the moment of Casimir Périer's resignation. At the summons of the King he recalled it. Marshal Gérard received orders to enter Belgium at once with the French army, the sons of Louis-Philippe in its

* Nothomb, Nouvion, the journals of the time.

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ranks. Before, however, the French could arrive, the Dutch attacked the Belgians, and cut off one of their divisions; the other, when in front of the Dutch on the 8th of August, took to flight, the soldiers showing as much pusillanimity in the field as the people had shown courage in the streets. King Leopold did his utmost to restore confidence to the fugitives, but he was obliged to leave Louvain to the Dutch, and to take refuge in Brussels, where the arrival of the French troops alone gave him security.

The entrance of the French army into Belgium, which compelled the Dutch to withdraw, not only saved King Leopold and his throne, but also saved Casimir Périer and his administration, to which it rallied a majority in the Chamber. The discussion of the address which followed was marked by the most violent efforts of opposition, encouraged by the recent fact of both sides proving equal in the Presidential election. But the events of Belgium had altered the relative position of parties. Every amendment was negatived, and, with the exception of the paragraph of Poland, in which was inserted the expression of a "confidence that Poland would not perish," the Périer Cabinet rallied to it a majority, which the imprudence of its enemies contrived ever after to augment rather than diminish.

But, however the settlement of Belgium by means of a French army satisfied the Chamber and the influential classes which it represented, the seditious found arguments to render the people discontented with it. The Prince chosen to be called to the Belgian throne was styled an Englishman—a cry which even such writers as M. Louis Blanc continue to echo, though Leopold, held by no interest to England, was already the intended son-in-law of the King of the French.

Italy offered a theme as favourable to those who with Lafayette denounced the Government as every-

where abandoning the Liberal cause. The Austrian troops which had entered the Legations had put down the insurgents there, and at last pursued and reduced them in Ancona. Here took place the humiliating fact that Austrian vessels had carried off a hundred of the unfortunate patriots to the prisons of Venice. Instead of insisting on the principle of non-intervention, as the Liberals proposed, Casimir Périer negotiated. He obtained from Austria the promise of its speedy evacuation of the Legations, with the liberation of some prisoners, and from the court of Rome a far more illusory promise of reforms.

If there was little in this to appease the movement party or meet the indignant denunciations of Mauguin and General Lamarque in the Chamber, the collapse of the Polish revolution excited a fiercer spirit of turbulence and discontent. As a regular government, with a disciplined army led by experienced generals, the Poles had displayed a heroism and a successful resistance to the Russians seldom equalled. The Russian general Diebitsch had been defeated and had succumbed. He was succeeded by Paskewitch towards the end of June, with the resources of an empire behind him, whilst Poland in being the seat of war had become exhausted in all but spirit. The Russian general drove the Polish insurgents within the walls and suburbs of their capital. It had unfortunately become a maxim, borrowed from the experience of the French Revolution, that when a country and a cause were in their last extremity, nothing but democratic energy and fury can save them. This error impelled the Poles to suspend their experienced generals and give the army to revolutionary disorder and confusion. The Warsaw mob at the same time took to imitating the French *sans-culottes*, and turned their ferocity to Septembrising, in other words emptying the prisons of their inmates by massacre, instead of rushing upon the Russians. Yet the latter would have

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been the prudent as well as the heroic part, for the Russian armies did not count more soldiers than the Poles, had these concentrated their forces and wisely directed them. In consequence, indeed, of this equality of force, the Russian General offered terms; and had there been any regular or possible Polish government, an accord might have been the result. Even a temporary suspension of hostilities would have given the Western Powers an opportunity of coming to the relief of Poland. But no general was listened to in Warsaw, and no authority respected. The Russians in consequence forced an entry, and dictated a capitulation, by which the Polish army abandoned the capital.

The fall of Warsaw and of the Polish cause created a profound sensation in Paris. The Chamber, which had introduced an amendment into the address in favour of Poland, might have been induced to pass a vote of censure on the Government for its remissness, had not the anarchists made it a subject of agitation and disorder in the streets. For some days in the middle of September attempts were made to originate an *émeute*, as indeed had been done on the 14th of July previous, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. But all such efforts, opposed and put down by the National Guard, merely frightened the majority of the Deputies into conservatism and into support of the ministry. Even the sad blunder of the minister Sebastiani, who announced from the tribune the close of the Polish insurrection in the words "Order reigns at Warsaw," could not stir the Chamber to remonstrance. M. Mauguin, as leader of the Opposition, terminated one of his eloquent diatribes by proposing an inquiry into the conduct of the Government. The Ministerialists met it by an order of the day motived by an expression of confidence in the Government. This, proposed by M. Guizot, passed by 221 votes—an ominous number—against 136.

A domestic question, which excited the greatest

interest in all classes, then came before the legislature. It was the question whether the Peerage should be for life or hereditary. The Ministerialists, including Casimir Périer and the Doctrinaires, were most eager for establishing hereditary right, which after the example of England they deemed to be the chief bulwark of an hereditary throne. But not only were the people opposed to what they considered a retrograde measure, and which seemed so palpably against the great principle of equality, but the middle classes themselves, and their representatives in the Chamber, were opposed to aught that savoured of or led to a restoration of the ancient noblesse.

We must confess ourselves unable to understand the ardour with which M. Guizot, for example, abets the hereditary Peerage. Such a law may stand to reason in England, where tradition and even popular prejudice favour hereditary honours. But in France, where there existed none but ephemeral or personal right to a seat in an Upper Chamber, hereditary claims could but prove a source of weakness, not of strength—of obloquy, not of respect. There were no greater sticklers for the Peerage than Lords Wellington and Castlereagh; but when these Tory politicians heard that Louis the Eighteenth had conferred hereditary rights upon his senate, both at once protested against the absurdity of such a measure.* Stuart Mill in considering this question has given it as his opinion that a House of Commons would be far more conservative if it had not a House of Lords behind it. Much more true is this of France than of England. And after all the Doctrinaires were fighting for a shadow. In a family of wealth, consideration, and influence, a seat for its chief in an Upper Chamber must, under almost any regulation, be as certain under a life peerage as under an hereditary one, the reality being thus pre-

* Castlereagh Correspondence.

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served without the obloquy. It was not an hereditary Peerage that could strengthen the throne of Louis-Philippe. A certain degree of popularity, and the careful acquirement of it, would have been infinitely more strengthening and more valuable; and yet such a talented politician as M. Guizot laid and lays stress on the hereditary Peerage, whilst counting popularity for nothing.

If the Conservatives were far too much in disaccord with public opinion in abetting the hereditary Peerage, the ultra-Liberals were still more in the opposite extreme when they denied the right of the Crown to nominate even life Peers. The creation of a large batch was rendered necessary precisely for the purpose of passing the law abolishing hereditary right; and yet the Opposition not only resisted, but ferociously resisted it.

The attitude of the Deputies and complexion of public opinion were such, that Casimir Périer abandoned the principle of hereditary right. He sought to preserve to the King the power of selecting peers as he chose; but the Chamber in this limited his choice to certain categories, to men who had served in special capacities, and filled eminent positions. It was the old principle of Notabilities, so much in force at the close of the great Revolution. Even with this restriction it required some effort to pass the bill which established the Peerage. It had passed the Deputies. It was only by the nomination of nearly two score of new peers that the Upper Chamber consented to vote it; and it was this measure that excited the unwarrantable anger of the Opposition.

Whilst the question of the permanence of political influence with the higher class was debated in the Chamber, the far more difficult and important one of the interests of the lower class created first an agitation, then a struggle, and at last a revolution, in the streets of Lyons. The art of making political capital

out of the wants and rights of the poor was powerfully but rudely cultivated during the Great Revolution. The cry of "War to the rich!" and "Death to the *peaux fines!*" was deemed, and indeed proved, sufficient. It was only towards the close of the Revolution, and when the populace had been definitively put down, that such men as Babœuf thought of exciting them again to revolution by an idea. Robespierre, it has been observed, never proposed an agrarian law, though he meditated and practically applied the same thing, putting the poor in the place of the rich.

All through the periods of the Revolution and the Empire, a philosopher of far more originality than the men of the epoch had raved, and as far as possible arranged, a plan for the regeneration of man in social, which implied political, organisation, and in religion. Born in 1760, the Duc de St. Simon had begun life by serving in the American armies, and with Lafayette brought home the idea that the American Revolution was a new era for humanity. Liberalism and Constitutionalism were, however, superficial ideas for St. Simon. He proposed to supersede altogether the existing arrangements of society, and in lieu of hereditary right to property and to power, proposed to substitute capacity or talent. How capacity was to be proved, a difficult matter, was afterwards left to be adjudged by an intellectual dictator! This dictator was also to distribute the wealth of the state. As there was to be no individual property, genius was to form an aristocracy: the lower grades of life were assigned to the stupid. That this, even if it could be effected, would not much alter the proportion of those possessing competence, and those possessing none, is apparent. However, such a scheme could not but be highly flattering to the class actually living by manual labour.

In Paris, the most dangerous place for such doctrines, they could have but doubtful popularity. Great care has

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been always taken to find work for the lower order of Parisians, and to provide them with cheap bread. Trades, too, there, are widely diversified, the distress of one being compensated by the prosperity of the other. In Lyons it was different. That city contained some fifty thousand persons engaged in the manufacturing of silk, not prosperous in spite of protective tariffs and premiums on exportation. Plain silks began to be made cheaper and better by other nations, and the Lyons merchants could not obtain remunerating prices. Wages were reduced. The workmen murmured. The St. Simonians came amongst them to expound their doctrines, and the Lyonese weavers highly approved of the plan of workmen being paid not out of the produce of their work, but according to their supposed general capacity. A monarch like Louis-Philippe could not do this. A republic made expressly by the labouring classes for the benefit of themselves could do it. Although all did not embrace such opinions, many did. Meetings took place between master manufacturers and delegates from the workmen. The few who then discussed their relative interests easily came to an agreement; but the mass of persons and interests on either side were never satisfied. A tariff of wages was upon one occasion agreed to. It displeased, however, a great many manufacturers and upwards of a hundred of these signed a protest. The Prefect, Dumolard, having given his sanction to the tariff, was reproved by the Home Minister. The workmen, however, having obtained the sanction and signature of the Prefect, deemed that they had a practical right to the tariff, as well as a theoretic one to have work furnished them. The *Droit au Travail* was a St. Simonian principle. They therefore collected on the 21st of November, 1831, in the workmen's quarter, the Croix Rousse, and set out on a march to the Hôtel de Ville. They found in their way a detachment of the

National Guard, grenadiers of the better classes.* As these seemed to bar their passage, they received a shower of stones, and replied by a few shots. This was a signal for civil war. The suburbs sent forth all their workmen, many of them belonging to the National Guard, according to the new organisation. The General in command, Roguet, set his troops, not more than 3,000, in motion. In an instant the workmen, falling back on the defensive, threw up barricades, and the enthusiasm of the Lyonese was kindled to rival Paris and its celebrated Three Days. To prevent so terrible a catastrophe, the Prefect Dumolard went in person to the workmen's quarter of the Croix Rousse, and was accompanied by the General commanding the National Guard, Ordonneau. He ordered firing to cease until his return, but the observance of this depended upon the people as well as upon the soldiers; and whilst the Prefect was haranguing the insurgents at the Croix Rousse, the military fired to repel an attack. At the sound the Prefect and the General were made, and retained, prisoners. Exasperation, however, had not yet reached any height. The Prefect had shown himself favourable to the workmen in the matter of the tariff, and they at last let him go, as well as the General.

This first day's engagement had shown the people the superiority of their force. They were a multitude, the soldiers three thousand. Accordingly in another day's conflict, that of the 22nd, the military were everywhere driven back on the Hôtel de Ville, which General Roguet evacuated during the night. He and his troops were, in fact, beaten by the people out of Lyons.

It is more easy for the ignorant to gain a victory than to make use of it. No sooner were the people in possession of the Hôtel de Ville than two sets of persons struggled for the lead: one was the master weavers, who

* Louis Blanc, Nouvion, journals of the time.

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wanted the establishment of the tariff; the other were the insurrectionists by profession, who desired a republic, St. Simonian or other. It occurred, however, to all, that the Government required but a few days to unite a powerful army against Lyons. To proclaim a republic was to stand a siege, and to renew the great disaster of Lyons under the Revolution. The more moderate, therefore, the mere insurgents for bread and wages, separating themselves from the insurgents for insurrection's sake, rallied to the Prefect. M. Dumolard, resuming his position, was allowed to exercise his authority and to command the armed bands of the people in keeping order and peace. Lyons in fact imitated Paris, and after having defeated an army, gave itself up again to authority. The Government sent down Marshal Soult and the Duke of Orleans, the one to show military severity and the other princely clemency. They met with no resistance. The insurgents, lately so triumphant, submitted, and saw gradually rise upon the heights in the midst of the city, which they had carried, a series of fortifications calculated to suppress and destroy for the future any popular insurrection.

Orleanist writers are full of congratulations on the results—Soult's entrance into the city at the head of 20,000 soldiers, with drums and trumpets braying pæans to their triumph. This, however, did not obliterate the recollection of a successful *émeute*. The Lyonnese artisan bore in mind how he had demolished the soldiers and put them to flight. He was ready indeed to bow down to the authorities, provided these paid attention to his complaints. But they did nothing. The grievances of the workmen were scouted, as against every principle of political economy, and no real redress or alleviation was offered. The consequence was an increase of the Republican party in Lyons and throughout the south of France. The propertied class enrolled themselves as National Guards; for, as the

result of these *émeutes* both in Paris and the provincial cities, the people were soon eliminated from that body—which supported the new authorities in putting down sedition even in theory. But republicanism increased, nay, spread its roots under ground, in secret societies, and in a host of organisations, which either defied or escaped the action of the Government; and thus Louis-Philippe's throne came to be undermined as dangerously as had been that of the elder Bourbons, and hence unable to subsist or survive a serious catastrophe.

The insurrection of Lyons was followed after a certain interval by a similar movement at Grenoble. It was less, however, the result of turbulence in the labouring class than of a semi-Republican, semi-Bonapartist opinion. Grenoble had always been liberal: as a frontier and garrison town it was more—it was for a war policy, such as General Lamarque and Lafayette abetted. Louis-Philippe and his peaceful *juste milieu* were despised. And when the obsequious conduct of the Government to foreign foes was contrasted with its severity towards domestic ones, hatred became added to contempt. Over a population thus animated, Government had placed a very indiscreet and unpopular Prefect. He forbade this and prevented that. He interdicted processions in Carnival: these processions were made use of to ridicule the King, who was represented as a budget, and of no ordinary dimensions. The Prefect employed the military to put it down. The soldiers pricked the citizens with their bayonets. These armed in bands to protect themselves, and a conflict took place, when the soldiers and the Prefect were obliged as at Lyons to evacuate the Hôtel de Ville. An obnoxious regiment was ordered to quit the town altogether. The population thus masters of Grenoble, had no plans for making use of the victory. The Republicans durst not avow their principles or aims. So that, as at Lyons, the military resumed possession of

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the town, and the insurrection was materially suppressed but not the ardour of the popular sentiment, nor the recollection of its having been victorious.

Conspiracies indeed became the order of the day. The combination of malcontents in secret societies always afforded the means, as often as the wealthy Legitimists came forward with money. These attempts, however, in which the zeal of the popular faction was set in motion by the gold of the faction really opposed to it, produced none but results ridiculous and abortive. One conspiracy seemed to have no more serious object than putting the great bell of Notre Dame in motion, and setting fire to one of the towers.* Another, more serious, contemplated an attack on the Tuileries in the midst of a ball. But for this the conspirators moved not in the dark, nor in caves or cellars, but at a public restaurateur's round a sumptuous supper. Of course the police pounced upon them, and sent the plot to be dissected and made public before the Court of Assizes. Singular to say, the same citizens who as National Guards were most ready to put down an insurrection, were as jurymen reluctant to convict. It is difficult to impress on a French juryman that justice and truth, not sentiment, should be his guide. The republican accused frequently construed the reluctance to condemn them into sympathy for their principles. This induced the prisoners to play the mutineer on their trial, defy the judge, and criticise the law. When the jury acquitted, the judges condemned them to imprisonment for contempt of court; and this served in part to nullify the acquittal of the jury. To punish as sedition and treason their airs of triumph was had recourse to in default of a more regular verdict. Then the men themselves were forgotten in prison, whilst the bold words and attitude were remembered, and cited as acts of heroism.

* Memoirs of Gisquet; De la Hodde, Histoire des Sociétés secrètes; Chenu.

A more legitimate insurrection than these abortive ones in Paris was that of the Roman Legations, not long previous quieted by the Austrians, but resuscitated by a Papal legate. The Pontifical Government had obeyed none of the injunctions of France and other powers to reform its institutions, or, in pretending to obey, had merely eluded. It neither allowed municipalities to be formed, nor the lay Council of State, which had been insisted on. The temporal power at Rome admitted no means of government save violence. It therefore borrowed money and a general officer from Austria, and put the latter at the head of an army of bandits destined to invade and mercilessly rob and slaughter the people of the Legations. The latter flew to resistance and an engagement took place, in which the patriots were worsted, and in sequence of which the Papalines sacked town after town, slaying, plundering, and living at free quarters. They threatened Bologna, but unable to reduce it they sent to demand the aid of the Austrians, several thousands of whom immediately crossed the Po to re-occupy the Romagna.

This was too much for Casimir Périer. The news of the Austrians having entered Bologna on the 28th of January did not reach Paris till the 2nd or 3rd of February. The very evening that this news arrived, the Government telegraphed to Toulon to get ready an expedition, naval and military; and it sailed on the 7th of February, with the secret mission of entering the port of Ancona and taking possession of the town. The expedition reached Ancona on the 22nd of February. The Austrians were expected, but had not arrived. The French commander anticipated them, landed his troops, and hoisted the tricolor flag over the citadel, without, however, expelling the Papal soldiers or flag.

According to Prince Metternich's previous language, this should have been war. He had openly declared

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his preference of fighting a battle with the French to suffering the Italians to take their fate in their own hands. The Pontifical Government was fully as furious. And what was more alarming, the English Government appeared to be as much offended at the bold step as any other of the Continent. Casimir Périer had risked the extreme measure, unaided and alone. If Austria and the other Powers wanted a breach with France, they had full and ample opportunity. But they shrank from the consequences. The Papal Government itself became resigned to the French occupation; and the storm blew over. No act of Périer gave him such strength or brought him so many adherents at home. It was the starting-point of a policy by which the French resolved to share at least the political influence of Austria in Italy. The English were quite mistaken when they took it for ambition. And indeed the other Powers, including Austria itself, were disarmed by the evident proofs that some such step was indispensable, not merely for the sake of the Italian civic population, but for that of the influence and solidity of the Government of the King of the French.

M. Guizot describes the interview which the ambassadors of the great Powers had at the time with Casimir Périer. Baron Werther asked him if there was such a thing in existence as the Public Law of Europe. "The Public Law of Europe!" said Périer, who was ill and in his dressing gown, advancing with choler upon the Prussian envoy, "it is I who defend it. Do you think it an easy thing to preach peace and observe existing treaties at the same time? The honour of France demanded what I have done. I had a right to expect the confidence of Europe, and I counted on it."

The occupation of Ancona had been preceded by an event of a similar nature, which had made not so much noise, though it gave the old statesmen of England singular concern. Don Miguel had thought fit to

maltreat certain French residents, and refused to give redress. Admiral Roussin brought the French fleet into the Tagus, passed the Castles, and took possession of the Portuguese men-of-war stationed off Lisbon. Don Miguel found himself obliged to acquiesce in the demands of the French Admiral. In this affair, as in that of Ancona, Casimir Périer, when he relied upon the English alliance, showed that he was no slave to it.

Spirited as this policy might seem, it was not actuated by that true spirit which is satisfied with nothing less than great and beneficial results. The first object of the French Cabinet was peace, and the second object was to take such a step as would not endanger it, yet satisfy the Liberal exigences of the French people. This was the entire system of Louis-Philippe's reign, which put forward the pretence of favouring Liberal principles and institutions in Italy or Spain and elsewhere. But it was only a pretence, for the real fears of the Monarch and his ministers were lest those institutions should grow thoroughly Liberal. The insincerity of this *juste milieu* policy became stamped upon all its acts, and contributed greatly to discredit it at home and abroad. The varnish without the reality of Liberal principles became in fact the practice, as it became the bane, of the Orleans reign.

Whilst the French prime minister was safely braving the resentment and suspicion of England and of all the great Continental Powers, he was aware of the presence and machinations of the Duchess of Berry in the Italian courts, and of the intention of her and of the Royalists to provoke a rising in France. The vigilance of the Government was immediately turned to ward off an attempt of this kind, more troublesome than dangerous, when Paris was assailed by a new and formidable enemy in the cholera. The ravages which the epidemy might make were not alone to be feared, but the agitation consequent upon them, with the strange and unaccount-

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able suspicions of the populace. Thus the cry arose that the cholera was the effect of poison, and several persons lost their lives from being marked as poisoners! It was considered expedient that personages in the higher rank and authority should display their personal care and attention to the victims of the epidemy. It was proposed that the King and his Prime Minister should publicly visit the great Hospital of the Hôtel Dieu, filled with cholera patients. The Duke of Orleans insisted on replacing the King, and he went on the 1st of April, accompanied by Casimir Périer and M. de Marbois. Périer was the last man who should have gone. He was frequently indisposed, and obliged to use continued precautions to keep himself able for his work. Persons so preoccupied with their health are not fit visitors for scenes of epidemy. The minister took the cholera, and in a day or two after lay prostrate on his couch. "I knew I should quit this ministry," he said, "with my legs foremost. I am very ill," observed he to his son, "but the country is in a more dangerous state than I am." On May the 16th Périer expired.

Vituperated by his enemies, as extolled by his friends, both in an exaggerated degree, Périer's fame swelled to be colossal. He was a bold statesman, far too much preoccupied with one idea. Society as well as the throne which he had helped to raise were no doubt menaced by a formidable combination of parties, to defend which was the first necessity of government. But the existence of these parties was the natural consequence of the folly of the Restoration and of the convulsion in which it had succumbed. These parties had their only strength in public opinion, and to ruin them there it was merely necessary to prove them as impotent as absurd. Moreover they were mingled with the factious members of the well-intentioned and honestly thinking, who might have been separated from the more dangerous mass by milder treatment, by a fairer attitude, and liberal institutions.

But the principle of Périer and his friends was to make no concession, whilst using administrative power to crush and put down. This ultra-conservatism, too, extended to things no more necessary or useful. The great object ought to have been to place on solid foundations the throne of the first Prince of the Orleans family. For this a certain popularity was indispensable, and a decorous accord between the circumstances under which the throne was founded and the policy which it adopted. The enemies of the new settlement, more adroit than its champions, saw that the future mainly depended upon the personal respect and influence commanded by the Prince; whereas the Conservative Ministers of that Prince took no care to procure for their Sovereign this prestige. The accusation against him and them which had most weight was that they merely walked in the path of the Restoration—that the Revolution of July had changed nothing. Instead of contradicting this by facts and legislation, the Ministers and the Chambers, Casimir Périer included, aided to strengthen and corroborate it. They evidently preferred the hereditary right of the Peerage, and they strove hard to endow the King with income and the Princes with allowances as ample as the old. The Civil List was discussed in the session which took place before the death of Périer, and the demands of Ministers were too large even for the parliamentary majority, conservative as it was. One of the calumnies against Louis-Philippe, that which most seriously hurt him, was his supposed love of money. It was not true, and might have been despised, but it could only be disproved by generous acts and economical budgets. Instead of this the Civil List as arranged allowed a peculiarly sarcastic writer, M. de Cormenin, to publish attacks which, however exaggerated and unjust, had still truth enough in them to eat into the Royal character and accredit the too general opinion of Louis-Philippe's avarice. The fault of Casimir

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Périer was that he did not clearly see where the strength and weakness of the monarchy lay. He thought the acquiescence of a parliamentary majority sufficient, that majority being based upon the vote of one or two hundred thousand electors, with the great body of the nation and the press altogether aside. The minister did not take sufficient note of these things; and the very success of his policy of resistance recommended it so strongly to the monarch, that he persisted in it, even when it was bringing him to the brink of the precipice into which he fell.

Whilst Casimir Périer was on his death-bed, the Duchess of Berry was traversing France in disguise, and yet *en poste*, to take the command of a Royalist rising in La Vendée. She had been for the previous year in Italy, principally at Massa, negotiating, discussing, preparing, getting secret encouragement from foreign powers and domestic friends. As everything was possible in France, the wisest politicians refrained equally from affronting or encouraging the Princess. Her plan was to excite first a rising of Royalists in the towns of the South of France, and when the conflagration had well-nigh lit up there, to travel to La Vendée to set that inflammable region also in a blaze. The poor Duchess, however, reckoned completely without her host. Like all her family, she took it for granted that France and the world were still those of the last century, when such sentiments as loyalty and personal attachment to a reigning family animated the peasant masses. These had died away with the progress of years, in the country cabin as in the crowded street. And however the smaller gentry might evince them, they had no followers to whom they could impart their enthusiasm or devotion. In towns such as Paris or Marseilles money was the spring for setting insurrection in activity. This, furnished by the rich Legitimists, might reckon on the support of Republicans and Bonapartists, both

anxious at all hazards and with all results for a tumult. The Paris Legitimists were, however, against the rising. That of some months previous had cost large sums and proved an utter deception. Nevertheless, an insurrection was prepared, or pretended to be prepared, to greet the Duchess of Berry's landing, which took place on the coast of Provence on the 29th of April. One of Louis-Philippe's cruisers soon after seized the Carlo Alberto, the vessel that had brought the Duchess, with many of her suite on board, but she herself had landed. She had scarcely done so when she learned that the promised rising in Marseilles had utterly failed. The authorities were warned, the conspirators alarmed, and could not effect even a riot. A corporal's guard was sufficient to put them down.

Advised upon this failure to re-embark, the Duchess refused, and persisted in repairing to La Vendée. She reached Saintes in a few days, and called a council of Vendean gentlemen at a farmhouse, which became the head-quarters of her partisans. All were of one opinion—that a successful insurrection was impossible. If other parts of France, including Paris, were in open resistance to the new Government, the Vendeans might do something. Alone they would not attempt it. The Duchess was in despair. All ideas of a rising in Paris had been abandoned; and the chief Legitimists then despatched M. Berryer to La Vendée to warn the Duchess and represent to her that, the renewal of the civil war being impossible, it was necessary for her to withdraw. M. Berryer brought her the means and the plan of escape, but she declined to listen to him. The result was, that, maintaining and exercising her influence over the most zealous of the party, she advanced and promoted two or three partial risings in different localities. Even these were not so serious or so numerous as they might have been, counter-orders having been given by Marshal Bourmont, which paralysed many

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efforts. Several collisions, however, took place, in which many Vendean gentlemen perished. A portion of them made a most gallant and desperate resistance in the Château of La Penissière, out of which they were burned. Some hundreds of gallant men were thus sacrificed to the idle caprice of the Princess, who would believe vainly that the struggle and the glory of 1793 might be renewed. A few days undeceived her, and the Duchess of Berry was obliged to take refuge in Nantes.*

If it was the merit of Casimir Périer to have put down the violent outbursts of faction, it cannot be said that he penetrated to the sources and destroyed them. On the contrary, the number and audacity of the enemies of the monarchy increased immensely under his administration. The Republicans augmented daily, and conceived fresh hopes. We have seen how active were the Legitimists; and the Buonapartist or military party was not the least dangerous, although, most prudently, they resolved to await change rather than provoke it. The strength of the Republicans lay in the feeling that monarchy was but experimental, and that, based on popular choice, it must fall if repudiated by that which had given it birth. In this conviction many remained who were neither republican nor monarchic, but ready to have recourse to one if the other should prove a failure. Such was the ultra-liberal party in the Chamber, and Lafayette himself, who observed that Louis-Philippe had not satisfied the conditions upon which he was elected. The more moderate leaders of opposition, who were still decidedly monarchic, joined in this opinion. Provoked and irritated by the laurels heaped upon Casimir Périer's tomb, and by the loud vauntings of his policy, they resolved to issue a solemn protest, and

* Louis Blanc.

parliament not sitting, it took the form of a written document. Odilon Barrot, assisted by Cormenin and others, drew up this manifesto, which was published under the name of the *Compte rendu.**

The Conservatives, even the tolerant ones of that day, have denounced the Compte rendu as an act little short of sedition and rebellion. There is no extremity of censure or punishment they did, and do, not call down upon its authors. We must confess to see nothing unconstitutional or subversive in it; on the contrary, it appears a very tame document, and one that a government might have tolerated in a parliamentary opposition. It accused ministers of a series of faults rather than crimes. It reproached them with the vague error of continuing the Restoration, not the Revolution. The civil list was too ample, bespeaking the luxury and corruption of the old monarchies. The ministry were denounced for favouring the hereditary right of the peerage, and yet the government had abandoned it. The organisation of the army was declared to be too expensive, and as enrolling too many active soldiers, instead of being contented with a pacific reserve. Coupled with these reproaches, came the signal ones, of France abandoning Italy to Austria, and not having rescued Poland from the grasp of Russia. Ministers were accused of creating divisions, of persecuting the press, of not procuring order, and not having effected a general disarmament.

This protest of the parliamentary opposition was followed by a republican insurrection, which of course was denounced as one of its effects. It was not a document of that stirring kind. The Republicans were well and largely organised in secret societies, and there were, moreover, many grades of them—some who raved a republic with the monarchy of the Constituent Assembly, whilst some few were satisfied with no less than

* Nouvion, appendix; Annuaire

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the red cap and the red flag. An opportunity arose for the display of these diverse sentiments; and the leaders, no doubt, thought the time opportune, when the government had been deprived of the strong arm and head of Périer, his surviving colleagues, with the exception of Soult, having acquired no reputation for either capacity or firmness. The occasion which offered was the funeral of General Lamarque, who had expired in the first days of June. It was at once resolved to put forth such a popular demonstration as should quite efface that made by what was called the *bourgeoisie* on the tomb of Périer.

The 5th of June, 1832, was fixed for the funeral of Lamarque. Louis Blanc, an historian fully acquainted with the ramifications and workings of that mine of disaffection which had established itself beneath the surface of society, and was active in sapping the foundations of the government at this epoch, states that almost all the liberal and non-legitimist opposition of the Orleans dynasty, had rallied under the banner of Buonapartism. There were the Imperialists, who sought to resuscitate, in Napoléon the Second, the old *régime* of Napoleon the First. There were others who raved a republic under the same prince, an hallucination greater than that of Laffitte, who hoped to find a Washington in Louis-Philippe. These opinions were all fostered and represented in secret associations, which had their arms, their funds, and their organisation. Orleanist writers allege that these societies and parties determined to make the funeral of Lamarque the occasion of an insurrection. M. Louis Blanc only so far modifies this assertion by saying that it was not the intention to promote troubles, but take advantage of them if provoked, or that, "if they saw a collision inevitable, they would accept and precipitate it." There is not much difference between the statements.

Soult was minister of war, and had some 60,000

bayonets to oppose to the intended insurrectionists. Both sides were prepared for action. The National Guards were provided with ammunition, and the members of the clubs carried arms under their garments.* Both followed the funeral procession. Its way ran along the boulevards, but the Buonapartists compelled it to turn into the Place Vendôme and salute the column. The guard opposite at first withdrew into their guardhouse, but the clamour compelled them to come forth, and present arms to the funeral car. The next event was the Duke of Fitzjames at his window refusing to unbonnet to the procession. The windows of the hotel were immediately smashed. The fact proved, at least, that Legitimacy and Republicanism were not in accord. The procession increased in numbers and in excitement, as it approached the Place de la Bastille, where a platform was prepared for harangues, and the excitement reached a high pitch when some hundreds of the Polytechnic School students made their appearance, having defied the masters of the college, and broken loose. An unfortunate circumstance was the appearance of the red flag, which, according to some, had been seen all along throughout the procession. At all events, a red flag, borne aloft by a horseman, and soon surmounted by a *bonnet rouge*, appeared on the Place de la Bastille. Louis Blanc represents it as a trick of the police, intended to disgust and frighten the bourgeois; others would have it a provocation of the Red Republicans to action. The truth is, it was borne aloft by a madman, a fanatic, who, like General Dubourg, in the July Revolution, was his own adviser. Lafayette as well as General Excelmans were disgusted at the sight of the red flag and the bonnet rouge; but the latter, for objecting to it, was nearly flung into the river. Lafayette withdrew and returned home.†

* Louis Blanc, Nouvion, &c. Louis Blanc, De la Hodde, Nouvion,
† Lafayette's Correspondence, Gisquet's Mem.

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It had been arranged that the procession should terminate on the south side of the bridge, the remains of the general being then transferred to a carriage for transportation to his native place in the south of France. To facilitate this, the Prefect of Police, Gisquet, sent some two hundred dragoons to the quay adjoining the bridge. They were assailed with stones and cries bidding them surrender their arms. As crowds were surrounding and overwhelming them, a second detachment came to their rescue. The Republicans fired on it. And at the signal barricades arose, and an insurrection in imitation of that of July took place on both banks of the Seine. The National Guards and soldiers who had joined the procession, and were confounded in the multitude, extricated themselves and escaped one by one. The military posts were carried one after the other. And by six in the evening the multitude were as triumphant as they had been on the 28th of July two years before.

Marshal Soult had so far fulfilled the duties of War Minister that he had collected in Paris or in its vicinity a considerable number of troops. But he by no means came forward to take the command, or even to give efficient orders for suppressing the insurrection. Unaware of the great fact that the working classes of the suburbs had not joined the enrolled militia of the clubs, and that these, with the mere rabble, constituted the whole force of the insurrection, the Marshal is said to have hesitated, and feared the fate of Marmont. Louis Blanc asserts that he proposed to abandon Paris, and others pretend that some chiefs of the Republicans had interviews with him, as Armand Carrel undoubtedly had with Marshal Clausel. The King, however, had come himself to Paris. And Marshal Lobau took the command. Instead of engaging his troops in the narrow streets, he first cleared the boulevards and the

quays, thus confining the insurrection to the old labyrinth around the Church of St. Méry. This was effected with some loss, but still effectually, before nightfall, a success that would have been more doubtful or more dearly purchased had the working class to any extent joined the *émeute*.

The night was then allowed to pass, and at daybreak of the 6th the insurgents were attacked in their fastnesses, the barricades swept with cannon, and their intrenchments everywhere forced by the National Guard, as well as the line, both of which lost a considerable number of officers and men. The better class of the Republicans held a meeting at the office of the *National*, where Armand Carrel, amongst others, seeing but the mere rabble joining the men of the secret societies, declared that the mass of troops could not be resisted. The Deputies of the Left met also at Laffitte's, but decided nothing more than a delegation to the King. It was composed of Laffitte, Odilon Barrot, and Arago. Lafayette had refused to go, and he was wise. For with the National Guard firm, and the troops faithful, there was nothing to fear for the government. All that the Deputies could do was to lecture Louis-Philippe, who received them at once, but who mocked their recommendations. They pointed to Paris and La Vendée as proof of the unpopularity of the monarchy. In this assertion they were right. But the King observed that his unpopularity arose from calumny and faction, not real discontent. He had observed the Charter, he said, and in July had promised no more.* According to M. Guizot, Arago was rude, Barrot polite. The King did not shrink from admitting that he was the main-spring of the government, the originator and upholder of its policy. Instead of avowing himself as

* For the conversation see Pepin, Deux Ans de Règne.

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under the control of constitutioual government and a parliamentary majority, Louis-Philippe spoke as minister and sovereign in one.

The worst consequence of this personal government of the monarch was that, however wise the King's direction of affairs might be, ministerial management remained in weak, because dependent, hands. On Casimir Périer's death, the Home Office was given to Montalivet, considered altogether a King's friend. With more zeal than discretion, this young minister, immediately after the insurrection, first declared the capital in a state of siege, for which there was not the least necessity, and then arrested the chief Carlist notabilities, the Duc de Fitzjames, Châteaubriand, and Berryer, for which there was less. All these had in fact deprecated, not encouraged, the Duchess of Berry's attempts, and had done nought to draw down upon them incarceration. The fact was confirmed by the speedy acquittal of Berryer.

This blunder compelled the King to think at once of strengthening his ministry. But every personage whom he addressed demanded, as the first condition, the appointment of a governing President of the Council. Talleyrand was thought of, and when he came to Paris, on his way to his usual baths, at Bourbon, the offer was made him. Talleyrand, however, would not accept the presidency, and at the same time did not desire that there should be any prime minister. The King had previously sounded Dupin, and at first was not averse to have that personage in the shoes of Périer. Royer Collard had said that Casimir Périer's administration had owed its success to his ignorance and brutality—harsh words, with a spice of truth in them. They might be equally applied to Dupin. But he would not take office, along with either Sebastiani or Montalivet. And Talleyrand mocked his pretensions. The King and Dupin therefore came to a rupture in a conversation on

the evening of the 28th at St. Cloud, where the future ministers were all assembled.*

Marshal Soult did not want the two precious qualities attributed to Casimir Périer; but he was more manageable than Dupin. Hence the King ended by appointing him President of the Council, with the War Office. The Duc de Broglie was chosen for Foreign Affairs. He would not accept without having for colleague his friend M. Guizot, who became Minister of Public Instruction. The most important nomination was that of M. Thiers to the Home Department. He had been introduced to office by Laffitte, of whom, however, he was more a personal than a political disciple. His history, many volumes of which had appeared, sufficiently pronounced him a son of the Revolution. His appointment was therefore considered as a liberal set-off to that of the unpopular Doctrinaires. Humann, of Strasburg, took the Finances.†

M. Thiers, in accepting the Home Office, gave up many of its attributes, in order to devote his attention to what had become an urgent necessity, that of arresting the Duchess of Berry. Although the open insurrection in La Vendée had been prostrated or put down, still the presence of the Princess kept alive agitation and disquietude, and, what was worse, excited the very general suspicion that the King connived at her efforts to disturb the country and shake his throne. Rumours are sometimes not the less credited and not less dangerous for being absurd. Had the Princess limited her confidence to French nobles and peasants, she might have concealed her presence and her movements, but she had admitted to her intimacy, even when in Italy, an Israelite of the name of Deutz, who had become con-

* Nouvion makes the King speak harshly to Dupin. It is not at all likely that Louis-Philippe would use language so unhabitual to him. Dupin's own account, in his Memoirs, is quite different.

† Memoirs of Guizot, of Dupin, Nouvion, Louis Blanc, &c.

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verted to Catholicism at Rome, and whom the Church in consequence patronised. Previous to her entering France, the Princess despatched Deutz on a mission to Spain and Portugal. She created him a baron, and gave him power to raise a loan; yet no sooner was he in Madrid than he wrote to the French Government to offer to betray the Princess. It has been said that jealousy was his motive, he having been first taken into favour and then sent away. At all events, Deutz made the offer to the Home Minister Montalivet, who did not consider it as aught worth following up. M. Thiers no sooner took the Home Office, and received renewed offers from Deutz, than he grasped at them, saw him, promised him half a million of francs, accompanied by menaces should he prove untrue. Deutz, under his directions, proceeded to Nantes. The Duchess was already informed that some one had undertaken to betray her. For she undoubtedly had friends in the council of the King; but the suspicion falling upon another than Deutz, he was admitted to the Duchess's presence. The police, however, had been unable to follow his track, and no more came of it. He demanded another interview to repair the failure of the first. It was granted, and the police then saw Deutz enter the house of Mademoiselle Duguigny; he there had his second interview. On one occasion the Duchess said to him, "Perhaps you are the person who, they say, is to betray me." Deutz smilingly observed, "It might be so;" and it was so. For Deutz had but taken his departure when the police burst in. The Princess, with Mademoiselle de Kersabiec and two gentlemen of her suite, had had time to retreat to a recess that had been prepared behind the fire-place of an upper room. And here they remained sixteen hours, defying all the ingenuity and resources of the police; at last the gendarmes, occupying the room where the recess was, lit a fire on the hearth to warm themselves, and this fire soon rendered the recess untenable by its occupants,

whose clothes even took fire, as the iron plate at the back heated. At last they cried out, saying they surrendered, and the Duchess and her companions were drawn half fainting from their hiding-place. She was treated with all respect, but conveyed as a prisoner to the Castle of Blaye, on the Garonne, below Bordeaux.*

On the 6th of November, not a month after the entrance of M. Thiers into the Home Office, the Duchess of Berry became a prisoner. But the throne of Louis-Philippe was beset by so many and such different enemies that the marvel is how it so long endured. As the monarch was proceeding to open the Chambers on the 19th of the same month, a pistol shot was fired at him; the assassin escaped, but the pistol which he used was found near to a young woman, who had seen him fire it. Bergeron, a young usher at a school, was no doubt the person who fired the pistol. He belonged to the *Societé des Droits de l'Homme*, two members of which had previously pointed him out as one who had engaged to protect another member of the society in an act of regicide. The Republican Society, as well as the Legitimists, who so often fomented conspiracy, had in fact begun to despair of street insurrections. Châteaubriand wrote to the Duchess of Berry that nothing was to be hoped from them. The conspirators therefore resorted to assassination plots, and Bergeron's attempt was the first. He was tried before the Court of Assizes, denied, of course, the act of regicide, but gloried in the profession of a Republican and an enemy to the throne. The jury aquitted him; but no one had a doubt of his guilt, which did not prevent many of even the most respectable Republicans from receiving and patronising him. To such a pitch had swelled party and personal feuds. The act was a godsend to the ministry of the 11th of October. An opposition that

* Mémoires de Gisquet; accounts of Nouvion and Louis Blanc; Dermoncourt's Vendée; Madame et La Vendée, &c.

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had been gathering in the Chamber disappeared at the sound of Bergeron's pistol. Dupin was voted president, and the address was couched and carried in a sense quite laudatory of the new Cabinet and its ideas.

About the period of this criminal attempt upon the King, the breaches were opened before the citadel of Antwerp, which the Dutch persisted in holding. The enthronement of Leopold at Brussels, and the rejection of the Dutch from a second invasion of Belgium by the intervention of a French army, had not brought to a conclusion the difficult question of a delineation of frontier. Neither the King of Holland nor the Belgians were satisfied with the arrangement in Luxemburg, on the Scheldt or the Meuse. King William expected fresh insurrections in France, and sedulously adjourned every settlement in consequence; whilst the Duchess of Berry, at Nantes, awaited the first cannon-shot at Antwerp, as the signal of European war, to be followed by another Vendean one. It was necessary to put an end to the hopes and machinations of all those parties, who built upon the prospect of a general war. Some of the most intricate points in the adjustment or interchange of frontier were proposed to be left for after-negotiations between Belgium and Holland. One of these points concerned the territory east of Antwerp, and the Scheldt. And the Dutch monarch insisted on holding this frontier, the very key of the dispute, a fortress too within a few leagues of Brussels. To put an end to his pretensions, the new French Cabinet decided on Marshal Gérard's marching to Antwerp and investing its citadel. The English not only gave their adhesion, but blockaded the Dutch coast with a fleet, until such time as its monarch should yield. Such were the difficulties which reigned, and such the rash hopes and thoughts which actuated the most sensible men, that the first demand of Marshal Gérard was permission to attack the Prussians. He was told to confine himself

to reducing the Dutch soldiers in the citadel of Antwerp. Austria and Prussia held aloof from this enterprise, and Russia more openly disapproved of it. The adhesion of England, however, rendered any resentment or action of the Holy Alliance impossible. And by this protection, France obtained in peace the demolition of the hostile fortress erected on its frontier, whilst a Princess of the House of Orleans ascended the Belgian throne by the side of Leopold, and rendered the Cabinet of Brussels far more French than English. This was fully seen in the fresh commercial relations which afterwards arose between Belgium and France, from which England was rigidly excluded. And yet French ultra-Liberal, or even Liberal, writers represent their court and their King as but the dupes and instruments of England, in their negotiations and in the alliance on which they were founded!

When the French general appeared on the 19th before Antwerp, he had first to attack the fortress, and then prevent the Belgians from joining in the hostilities. Their doing so would have not only brought on the bombardment and destruction of the city of Antwerp, but would have led to hostilities on the part of the Dutch against the Belgians along the whole frontier. The Prussians were near, and would have become implicated in the war. The moment was critical. Ten days were spent in opening trenches and preparing for the attack even of the advanced works. Upwards of a month was required ere the siege was sufficiently advanced to leave no hope for the Dutch commander. On the 23rd of December he offered to surrender the citadel. The liberation of the Belgian territories was thus accomplished by an act of vigour on the part of the French government, and an attitude of friendship on that of the English, to both of which French Liberals ought to have been more just.

The close of 1832 was thus an epoch of triumph for

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the new dynasty, and for the party in possession of power. In foreign policy and negotiations, as in the brief campaign, its aims were fully attained. They were literally so in domestic policy by the total defeat of the Republicans in insurrections and of the Legitimists in La Vendée. This was rendered more complete by the unexpected discovery of the Duchess of Berry being *enceinte*. The King and his family had made every effort calculated to conceal the scandal. But the Duchess met all such offers by denials, until at last she declared her having been previously married to the Count Lucchesi Palli, a Sicilian noble. Her subsequent confinement and liberation became of less importance from the fact of her second marriage totally nullifying her claim to act either as regent of France or chief of a Legitimist insurrection. Her political fortunes ended as sadly as those of Charles the Tenth himself. To the defeat of Republicans and Legitimists was added the brushing away of the difficulties which the King of Holland placed in the way of an adjustment of his frontier by the siege and surrender of Antwerp.

In this hour of triumph, it was to be regretted that there was no super-eminent and presiding genius in the Cabinet to prepare and inaugurate a policy of concession to liberal opinions. Louis-Philippe's wisest counsellor, his sister, Madame Adelaide, is known to have urged such advice. She regretted that, after the death of Casimir Périer, the formation of the new Cabinet did not take in the more moderate members of the Left, rather than the Conservative Doctrinaires. Such men as Barrot and those who went with him, she thought ought to have been won to the monarchy by being included amongst its ministers and functionaries. And she was right. For not only did the public find the government too Conservative, but in the Chamber itself a portion of those who usually supported ministers began to form a body apart, which soon assumed the name of the *tiers parti*.

One of the ministers indeed felt that *resistance* to popular desires might be carried too far. With fear and disquiet he saw disaffection gain ground in the masses. And he resolved not to be himself the instrument of repressing them, and thus go down to posterity as the Fouché of the Orleans dynasty. Thiers resigned the Home Office, and took the department of Commerce and Public Works. To have given a great impulse to industry and trade might have afforded the means of distracting the labouring as well as the lower portion of the middle class from listening to Republican or subversive arguments. The influential and wealthy in France were, however, backward in their ideas, and clung to the infatuated theories of protection. From political expediency, as well as from a want of exclusive devotion to the subject, M. Thiers felt not inclined to commence or inaugurate free trade. He preferred a plan which has since been so largely acted upon, of extensive public works to occupy the multitude. He asked no less than 4,000,000*l.* sterling for this purpose, in which he would have included the fortifications of Paris.

These attempts to conciliate the working classes were not accompanied by any legislation calculated to satisfy educated and moderate Liberals. The law of organising departmental and district councils came under discussion. The ministerial project allowed none to be electors of these councils who did not pay 200 francs direct taxes, thus excluding small proprietors, that large class in France, from any control even over local affairs and expenditure. In one of the debates of the moment, Messrs. Dubois and Baude gave vent to some angry expressions against the prevailing system. They were immediately deprived of their offices. M. Guizot declares he was opposed to this violent act of party vengeance, but the majority of the council insisted on it. The Doctrinaires were thus not so ultra-conservative in some questions as their colleagues.

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This extravagance of conservatism was the more misplaced as at the moment there was a split in the Republican party, some with Lafayette recommending moderation and the use of constitutional means of combat in preference to the revolutionary tactics and language, which had come to be adopted by the more violent. As the *National* held to moderation, the *Tribune* abetted violence. So that the schism became manifest.

The King took no advantage of these divisions among his enemies; we say the King, for unfortunately his was the only governing spirit. The ministry indeed comprised two men of first-rate ability, Guizot and Thiers, but they neutralised one another, their rivalry compelling both to bow before a mock President of the Council, or the King, who tacitly took the place. Far better would it have been had Thiers, leaving Guizot to be avowed and undisturbed leader of the Conservatives, frankly embraced more liberal and popular principles, rallying the moderate and middle party of the Left and Left Centre. But although such were the original colour and tendency of M. Thiers' political convictions, he had as minister been thrown into such personal antagonism, not only with insurrectionists, but with the more constitutional party which, if they did not support, at least flattered them, that Thiers, acerb and incisive in his mode of eloquence, became a more bitter antagonist than Guizot. This was to be regretted, as both in and out of the Chamber, even along with the strong disgust of popular turbulence, the idea prevailed that ill-judged and rancorous conservatism provoked it. To this was owing the rise of the *tiers parti*. To this was due the reluctance of juries to condemn even the most audacious and dangerous excesses of the press.

Could the Chamber have divided into two parties, the one avowing conservatism, the other abetting popular rights, able and prudent men taking the lead in the latter, with the prospect of being entrusted with the

government, when their rivals fell into a minority, or were found at fault, the great body of Liberals would have rallied behind them. The King, showing himself ready to accept as ministers one party as well as another, would have neutralised anti-monarchic principles and converted Republicans into Constitutionalists. Instead of this, the Chamber presented but the one governing clique, the members of which disagreed indeed with each other on merely personal grounds, the King making puppets of them all, and replacing and playing one by another, and thus concentrating upon himself that mass of hatred naturally attracted by every administration.

It is difficult, however, to assign the chief share of blame to any one person or party. For if active politicians and monarchists grouped too much together, and stood too much apart from the nation, they were driven to it by the ever-renewed insurrections which interrupted the quiet and constitutional development of party, and compelled the legislature to think and provide for security rather than liberty. The proceedings of the Chamber in the session of 1833 and 1834 were not conciliatory if we except M. Thiers' scheme of public works for the employment of the labouring classes. In order to meet and put down the continually increasing violence of the ultra-Republican party, laws were introduced, first against public criers, who were certainly most mutinous and even rebellious in their vociferations. Another, against associations, was most severe, and threatened the clubs and secret societies with extinction and punishment. The first law, that prohibiting public criers from selling papers and pamphlets without authorisation, nearly produced a serious tumult. The cause being brought before the Royal Court, it in a manner declared the law invalid, and decided in favour of the public crier. The proprietor of a paper called the *Bon Sens* took advantage of this to cry and sell his paper at the Bourse, threatening to resist if molested.

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A tumult ensued, and a scuffle between the people and the police, but the former did not proceed this time to the extremity of insurrection.

The law against associations was introduced after that against public criers. The spirit of this law, drawn up by Persil, is sufficiently characterised by the fact that it is the same as that kept in force by Napoleon the Third under the second empire, and that he has found it sufficiently stringent without adding to it a single clause. Associations, in fact, even those for literary or religious purposes, were strictly forbidden unless they received the approbation of the Government, and any association which attempted to meet without this was amenable for such offence, not to an upper court or jury, but to the police tribunal. Here was one of the republican institutions with which Louis-Philippe had promised to surround his throne! Certainly the associations of the time were most mutinous and audacious, and demanded repression, but to confound all meetings, and to make it a crime for half-a-dozen men to assemble and talk, was a consequence of the Revolution of July, which shocked not merely Republicans, but many friends of monarchy and order. Such a law did not, of course, pass without long and animated discussions, in which the opposition and even some more moderate members stated their objections, and depicted the spirit of the Government with colours which severely depopularised the King and the monarchy of July.

The necessity of such a Draconic law against associations was soon, however, justified by the conduct of the existing Republican societies. These declared at once that they would not submit to it, and would engage in insurrectionary war against the Chamber as well as the Government. The majority of the Chamber indeed strongly supported a policy of severity, and showed it by granting at once the permission to prosecute M. Cabet, one of those writers who had published violent Republican articles. This time judge and jury were agreed

in the verdict, and M. Cabet was condemned to three years' imprisonment and 10,000 francs fine.

All these circumstances stirred the clubs to resistance. They wanted not courage, but funds, the sinews of armed revolt. The Legitimists used to be lavish in suborning the Republicans to take up arms. But since the *fiasco* of the Duchess of Berry, they were disheartened and ashamed. The Republican war champions were obliged to make use of the elements of disorder where they existed, instead of organising fresh ones.

Lyons had been for some time in a state of great industrial distress. The manufacturers found themselves under the necessity of lowering wages; this was resisted by the middlemen, or *chefs d'ateliers*, who employed the scattered weavers in their abodes, combined in a secret association calling themselves *Mutualists*; these decided upon ordaining a strike. It took place, and the Republican societies flung themselves into it to convert an industrial resistance into a political rebellion. This was greatly facilitated by the new law of association, which menaced industrial and political ones alike, and visited them with the same penalties. It shows how ill-judged had been a measure which confounded two species of offences. When the *Mutualists* were prosecuted and brought to trial for coalition, the Republicans took advantage of it, and raised a tumult which obliged the court to adjourn its sitting. The day of the trial being resumed became that of an insurrection of the Republicans. They were met by the troops, and a collision was the necessary result. M. Louis Blanc attributes the first provocation to an agent of the police. The Orleanists deny the fact; a barricade had, however, been previously erected, and this was provocation enough; as usual in popular insurrections, the multitude became master of the greater part of the town. General Aymard conducted the defence in a different manner from Marmont. He employed artillery to clear the streets

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before him, and then ordered the troops to penetrate into the houses on either side, ere he ventured to advance, breaking through the side walls from house to house, and thus driving back the insurrection, without needlessly exposing the soldiers. This was slow work, but it was sure. It took four or five days to reduce the insurrection; some Republicans, under a leader named Lagrange, made a desperate resistance in a church, that of St. Bonaventure. But they were finally reduced, and the rebellious *faubourg*, threatened with bombardment, at last surrendered. The *émeute* occupied from the 9th to the 14th of April, 1834.

These events at Lyons could scarcely fail of producing at least an attempt to repeat a second time those in Paris. Government, however, was too vigilant and too well prepared. The Home Minister Thiers had lost no time in stopping the Republican journals, and seizing the chiefs. It was only therefore some subalterns who undertook to commence resistance and raise barricades on the night of the 13th. They chose the intricate quarter round the church of St. Méry, now opened by a spacious boulevard. It was then a network of lanes, in which barricades were soon thrown up, and vigorously defended. Similar attempts were made in other quarters, but could not be carried into effect. Some officers of the National Guard were shot, amongst others a wealthy citizen, named Baillot. Marshal Lobau treated the insurrection as he had done on a former occasion, invested the insurgent quarter during the night, and on the following morning stormed and carried the barricades. In the narrow Rue Transnonain some soldiers carrying a wounded officer were fired at, and the officer killed; the shots came from a house, which the troops instantly attacked, and when they forced their way in more shots were fired at them. The real perpetrators of this provocation and resistance escaped through the rear, whilst the exasperated soldiers took vengeance by

slaughtering the inhabitants of the house, many of them women and children, to the number of eighteen.* "We expected," said the minister, "to find an insurrection in Paris as in Lyons, but we only encountered assassins." Unfortunately the reproach of assassination was cast from both sides.

The Government evinced its thanks and confidence in the army by proposing to increase its numbers, with a large addition of expense, whilst, in order to make the most of the late insurrection, a monster trial of all inculpated was ordered to take place before the Court of Peers. Nothing could be more ill-judged; it was erecting a pedestal for men who were, after all, not the chiefs of any party, and many of whom attracted sympathy by their courage and singleness of purpose, notwithstanding the fanatic absurdity of their opinions. The moment of conservative ascendancy was also taken advantage of to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies and procure the election of a new parliament under the influence of fear.

About the same time Lafayette expired. At almost any other moment his obsequies might have offered the opportunity of insurrection; but the republic had been too seriously crushed to move. It was almost a pity that Lafayette ever quitted his adopted country, after having aided in her emancipation. His ideas, however liberal and honest, were, somehow or another, never suited to the state of things in France at any epoch. He first promoted the popular Revolution of 1789, and ever after unsuccessfully endeavoured to stay it. After aiding in the overthrow of throne and aristocracy, he sought in vain to throw out anchors to prevent the State drifting into the republic. He did the same by the republic to prevent it drifting on the empire. At home, events

* The author penetrated into the street, and visited this house a few hours after. No pen could describe the horrible vestiges of military vengeance.

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took a turn to give the old patriot a gleam of hope that his scheme would be realised. But the illusion never lasted more than a few days, and left him to fall back into his normal state of discontent with the world and with men, and of a vain and petulant, though honourable and disinterested, struggle against both.

These years of turbulence and repeated insurrections, which by their universal failure had added strength to the Government and cohesion to the parties which supported it, seemed to come to a pause after the events of April. Fears of revolution evaporated, and left the middle-class mind more free to criticise the acts of the Government. Ministers had counted on a great accession of strength in the new elections. In this they were doomed to be disappointed, for although *ultra-Liberals* were returned in fewer numbers to the Chambers, the incipient *Tiers parti* received far more recruits than the party of *resistance*. This was seen at once by the sentiments of the deputies as they met in Paris for the opening of the Chambers. The monster trial before the Peers was universally deprecated. Most people wished to see an end put to it by an amnesty which was to close and fill up the gulf of revolution.

Instead of yielding to this semi-opposition, ministers determined to resist it, and yet there was not the desired cohesion and agreement amongst them. The copartners of the Cabinet rebelled against their unintelligent chief, Soult, who, as president of the council, was as absolute in his opinions as defective in his power of expressing them. They complained to the King, who advised them to bear with the rudeness and oddity of the Marshal. Gérard, they said, would make a much better president of the council. "In that you are wrong," observed the King, "and if you succeed, you will have reason to regret the change." The King was right, but Thiers and Guizot persisted. Yet in the immediate cause of difference they were equally in error. They recommended a

civil governor of the colony of Algiers. Soult declared that a civil governor would be powerless in a colony where the native population was still in arms against the invaders. They insisted. Marshal Soult resigned; and Marshal Gérard became President of the Council in July 1834. But no sooner was he in that high position than he adopted the rallying word of the *Tiers parti*, and proclaimed an amnesty to be necessary. The consequence was that he resigned his new office in three months after having accepted it.

Then commenced fresh difficulties; M. Guizot proposed the Duc de Broglie as President; his appointment was displeasing both to M. Dupin and to the King. Count Molé was thought of, nay, consulted. He hoped to obtain the adhesion of Dupin. Persil and De Rigny did their utmost to overcome the objections of Dupin, saying that, if he refused, the predominance in the Cabinet would fall to the Doctrinaires.* On the 11th of November, a *Tiers parti* ministry was gazetted, consisting of the Duke of Bassano, president and home minister; Bresson, foreign affairs; Persil, justice; Sauzet, public instruction; General Bernard, war; Charles Dupin, marine; Teste, commerce. Passy was to have the finances. The ministers thus gazetted having met, with the exception of Bresson and Sauzet, who were absent, confessed at once to each other that they could not hope to command even the respect of the Chamber or of the public, their nomination having provoked a shout of derision. They therefore resigned, being designated, in the journals of the time, as the Ministry of Three Days. Marshal Mortier was forced to take the post of President of the Council, and under his nominal presidency,† the Thiers and Guizot Cabinet resumed office.

* De Rigny's letter in Appendix to Dupin's Memoirs.

† Memoirs of Guizot, of Dupin, Nouvion, the annuals and journals of the time.

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Even this arrangement did not last; Marshal Mortier was but a stop-gap, and he soon felt his nullity as dishonourable. He therefore resigned early in 1835, and there re-ensued the usual intrigue and irresolution of a ministerial crisis. Count Molé's name was put forward again; Dupin was once more solicited. But the *Tiers parti* had been defeated in recent attempts, so that the Doctrinaire party triumphed, Thiers being too much isolated to contend against them, or to hold any strong position between both. He as well as the King therefore consented to accept the Duc de Broglie as President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, a conclusion that was announced on the 11th of March, 1835.

The necessity of having a firm and able foreign minister for the moment facilitated De Broglie's return to office. For the Spanish question required solution, whilst those of Italy seemed likely to re-open. The Belgian knot had ended by being successfully and satisfactorily untied. But the resentment of the Eastern powers against France had augmented, and had led to common resolutions which seemed to portend a resuscitation of the Holy Alliance. The ill-will especially of the Czar Nicholas for the King Louis-Philippe had displayed itself in a variety of small ways. The Marshals Mortier and Maison had been successively French ambassadors at St. Petersburg, and were treated with ample courtesy, but rather as French soldiers than Orleanist envoys. In 1833 the sovereigns had frequent meetings, especially one at Münchengrätz, after which they signified to the Court of France that they would not admit the principle of non-intervention. The Duke de Broglie replied on that occasion that, although he held to the principle of non-intervention, he was not prepared to make war for it, when remote lands were concerned, but that in Switzerland and Piedmont

France would no more suffer foreign interference than it had done in Belgium.*

In the autumn of the same year the Spanish question was opened by the death of Ferdinand, September 1833. Setting aside the Salic law, he by testament had left his daughter Isabella to be his heir and successor, his widow Maria Christina being declared at the same time regent. Don Carlos, Ferdinand's brother, then in Portugal, was set aside. Maria Christina, however, soon found it impossible to maintain her position without leaning on one party or the other. The Legitimists and ultra-Royalists embraced the cause of Don Carlos. Christina was obliged to fling herself into the party of the Liberals, and replace Zea Bermudez in the ministry by Martinez de la Rosa. Zea was the statesman who upheld the doctrine that the *despotismo illustrado* was the best government for Spain; Martinez stood up for a representative system and constitutional government. When the latter prevailed, the Cortès was, of course, convoked. The regent and her policy met with all favour at the French Court, which despatched M. Mignet to Madrid with counsels and encouragement.

The English Cabinet was already engaged to support Donna Maria, daughter of Don Pedro, as Queen of Portugal against Don Miguel, whose principles and party were analogous to those of Don Carlos in Spain. The ministers of Madrid applied, through their ambassador in London, for similar support against Carlos. To this the English minister assented, and a treaty was drawn up for the purpose, to which it was arranged that France might accede. Prince Talleyrand, however, as well as his government, took fire at a secondary part being apparently assigned to France. He insisted on its being a principal. This was readily accorded, and the Quadruple Alliance was concluded between England,

* D'Haussonville, Politique extérieure de la France; Guizot; Nouvion.

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France, Spain, and Portugal, for the maintenance of the young Queens, France and England being bound to take no steps apart, or without mutual consultation and agreement.

The Quadruple Alliance was the seal of that accord between France and England which had already achieved the Belgian settlement, and which placed itself in direct opposition to the similar accord between Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Orleanist writers are fond of accusing England, and especially Lord Palmerston, of having concluded this alliance with but half a heart, and they represent his lordship particularly as no friend to France.* The truth is, however, that this alliance was all to the advantage of France, which it protected from the combined hatred of Europe, England thereby incurring many unnecessary enmities.

A recent example forcibly showed what inconvenience an English Government might encounter in proclaiming a French alliance. There was no country in which England found it more necessary to maintain its influence than Egypt. Not that it desired to conquer or occupy that country, but merely to uphold its independence and secure its friendship, Egypt being the high road to India. That Napoleon should have aimed at grasping at such a country was natural enough, but that France under an Orleans dynasty should seek to make itself predominant at Alexandria was at least an element of estrangement between the countries. Egypt, however, under its enterprising Pacha had become French in its ideas, its officials, its military organisation, and its military ambition.† Ibrahim, with his French officers of artillery, undertook to accomplish Napoleon's

* M. Guizot disclaims this imputation in his Memoirs. Lord Palmerston, according to him, was no enemy of France, but generally too much occupied with one idea, and sacrificing everything to the aim immediately in his view.

† Admiral Roussin, in his despatches to Ibrahim, characterises the Egyptian power as France's "own work."

old projects. He invaded Syria, conquered it, and at length advanced into Asia Minor to the overthrow of the Sultan himself. The immediate consequence was that the Porte flung itself into the arms of Russia. And whilst the French embassy itself was obliged to put forth the whole of its influence to stop the victorious march of Ibrahim, the serious result was produced of a treaty between the Porte and Russia, by which the former made over to the latter no less than the closing of the Dardanelles against the maritime powers. This was declaring the Black Sea and the Bosphorus Russian. Both France and England remonstrated with the Sultan and with the Czar, without receiving satisfaction from either. But if not their resentment, at least their intention of expressing it in any forcible or aggressive manner, was prevented by the interference of Prince Metternich, who obtained from the Russian Government a declaration that it would not make use of the obnoxious stipulations of the treaty.

The summer of 1835 was occupied by the public trial of the April conspirators before the Court of Peers. Not only the Liberal opposition, but the *Tiers parti*, and men like Molé and Gérard, strongly insisted on cutting the matter short by an amnesty. Had the prisoners in batches been at once sent before assize courts, or tribunals formed for the purpose in the provinces as well as in the capital, the most criminal might have been prosecuted, and their guilt fully exposed, without erecting a stage for them before the Peers of the realm, on which they were tempted to strut, vociferate, and enact the hero. The partisans of the amnesty desired to tranquillise public opinion, not continue its excitement, which they considered to be dangerous in many unforeseen ways. The ministers, however, and M. Persil, their legal champion, would have their monster trial.

There were no less than 318 persons marked out for prosecution in the report of the *procureur-général*. Of

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these the committee of the Peers set aside about one-half, and allowed the Government to proceed against 164. These accused were unfortunately made by the press the heroes of the day. Public attention was riveted upon them. And they, knowing it, assumed an heroic and defiant attitude, and laboured to make the monster trial as monstrous and grandiose as possible. Every prisoner chose his advocate from amongst the most talented of the Republican party. So many speakers from the noted Republicans alarmed the court, and they forbade all pleading save by professional advocates.

The first sitting of the court was marked by the small number of Peers and the multitude of witnesses. The former was the most serious inconvenience, for a sentence could not be passed by less than two-thirds of the members of the Chamber. When the trial commenced, a number of the accused refused to make any reply, protesting against being denied the aid of those whom they had chosen to defend them. The loudest was Godefroy Cavaignac. An insurgent of the name of Lagrange, always foremost in street fights, was quite frantic in his behaviour before the Peers. To try men in such a frenzy was impossible. And the Peers retiring came to the conclusion to try the recalcitrants in their absence if they refused to plead or show respect to the court.

The mutiny, however, was not confined to the bar of the Court of Peers. A letter appeared in the Republican prints, encouraging the prisoners to resist, and outraging the Peers. "The infamy of the judge made the glory of the accused"—such was the language of the letter, to which the names of two Deputies were affixed, those of Cormenin, and Audry de Puyraveau. The Chamber of Deputies was asked for permission to have the two members called to the bar of the Peers. This led to debates in the Lower Chamber and angry allocutions.

Those who occupied the Republican gallery or tribune could not refrain from joining in the agitation and

giving noisy proof of it. The tribune was in consequence ordered to be cleared. The Republicans then thronged the outer room, through which the Deputies passed, and engaged in an altercation with some of them. Count Jaubert, who had moved the clearing of the tribune, was insulted, and even blows were exchanged. The *Réformateur* published an account of it, with a title insulting to the Deputies. Summoned to the bar, the manager was condemned to fine and imprisonment. The Chamber of Peers was equally severe to the authors of the calumniatory letter. Cormenin and Audry de Puyraveau had neither written nor signed it. The advocate Michel de Bourges had drawn it up, and Trelat had dictated it, adding certain signatures; the Peers condemned both to fine and imprisonment, Trelat was to be confined for three years.

This kind of civil war between the insurgents of April and the House of Peers, who sought to try them, was interrupted by the escape of twenty-eight of the most violent and most inculpated of the prisoners from St. Pélagie. They had excavated a subterranean passage into the garden of a neighbouring street. Cavaignac, Guinard, and Marrast were amongst those who recovered their freedom. They thus braved the judges and the Government with success. This enabled the Peers to pass judgment on the rest. The most severe sentence was that of transportation; capital punishment was not asked or awarded against any.

Under such circumstances and with such a determination, it is difficult to contemplate even seriously the tragical laments and declarations poured forth by the friends of the accused. They were fairly tried and leniently treated, and if pity is to be awakened, it is for the King and Government, which they first sought to destroy, and then succeeded in worrying and defeating, without in the least deciding the relative merits of monarchy and republic. It is plain that whatever

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party or opinion is in possession of power has a right to defend it, and with it that degree of public order and security without which liberty is an empty name. Throughout this series of insurrections and trials, the Republicans were the aggressors, and the King's government, whilst victorious in the street, timid and forbearing in repression and punishment. This forbearance too evidently bore the worst fruits. The infuriated turbulence of the enemies of the Government, whilst reaching the highest pitch in the press, in the court-house, and in parliament, durst no longer provoke war in the streets. But the secret societies, and more daring spirits, were merely emboldened to supply the place of insurrection with assassination plots. And these succeeded one another in fearful number. It would be tedious even to enumerate the successive endeavours of embryo assassins. One, however, so outstripped all others by his audacity and the number of lives which he sacrificed, that his attempt soon threw former ones into the shade. The King, who had narrowly escaped being blown up on the road between Neuilly and the Tuileries, had undertaken the review of the National Guard on the anniversary of the Great Three Days, ranged along the boulevards. A change of place for the review would have been wise. For not only the police, but the public, had been warned that a blow was to be struck, and the interminable range of houses looking on the boulevard offered great facilities.

And yet the assassin of the day belonged to no secret society, and scarcely to a political opinion. He was merely a starving desperado, whom two members of the secret Republican societies had certainly taken in hand, and supplied with funds and materials for a work of destruction. What this was appeared when the King, accompanied by his sons, his ministers, his chief officers and functionaries, was traversing the line of National Guards, up the ascent of the Boulevard du Temple. A

flash then broke from a window, and a shower of balls laid some eighteen persons dead, and wounded twenty-two. Amongst the killed were Marshal Mortier, Duc de Trevise, General de Verigny, Colonels Raffé and Rieussec, and Captain de Villate. Several other generals were wounded. Whilst the King continued the review, the police seized the assassin, who was found descending by a cord at the back of the house from whence had come the fire. At the window of his room in this house stood the machine just discharged, consisting of four-and-twenty gun barrels fixed in a wooden frame. Some had burst and cut up the face, hands, and person of the assassin, who was bleeding copiously. His name was discovered to be Fieschi, a Corsican of the worst character, a robber, a ruffian, and a spy. In order to supply his daily wants, rather than from any political motive, he suggested the idea of his infernal machine to a man more fanatic than himself, Morey, a harness-maker. Morey, however willing, was not rich enough to supply the funds necessary for such a machine. He therefore applied to Pepin, a grocer, whose house and shop faced the column of the Place de la Bastille. Pepin belonged to the *Société des Droits de l'Homme*. He tried to get the gun barrels from Cavaignac, who declined furnishing them. Every effort was made to trace the act of Fieschi to the Republican party or societies. They did not succeed. The infamous crime was evidently the work of three or four individuals, of whom Fieschi furnished the audacity, Pepin the money, and Morey the inspiration. Fieschi was ignorance itself; the others little superior to him in intelligence.

But however slightly connected Fieschi and his accomplices had been with any of the factions eternally conspiring, the Government took advantage of the horror caused by this crime to augment their powers of repression. This was done by the passing of laws, one modifying the jury, and allowing a bare majority of

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juries to pass sentence, another giving the courts power to deal with recalcitrant prisoners. The third was directed against the press, which at the time undoubtedly indulged not merely in professions of republicanism but in admiration of regicide, or at least of the heroic character of those who perpetrated it. Morey as well as Alibaud were often depicted as political martyrs. Articles prompting to insurrection, to the destruction of the government, throwing contempt on the King, or making professions of adherence to pretenders or republicans, attacks upon property or on the sanctity of an oath—all these were made subject to new and heavy penalties. *Déportation*, proving more a name and a threat than a practical punishment, was expressly set down as the fit penalty for political crimes. The journals, too, were restricted in their reports of trials for sedition or treason. Their caution money was increased, as well as the responsibility of the *gérant*. They were compelled to publish rectifications or contradictions of their own statements, if required. Concerts or theatrical representations were forbidden unless previously authorised. It is to be regretted that such laws, instead of being introduced by the Government, as necessary to meet a certain situation, and to maintain the public security in an epoch of turbulence and disorder—it is a pity that, instead of passing such laws as exceptional, and for the time, they were defended as good and permanent portions of the constitution, and as if the war between the Orleans dynasty and the press was to endure for ever, instead of being the result of passing circumstances or personal antagonism. This was certainly not a strengthening of the monarchy in public opinion, but directly the reverse. One is thus not surprised to find the veteran Royer Collard raising his voice against the press laws of September.

Although the Chamber voted these laws by large majorities still, upon calmer reflection, many even

of the Conservatives began to be more and more persuaded that the policy of repression and resistance, however it might triumph over sedition and insurrection, would not succeed in eradicating the spirit from which these troubles emanated. This policy of resistance was considered to be especially represented by the Doctrinaires. That party predominated in the ministry. The Duc de Broglie held the foreign office and the presidency of the council. Were his foreign policy eminently successful, his conservatism, and that of his friends at home, might have been covered and compensated by his success abroad; but the Duc de Broglie was not conciliatory, and the results of his management of the foreign office were that the Eastern powers were more inimical than ever, whilst the bonds of alliance with England were not drawn closer. During 1834 the sovereigns of the East had met at Töplitz. They menaced Switzerland; they occupied and destroyed the independence of Cracow; they were emboldened to this by the coldness that existed between the governments of France and England. Prince Talleyrand had proposed to knit the alliance of the countries more closely. The Duc de Broglie had refused; he and Lord Palmerston differed, and more than differed, with respect to Greece, and with respect to Spain. Lord Palmerston recommended the new dynasties to lean on popular support and liberal ideas; Guizot and De Broglie preached abroad what they practised at home, the doctrine of resistance. England and France thus scarcely agreed, and the Eastern powers took the advantage to bully and to taunt.

The press did not fail to expatiate upon all this; and when the Chamber met again at the close of 1835, the majority began to regard ministers with less satisfaction. The *Tiers parti* carried the elections of president and vice-president. An amendment in favour of Poland was introduced into the address despite the government. At a moment when the ministry thus stood before the

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Chamber shaken in strength, M. Humann, who was at the head of the finances, in his statement of the annual budget, announced, to the surprise of his colleagues, as well as the Chamber, his intention to reduce the Five per Cents in a year's time; the minister deemed that this adjournment allowed him to dispense with the consent of his colleagues on this subject; the Five per Cents were above par. He saw no objections to the scheme or its announcement.

The latter, however, was a very unpopular act, at least in Paris. The funds, especially the stock to be reduced, were the favourite investments of the small traders. Of a quarter of a million of holders, nine-tenths did not receive on an average more than 40*l.* annual interest; other funds and investments were not then, as they since have become, abundant. The King was much opposed to a measure so distasteful to the middle class. The Doctrinaires agreed with him, and M. Humann resigned; the Chamber, however, was more influenced by country interests than by town ones. It was, moreover, in a bad humour with the Doctrinaires, and it voted, against them, that M. Humann's proposal, instead of being set aside, should be taken into consideration.

The vote overthrew the cabinet. And it was evident that the *Tiers parti* could alone succeed to it. M. Thiers was for the moment the natural head of that party, and the ball thus came to his hands. He was reluctant indeed to accept it, aware that he could count upon the support but of a fourth of the Chamber. No competitor, to be sure, could boast the command of more than a fraction. But still fractions in opposition always contrive to come together, and at last to form a majority. M. Thiers, however, ended by accepting, and on the 22nd of February, 1836, the following ministry was announced:—

Thiers, foreign minister and president of the council;

Montalivet, home office; Sauzet, chancellor; Passy, commerce; Pelet, public instruction; Marshal Maison, war; Admiral Duperré, marine; D'Argout, finance.

One of the chief causes of the failure of the great experiment of constitutional government under the House of Orleans was the splitting, rather than the division, of parliamentary parties into fragments, scarcely differing or distinguishable, one from the other. The Doctrinaires, indeed, through the mouth of M. Guizot, talked more loudly of the necessity of resistance and repression than others. But M. Thiers was not a whit less vigorous or animated against republicans and *émeutes*. Count Molé formed a third shade, of which it required glasses highly magnifying to distinguish the difference. Dupin, indeed, denounced the Doctrinaires, and Thiers kept himself apart from them, and the line between them was discernible to the politician who frequented Chamber and saloons. But the great and remote public was unable to discover this distinction; and to them the changes and alternations of government and ministry resembled those of a pack of cards in the hands of a patient and skilful dealer. It is needless to say that Louis-Philippe was considered the adroit dealer of the pack, Thiers, Guizot, Molé, and others forming the court cards, which he turned up successively, playing his own game all the time. No doubt there was a great deal of injustice in all this, both to the King and to his ministers. But such, unfortunately, was the impression. These first-rate intellects were thus expending their genius in the vainest disputes with each other, and gaining small triumphs, whilst they were every day losing popularity and real influence, and isolating the monarchy with them from the middle and humble classes, which in a turbulent country like France must finally award power.

There was more the pretence than the reality of a difference between Thiers and Guizot in domestic policy. And yet the debates were fierce. On the ques-

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tion of the secret funds, the younger Doctrinaires indulged in an acerbity of accusation against M. Thiers, which they could not have exceeded if Barrot or Laffitte had taken office. Such debates are not worth recording. They tormented the new monarchy without strengthening or amending it. But the turn which affairs took in Spain, and the necessity of meeting, if not remedying, them, drove the Thiers Cabinet upon a rock more formidable than one of political rivalry or parliamentary opposition.

The first effects of the Quadruple Alliance had been eminently successful in the Peninsula. A little fleet manned by English sailors, under an English admiral, annihilated the navy of Don Miguel.* A Spanish general entered Portugal, and reduced Don Miguel in Lisbon. Don Carlos was surrounded, and had no other alternative than to surrender. At the moment the Spanish government sent supplications to the English and French government authorities not to allow Don Carlos to receive his liberty without some formal stipulations that he would not make use of it to disturb once more the peace of the Peninsula. Too magnanimous or careless to listen to such a demand, the powers allowed Don Carlos to go free. He made the use of his liberty which the Spanish government had foreseen, and, quitting London, traversed France and its capital, and subsequently the Pyrenees, to enthrone himself in the midst of his insurrectionary army in Navarre.

A fairer ground for demanding the armed intervention of France and England, in order to repair the fault they had committed, could not have been imagined. And the demand was accordingly made, made too by England in a way that implicated France but to a very limited degree in the struggle of the Peninsula. Lord Palmerston

* Napier's War in Portugal. The Portuguese official accounts of the naval battle make no mention of either English admiral or English sailors.

(March 1836) merely proposed that the French should occupy Passages, Fonterabia, and the valleys wherein the Pretender found especial refuge. A difference, however, had arisen between the French and English governments as to the march of affairs in Spain. By means of one popular manifestation or another, power had in that country descended from the party of pure royalism to that of enlightened despotism: from this again to moderate constitutionalism. From Martinez the ministerial sceptre had passed to Toreno, and from Toreno to Mendizabal. The sole cause was that each successive government proved unequal to cope with the insurrection. None had power over the army, or the good fortune to find a capable general. Zumalacarreguy had either beaten or eluded every one sent against him. In such circumstances, the people and indeed all Spain clamoured for a change, and at last for a change from the moderate royal statute of Martinez to the old constitution of 1812, which had at least animated the military resistance to Napoleon.

French intervention would, no doubt, have stopped this downward progress of Spanish politics. Supported by the presence and aid of a French army north of the Ebro, the moderate Constitutionalists would have held their ground. So thought M. Thiers, who regretted not having accepted the first demand of Lord Palmerston, insisting on a large amount of aid, though not a direct intervention. France was to recruit its foreign legion to 6,000 men, and to allow General Bugeaud to take the command, whilst a force similarly raised in England would bring a large auxiliary force to the Spanish government.

Although the King did not think fit to oppose this measure, he was still much averse to it. He objected pertinaciously to engage France irrevocably in the struggle of Spanish parties. The reasons which His Majesty assigned were the increasing prevalence of the

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democratic party in Madrid, the danger and expense of employing a large portion of the French army beyond the Pyrenees, when so much enmity existed on the part of Russia, if not of other powers, to France. These considerations may have had their weight with the King, but there was another more present to his mind and more influential at the time. This was his desire to find for the Duke of Orleans a wife amongst the princesses of the great reigning powers, which would not only add to the stability of his dynasty but perhaps win over to him one of the great Eastern powers. It was to an Austrian alliance that Louis-Philippe looked, to a daughter of the Archduke Charles, the Archduchess Theresa. One of the recommendations of M. Thiers to the King as foreign minister was that he inclined to Austria, and apparently adopted Prince Talleyrand's policy of an alliance with that power.

Nothing could be more distasteful to the court of Vienna than the interference of France in Spanish and Italian politics. What Prince Metternich most objected to was the alliance between France and England for the propagation of Liberal, or what he called revolutionary, systems of government. The King felt at once that, to succeed in the matter of the Austrian match, it was necessary to refrain from active intervention in Spain, and even to show that the bonds with England were somewhat loose. M. Thiers could not agree to this. He had already made sacrifices to Austrian friendship. He had refrained from uttering a protest against the occupation of Cracow, and the confiscation of the independence of that republic. He was prepared, moreover, to evacuate Ancona. But to abandon Spain, which was at France's door, and remote from Austria, to Metternich's superannuated ideas of policy, was more than M. Thiers would contemplate. In this he differed with the King, or rather the King differed with his minister to no purpose. For the court of Vienna, after

playing some time with the French prince, and giving him hopes of an Austrian bride, was at last unable to conceal its repugnance. So that, when the assassin Alibaud, on the 25th of June, 1836, fired a pistol at King Louis-Philippe, standing almost close to his carriage, and filling it with smoke, the Archduke and Duchess seized the opportunity to represent the impossibility of sending another Austrian princess to regicide France.

M. Guizot recounts an attempt of the Russian court to gull the heir to the French throne, and lead him upon a similar fool's errand. The King of Prussia, however, took pity on the family of Orleans, and exerted himself to procure for the Duke a princely wife. Although the lady was but the daughter of the Prince of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, insignificant in territory and power, it still required great efforts on the part of both Prussia and France to bring about the marriage, to which the Czar Nicholas condescended to offer a malicious opposition. Orleanist writers are most jubilant in their success, as if a matrimonial connection with Mecklenburg-Strelitz was a mighty achievement for the King of the Barricades. And so indeed it was from the position which he had assumed in European policy and power.

Early in August 1836, the King determined to get rid of M. Thiers. Talleyrand had been employed to persuade him to abandon the project of intervention, but in vain. But as Thiers was supported by all the cabinet, except Louis-Philippe's particular friend Montalivet, and moreover by the Duke of Orleans, the King hesitated to dismiss him until the revolution in Spain, which forced the hands of the Regent, and impelled her to re-establish the constitution of 1812, gave him full pretext.

Who was to be now prime minister? The Doctrinaires were considered too unpopular. The Duc de

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Broglie was disliked. But an orator like M. Guizot was indispensable to replace Thiers at the tribune, provided the former could be persuaded first not to insist on De Broglie being re-appointed president of the council; secondly, to be contented with inferior influence himself. The Duc de Broglie, indeed, did not care for place, though he felt hurt at being causelessly shelved by the King. The Duc de Broglie being set aside, M. Guizot preferred not to take any leading office himself, lest he should be charged with sharing or inheriting the spoils of his friend. He therefore assumed once more the department of public instruction, whilst his friend Gasparin was appointed home minister. Count Molé became president of the council and minister of foreign affairs. Duchâtel, another Doctrinaire, became minister of finance. So that in truth Molé, although he had the direction of foreign affairs, was really in home questions outvoted by a majority of the cabinet. General Bernard took the war department. But perhaps the most important change was that of Delessert replacing Gisquet as prefect of police, 6th of September, 1836.

M. Thiers, as minister, was a man of action. He took office reluctantly, except for the purpose of doing something, of striking a blow, solving a difficulty, or overcoming an obstacle. M. Guizot, more passive, at least as yet, was for allowing Europe to take care of itself. To sit, to watch, and crush conspiracies and sedition, was his aim, a policy not always leading to glory and success, as was the case with Périer. In 1836 his mission was indeed gone, for the general desire was to blot out and forget sedition rather than provoke or punish it. Count Molé was a statesman of neither action nor repression. He had none of the Quixotism of either. And these formed his recommendation to the King and the Chamber. He commenced with amnestying some sixty persons condemned for political offences. The ex-ministers

of Charles the Tenth were of the number. Polignac alone was obliged to go into exile. A short time after, Charles the Tenth expired in Styria almost forgotten. It was no longer the elder branch of his own family that offered any serious antagonism to Louis-Philippe. It was the Buonapartists who put themselves forward with most zeal to dispute, if not the present, at least the future.

The second son of Hortense and Louis Buonaparte, now the only one, from the death of his elder brother during the Italian troubles, resided in Switzerland, and gathered in its artillery school such knowledge as schools can give of military science. The tone of several Liberal prints and orators, fond of contrasting the military glories of the empire with the reluctance of Louis-Philippe to encounter military risks, had created in the mind of the young prince a belief that he would be more acceptable to the French as a sovereign than a prince of the house of Orleans. At this time an event occurred in Switzerland which threw immense obloquy on Louis-Philippe's government, and aroused the indignation of even moderate Liberals against it. French political refugees abounded there. And the French police, rendered nervous by Alibaud's attempt, felt it necessary to watch them. A person named Conseil was accordingly despatched to Switzerland to worm himself into the confidence of the refugees and discover their secrets. He placed himself in communication with the French envoy at Berne, the Duc de Montebello, received from him a passport and certain directions, the Duke undertaking to demand his extradition of the Bernese government, in order to render him, as a proscribed person, a welcome accomplice amongst the Republicans. They were, however, too wary, watched Conseil, and, enticing him to a secret rendezvous, managed by violent threats to make him confess his true character. They then denounced him to the Bernese government, and proved their denunciation by the papers they had seized on Conseil, this at the very

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time that the Duc de Montebello was demanding the banishment of his own spy. The Vorort, as the presiding canton was called, took the most severe revenge possible; it rendered the whole affair public, brought it before the Diet, and charged the Duc de Montebello with his duplicity. Count Molé, accused in the Chamber with having instigated such proceedings, threw the blame on his predecessor. Whereupon M. Thiers rose to admit that he had certainly been prime minister at the time of Conseil's mission, but he was not consulted, and knew nothing on the subject. Thus the odium of commissioning this wretched spy, although but the error of Montalivet and the police minister, fell directly upon the King.

The clamour was loud in Switzerland, and greatly encouraged young Louis Buonaparte to try if he could not with his more popular name overthrow what he deemed an unpopular monarch. Fixing his residence at Baden, he easily put himself into communication with the officers of the Strasburg garrison. Of these he gained over Vaudrey, the colonel of an artillery regiment, Commandant Parquin, and some other officers. Vaudrey commanded in the arsenal. In concert with them, Louis Buonaparte made his appearance in Strasburg on the morning of the 30th of October, 1836, and addressed a regiment of artillery drawn up on purpose by the colonel. The Prince was at once welcomed by them, and marched at their head to the quarters of the governor of the town, General Voirol. He resisted, and had to be kept prisoner. The military conspiracy succeeded wherever there was artillery or engineers quartered. The common infantry soldier was by no means so advanced, as the French Liberals would say, by perusing the journals, and taking a military view of the politics of the day. There was consequently some hesitation when the Prince made his way to a regiment of the line quartered in the Finkmat barracks. Some

indeed received him with open arms, and shouted, *Vive l'Empereur*. But others showed themselves unprepared for a movement so sudden, and even doubted that the personage before them was the nephew of the Emperor. In consequence, the infantry took up a hostile position to the artillerymen who accompanied the Prince, and being infinitely more numerous, the latter was soon seized and arrested. His companions prepared to resist, but Louis-Napoleon refused. In having failed to carry with him the infantry, he had lost all chance of success.

The Prince was accordingly a prisoner to the as great embarrassment of the government as of himself. The council of ministers soon met. Count Molé had been the minister of Napoleon. He could not be the executioner of his nephew. Louis-Philippe himself was generous and humane. It was at once resolved to hurry off the captive from Strasburg to a seaport, and put him on board a vessel bound for America. By Louis-Philippe's order, 6,000*l.* were placed in the Prince's hands on embarking lest he should find himself unprovided in a distant land.

To the annoyance of this affair, however well it turned out, and to the clamour raised by the discovery of the character of the spy Conseil, came to be added a military reverse. Marshal Clausel entertained very large ideas on the subject of conquering and occupying Algeria. The first step to it was the reduction of Constantine. M. Thiers, as usual, favoured such enterprising policy, but Count Molé's government was opposed to it altogether. It would not indeed countermand the expedition to Constantine, but denying a reinforcement, simply allowed the Marshal to undertake it with the force he had at his disposal, on his own risk and responsibility. Clausel, seeing his tenure of command about to expire, was tempted to at least achieve something ere he departed, and marched to attack Constantine with very

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insufficient force. He arrived in sight of the fortress, but only to find it impregnable, and to beat his own retreat with considerable loss and no small disgrace (November 1836).

Such were the misfortunes of the Molé cabinet in the latter end of 1836, that year closing with an event still more deplorable than any. Two days after Christmas, as the King was proceeding along the quays to open the session of the Chamber, an assassin fired a pistol at the carriage. It passed between the King and his son, breaking the glass on the opposite side. The assassin was a youth named Meunier, excited more by the kind of foolish mania for the notoriety of regicide existing in certain classes than by any secret society or formidable plot. He was so insignificant indeed that capital punishment was commuted in his case for exile.

The inference drawn from the act was that the proposed moderation of the *Tiers parti* was as little calculated to stay the hands of assassins as the repressive policy of the Doctrinaires. These, in consequence, made their views predominant in the cabinet. And when, after Meunier's attempt, the juries of Strasburg acquitted Colonel Vaudrey and the other accomplices of Louis Buonaparte, they resolved to propose some additions to the repressive laws of September. According to Louis Blanc, Count Molé proposed to bring in a law allowing the government to remove such personages as it should deem suspicious or dangerous from the capital. This, however arbitrary, had the advantage of not applying any severe punishment, and of at the same time being a law of temporary rigour. The Doctrinaires objected to it, and proposed other measures much more objectionable. One was a law of non-revelation, punishing those who became cognisant of plots or conspiracies, without revealing them. It is needless to point out how this savoured of the Draconic code which the Convention and the Committee of Public Safety enforced. Another,

called the Law of Disjunction, ordaining separate trials for civilians and military men, though accused of the same acts of treason, sending the latter to a court-martial. This was vehemently opposed by jurists, especially by M. Dupin, as subversive of the rule and spirit of the French code. A third law fixed upon the Isle of Bourbon as the place to which prisoners condemned to *déportation* should be sent. Although Count Molé allowed these measures to be presented by his cabinet, he was known not to approve of them. It was remarked that during the discussion of the military code on a former occasion he had spoken against the principle of disjunction. The odium fell therefore exclusively upon the Doctrinaires. As if, however, these laws of rigour were not unpopular enough, there were presented with them at the same time two others calculated, at least one of them, to provoke a large share of criticism and opposition. These were the demand of a million francs as the dowry of the Queen of the Belgians; the other the grant of Rambouillet, its palace and forests, to the Duke of Nemours, second son of the King.

The most damaging reproach to the King, that which rendered him unpopular not merely with the lower but the middle classes, was his supposed avarice. It was upon this charge that M. de Cormenin amassed his figures and his pamphlets, which the Intendant of the Civil List, Montalivet, ought to have refuted by statements as full and as plain. But one of the faults of Louis-Philippe's supporters was they knew not how to make use of publicity and the press. Louis-Philippe was no miser. The state of his affairs, rendered public after 1848, shows that he was in debt, not in hoarded affluence, and the penury of his descendants in exile proves how unfounded was the imputation of greed. But he had the credit of being a miser. Yet, had the government proposed a suitable allowance for the Duke

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of Nemours, it would not have been refused. But the King insisted on a grant in perpetuity of the royal estate and palace of Rambouillet, and, what was worse, the valuation of the property, as officially represented, was far beneath its actual worth.* All these causes rendered the rejection of the proposed dotation inevitable.

The disjunction law came forth for discussion, and led to a prolonged and animated debate. M. Guizot fully depicts his own situation before the Chamber, when he says that his friends dissuaded him from speaking lest even his eloquence should render the law more unpopular and more unlikely to pass. It was in fact lost by two votes. To the reason which M. Guizot himself gives for his not speaking, his friend, the home minister Gasparin, added that of incapacity. He was unable to defend either himself or his law. Count Molé immediately insisted on his being replaced. To this M. Guizot consented on the sole condition that Gasparin should be succeeded in the home office by himself. Count Molé objected. A ministerial crisis thus took place in the first days of April, 1837.

The King immediately requested M. Guizot to compose a ministry. He instantly applied to Thiers, who declined; and Count Molé, being then empowered, was not long in forming a cabinet without the Doctrinaires. These, in the persons of Guizot, Gasparin, Persil, and Duchâtel, resigned, and were but poorly replaced by Montalivet, Barthe, Lacave Laplagne, and Salvandy. This was an administration with even less political eminence and oratorical reputation than its predecessor. It excluded the heads of all the parties in the Chamber, thus tempting them to the obvious policy of combining to outvote the government. This, however, could not be done at once; and Count Molé gave no opening for it, as he withdrew the batch of obnoxious laws. Count

* Dupin's Memoirs.

Molé's political merit was indeed a passive one, that of avoiding the faults and extremes of his two great rivals. His mildness in home administration angered Guizot, his inertness in foreign politics disgusted Thiers, his obsequiousness to the King displeased all. But the events of his administration were fortunate, and awakened confidence, especially when contrasted with recent occurrences. The marriage of the Duke of Orleans, and its celebration at Fontainebleau, was the first event under the new ministry, and was a gorgeous fête. A war with Mexico, in which a French fleet, with the Prince de Joinville on board, reduced the Castle of St. Jean d'Ulloa, some success at Buenos Ayres, and still more the triumphant capture of Constantine (October 1837), restored its honour to the French arms. Under favour of the prestige so gained, Count Molé thought he might undo the great act of Casimir Périer, and withdraw the garrison from Ancona. He did so, however, without obtaining reforms or concessions from the Pope, and he thus gave Austria a triumph in Italy which, along with the non-intervention in Spain, displayed the French government and the King in the light of accomplices, rather than antagonists, of the Holy Alliance. Molé thus laid the foundation of his own unpopularity, whilst augmenting that of the King. The Chamber of Deputies showed increasing distrust and ill-humour through the session of 1838. Molé was entreated by his friends to reinforce his ministry by fresh talent. He might at least have done this by admitting Lamartine to the cabinet.* But the King was opposed to change. And rather than make any, he allowed Molé to try what a dissolution of the Chamber would do for him. It did not succeed, introducing into the legislature a number of members new to politics, staunch to no party, but wavering between all.

* Dupin's Memoirs.

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The chief weakness of Count Molé proceeded from the nature of his cabinet, altogether, with the exception of himself, devoid of talent; whilst in face of it were the three great fractions of the Chamber, each led by an able and eminent man. The Right Centre followed M. Guizot; the Left Centre had rallied to M. Thiers, the Left to Odilon Barrot. What maintained, or apparently maintained, Count Molè in presence of such a combination of enemies? The King. His will alone could do it, that will, too, now displayed against an evident majority of hostile parties in the Chamber. Nor was opposition slow to discover the real nature of the obstacle to its wishes. M. Dupin and others did not shrink from discussing the present government of the King, and representing it as unconstitutional. And when on Count Molé's influence declining, the King began to consult other statesmen with regard to the future, he invariably received the same advice from all: Appoint a real president of the council, let him form an administration and govern.

In the commencement of 1839 the coalition appeared in full force. In answer to the Royal speech, Barrot, Thiers, and Guizot, however different their politics, contrived to draw up an address, and to impose it upon the government and the monarch. Objections were expressed to the government that it was not a responsible one, and did not cover the King; those to the foreign policy pursued, signalised the evacuation of Ancona as a weakness, the bullying of Switzerland, to make it eject Louis Buonaparte, an indignity, the compulsion of Belgium to yield to Holland another weakness.

In the discussion which ensued, the followers of the ministry could not fail to taunt the chiefs of opposition with having sacrificed their principles in order to coalesce. M. Guizot replied that, although he attacked the government, he was still a partisan of the *juste*

milieu. The ministry might be considered an extra-parliamentary administration, since it excluded all parliamentary talent and parties, and therefore destroyed that union between the crown and the representative chamber which should constitute the force of both. M. Thiers, who was accused of coalescing to obtain office, replied that it was his opinions on foreign politics which had expelled him from the ministry. He had begun his opposition while in the cabinet. The discussion lasted nearly a fortnight, the ministerial cause being supported almost solely by Count Molé, who was continually rushing to the tribune as to a bastion, from which to repel the several enemies who assailed him on all sides. Present at the animated debate which ensued upon this address, I can bear witness to the readiness, the ability, and at times even the eloquence, which Count Molé displayed in answering at repeated intervals his numerous and powerful aggressors. Lamartine came to his aid, but brilliant as was his oratory, he was looked upon as merely an amateur in politics, and he won far more admiration to himself than adherence to those he supported.

Immediately after the debate, Count Molé and his cabinet resigned. The King applied to Marshal Soult, who naturally could not succeed in amalgamating the scattered fragments of opposition into a ministry. The King then bade Molé try again, who had the hardihood and imprudence to dissolve the Chamber once more. A majority not having sprung from this, Louis-Philippe succumbed to the Coalition. It became necessary for them to form an administration.

The difficulties in the way of the triumphant majority in performing such a task were great. The Coalition had their chiefs, one of each faction, but no common head. In other circumstances, a nominal head, such as a marshal not overskilled in politics, might have sufficed. But one of the great grievances put forward by the

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coalition was the absence of a real president of the council of ministers. And such a personage, were he to be found, could scarcely content the three discordant parties, which had clubbed in opposition. The pretensions of the Left were got over by the decision of choosing Odilon Barrot to be president of the Chamber, instead of giving him a place in the cabinet. The Doctrinaires objected even to this, and demanded the presidency of the Chamber for M. Guizot, and the home ministry for his friend, M. Duchâtel.* There were other difficulties. But these were the chief stumbling-blocks which rendered it impossible to agree. The King increased the difficulty by saying he did not care who were his ministers, provided his system was maintained. "But, sire," observed Dupin, "if you will impose your system upon every ministry, what is the use of changing them?"

The composition of a cabinet composed of all parties having thus failed, the King applied to Marshal Soult to form with M. Thiers a ministry of the Left Centre. Thiers immediately declined unless the mission was entrusted to himself. It was so, and he accepted Soult as president of the council, with Humann and Duperré, belonging to the Right Centre, Dupin, Sauzet, Dufaure, and Passy, of the Left Centre. The list of persons being fixed, M. Thiers drew up a programme of policy, not so much to present to the Chamber as to bind the King. The principal clauses of it were, complete liberty of each minister to name his subordinates without the royal interference. The other was the adoption of the English mode of aiding the constitutional cause in Spain. Louis-Philippe objected to this, but deferred his reply till there should be a general meeting of the new cabinet. It took place on the 21st of March for the purpose of signing the ordonnance and officially

* Dupin's Memoirs.

appointing the ministry. Previous to this, M. Thiers demanded explanations as to the policy to be observed with regard to Spain. Did the King accept the programme? He did not. Louis-Philippe would not hear of French sailors and marines actively aiding the Constitutional Spaniards, as the English had done. Neither would he admit that French vessels should stop ships suspected of conveying arms and aid to the Carlists. To M. Thiers' surprise, the King was supported in this opinion by Soult, Humann, Duperré, and even Passy. Moreover, M. Thiers was prepared to insist that Odilon Barrot should be the ministerial candidate for the presidency of the Chamber. To this also, his colleagues, especially Humann, objected. *Mettez-vous d'accord, messieurs* — "Agree among yourselves, gentlemen," exclaimed the King, dismissing the abortive cabinet.

Louis-Philippe then tried M. Guizot, and he, with Thiers, and the members of the *Tiers parti*, once more stood before the monarch. But Thiers would not abandon Barrot. "Then form a cabinet yourself," said the King. But M. Thiers declined. A week before he might have attempted it, but then the situation was so completely spoiled that success was impossible.

Two days later the King sent to beg M. Thiers to accept an embassy, and thus remove the great obstacle to the formation of a ministry. M. Thiers refused the proposal of "salaried exile."

The period had not only arrived but was past for assembling the Chamber. It was impossible longer to delay. A provisional ministry was therefore formed on the last day of March (1837), consisting of Gasparin, Girod, Cubières, the Duc de Montebello. The session was immediately opened, and it became necessary to elect a president of the Chamber. This was evidently to be a trial of strength between parties. M. Thiers insisted on his friends voting for Odilon Barrot. The Doctrinaires shrank from putting one of their own party in opposition

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to him. But they agreed to vote for a member of the Left Centre, M. Passy. The latter was chosen by 223 votes against 193.

The result of this vote was that, after another trial of Marshal Soult, M. Passy was empowered by the King to form a ministry. That gentleman composed a list chiefly of the Left Centre, even Dupin accepting. Still it had no prime minister, and Dupin, on this pretext, as well as from the opinion that such a cabinet would not command a majority, subsequently withdrew his adhesion.

It was now approaching the middle of May, the ministerial interregnum having commenced with the New Year. Not only the Chamber became importunate but the public, whilst the Republicans began to think the opportunity too favourable for an *émeute* not to be taken advantage of. The history of the secret societies set on foot and maintained in Paris, not by any great number, but by a certain portion of obstinate and audacious spirits, would make, and indeed has made, an interesting volume.* The leading conspirators, such as Barbès and Blanqui, adroit as they were as miners, were countermined by Gisquet, the able though unscrupulous prefect of police. The Doctrinaires objected to him, and he was replaced by a gentleman of fortune and character, Delessert, most unfit to burrow in the earth in search of conspirators. Gisquet had broken up the *Sociétés des Familles*, and discovered their grand depôt of powder, with about 200,000 cartouches. The conspirators were condemned to different terms of imprisonment. Count Molé's amnesty opened their prison doors, and they forthwith formed a new society, that *des Saisons*, with Martin Bernard at their head, Barbès and Blanqui his associates.

Resolving to take advantage of the suspension of the government, there being no ministry, and Delessert no longer pursuing them with the sagacity of Gisquet, the

* De la Hodde, Histoire des Sociétés secrètes.

conspirators of the *Saisons* fixed upon the 12th of May, Sunday, for an *émeute*. Six hundred of the conspirators, the entire Republican party, collected about 2 o'clock in the Rue Bourg l'Abbé. They began by pillaging an armourer's shop, and then the word of command came to march upon the police post at the Palais de Justice. At this order half the conspirators evaporated. The rest follow Barbès, attack the post; the officer commanding it is shot, and the post occupied. The attack was then directed against the Prefecture of Police, into which the insurgents failed to penetrate. But the Hôtel de Ville, occupied by merely a few National Guards, was captured. The insurgents afterwards proceeded to seize the different *Mairies*, which caused the band to separate. Sent to make themselves masters of a post at the Place St. Jean, the insurgents met with no success, and consequently fell back into the network of intricate streets in the quarter St. Méry. Here they flung up barricades, when towards the evening the National Guards and Line were brought against them. The barricades were immediately carried at the point of the bayonet, not without loss of life. The insurgents were defeated, and Barbès, badly wounded, taken. Bernard was captured afterwards, as well as Blanqui, and condemned to different degrees of imprisonment. Barbès was condemned to death, which was, of course, commuted.*

Whilst the noise of musketry was heard from the eastern quarter of the city, it occurred to Marshal Soult that this was a good opportunity for his putting together a cabinet. His sword was the best ministerial sceptre in times of popular tumult. It was the more easy to carry his design into effect as most persons hastened at such a moment to the Tuileries. Soult proposed, not to the chiefs of the Coalition, but to their seconds, to join him in a ministry, the perils of the monarch serving all as an excuse for accepting. Thus Soult became

* Louis Blanc, Histoire de Dix Ans.

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president of the council and minister of foreign affairs; Duchâtel, home minister; Passy, finance; Villemain, public instruction; Dufaure, public works; Cunin-Gridaine, commerce; Teste, justice; Schneider and Dupin, war and marine. This was a ministry of precisely the same kind as Count Molé's, save that it would lie between Right and Left Centre, and combine several members of both.

This was apparently a signal triumph for the King. The coalition was not only broken up but its leaders punished. All were left out of the ministry, with reputations certainly not augmented by what they had done; and yet by defeating his adversaries, Louis-Philippe really defeated himself. For if there were some points that he gained by having a weak ministry, there were others that he lost; and above all he confirmed a great cause of his unpopularity, the idea that he intended to keep the government in his own hands for his own purposes. One of the effects of the victory of the King over the parliamentary coalition was a general dissatisfaction, not only with the ministry, but with the representative Chamber. It was accused of being too narrow, of being divided into factions moved by personal rivalry and interest, without a great principle or conviction to guide it. The difference between the parties in the Chamber was in fact nothing. It required ingenuity to make them or to state them. The remedy solemnly proposed for them was *Reform*, electoral reform.

It was a terrible word, which proved big with the future of the Orleans monarchy. Not so much that it was in itself fatal or even inimical, but that the monarch and his conservative faction regarded it from a narrow and false point of view, and, by obstinately resisting it, offended not the people so much as the larger and lower portion of the middle class itself. Numbers of the citizens of the National Guard, who exposed their

lives in storming the barricades erected by the Republicans, did not pay the direct or patent tax in sufficient amount to entitle them even to vote for legislators. To refuse them such a boon was on the part of the King and his councillors little short of madness. For the citizens thus mistrusted became hostile or indifferent. If the throne of July was to subsist, it must be by the support of the great and broad industrial and middle class, and by keeping it together at any price or with any concession. Neither the King with all his acuteness nor the Doctrinaires with all their talent could see this. They were unfortunately biassed and incensed against the very cry for reform by the circumstance of Legitimists and Republicans having been the first to raise it. They did not perceive that *reform*, of that moderate degree which would have satisfied the middle class, was a concession to them, and not to the extremes, and that the blank refusal of it would lead to the formidable alliance of anti-dynastic parties with numbers of citizens who had been hitherto attached to the Orleans family.

The French history of 1839 might be written without any mention of its colourless cabinet. The year was signalised nevertheless by the memorable result of the dispersion of the Carlist force and expulsion of the Pretender. A Spanish general, who had commanded in South America, contrived to infuse fresh spirit into the Queen's armies. He was aided in this by the presence of an English legion under General Evans, and by the ready support which the vessels of the British navy and its marines gave to the constitutional cause. The result of these joint operations was completely to crush the Carlist insurrection in Biscay, and capture Bilbao, the capital. The Pretender's court and forces being thus confined to Navarre and straitened in every way, dissensions broke out amongst those around his person. His commander-in-chief, Maroto, took the received mode practised by his party for getting rid of

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his rivals. He seized and shot them. And naturally despairing after that of leading a successful insurrection, he capitulated and signed with Espartero the convention of Bergara, surrendering his army and the province on condition that their persons would be respected. Don Carlos, who was no party to this convention, took refuge in France, and was made to take up his residence at Bourges.

This success in the aim of the quadruple alliance was unfortunately far from producing increased accord or amity between England and France. Espartero had triumphed by the active aid of England and by the sufferance of France. That general, too, belonged to the Liberal and Constitutional party, and determined to support it, whilst the French government favoured the designs and efforts of the Regent Christina to shake off the influence of the patriots, and recur to what the Tuileries prized above all things, a policy of resistance.

The French government, and especially Count Molé, was not only jealous of England's favour with the Liberal party and preference for it, but in constant terror lest a Liberal commercial treaty should be concluded between England and Spain. The French ministers would do nothing of the kind for France. Prohibition and protection were their principles. When Lord Palmerston complained of this, M. Guizot showed how impossible it was to act otherwise. The wealthy landed interest in France was opposed to the house of Orleans, whilst the great manufacturing and monied class universally rallied to it. They were strongly interested in a policy of protection, and it was impossible to expect that the ministers of Louis-Philippe should offend by their commercial policy the men who chiefly befriended and supported them.* These arguments and admissions of M. Guizot show more

* Memoirs of Guizot, chap. xxviii.

strongly than aught else could, how completely the King and his politicians allowed their power to be based upon the support of one class, excluding the grand interests of the people, French Conservatives even shrinking from the narrow English franchise.

This conversation M. Guizot held with Lord Palmerston on his arriving as French ambassador in London. The views of Louis-Philippe were no longer those which he entertained when he sent Talleyrand first, and then Sebastiani, to England. The French King evidently desired to draw closer his connection with the powers of the East, a tendency which was no sooner perceived at the English foreign office * than Lord Palmerston was prompted to retaliate by taking the same direction. M. Guizot, however, was expressly sent over to negotiate upon the affairs of the East. It was this upon which the two governments finally split, and as the quarrel became a new starting point for France in its general policy, its history and development shall be reserved for another chapter.

The Soult ministry had but a very small majority. In the presidential election, the Left having proclaimed M. Thiers as its candidate, in imitation of the manœuvres of the Doctrinaires in putting forward and voting for Passy, the Centres set up Sauzet as his competitor, and the latter succeeded by 213 against 206 votes. A majority of seven was a sorry one for a ministry to embark with. Nevertheless the government obtained by a much larger majority the vote of the secret funds, considered one of confidence. A new edition of the amnesty followed, which allowed Cavaignac and Marrast to return to France, and resume the lead of the Republican party. Strangely enough the government imagined to oppose to it an expression of at least reverence for the manes of Napoleon. England was asked to give up

* See the conversation between M. Guizot and Lord Palmerston in the Memoirs of the former.

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his remains. Lord Palmerston smiled when the question was put to him. It was as much as to say, You Orleanists don't know what you are doing. The request was, however, readily granted, and the ashes of Napoleon were brought to repose under the dome of the Invalides. The government had not only meditated a splendid mausoleum for Napoleon but an equestrian statue in a public place. For these two objects they asked of the Chamber a vote of 80,000*l*. The Deputies thought the mausoleum sufficient, and granted half a million francs. Louis-Philippe, nevertheless, completed his generous design by replacing the statue of the Emperor on the column of the Place Vendôme, from whence the allies had precipitated it.

One of the principal topics brought forward during 1839 was the proposed railways. It is generally reported that the first years of Louis-Philippe's reign were marked by great prosperity, great extension of commerce and of capital, and consequent corruption. How exaggerated were such statements was soon seen when it was necessary to find capital for the execution of railways. Money or its savings, gathered up in England in large reservoirs, were at that time in France dispersed, scant, and suspicious. Agriculturists would trust their savings to nothing but land, citizens to nothing but the funds. Subscriptions even to the most promising railroads were wanting, and the state was either obliged to undertake them itself or to encourage them with loans, or guarantees of interest. Another recourse that rendered the holders of money more wary, and that ought not to be overlooked, was the demand of the government for a large sum to be expended in warlike and especially naval preparations. This announced the Eastern question as fraught with danger, and quite forbade contributions to works of peace. But although these symptoms alarmed the French, they did not deter the English from engaging their money in France, and

to their aid and engineers was indeed due the completion of the first great railroad—that to Rouen.

The parliamentary session of 1840, which opened during the Christmas of the preceding year, did not display at first any spirit hostile to the ministry which Marshal Soult had put together. The opposition of the Left put forward the necessity of parliamentary reform, by at least conferring the franchise upon all citizens included in the second list of the jury. This included the whole educated class, as well as all members of municipalities. That so small and reasonable a demand should be resisted appears marvellous. M. Dupin makes a distinction between electoral and parliamentary reform, and declares the former as requisite and just, whilst the latter, aiming at the expulsion of all functionaries, including ministers from the Chamber, he denounces as fanatic and impracticable demagogy. The reform question was not, however, as yet made even the subject of a motion; the Liberals, in fact, merely opened the breaches for that eventually formidable attack.

But whatever might menace government or dynasty for the future seemed so little imminent for the present that M. Guizot at this time accepted the embassy to London, in order to direct his attention and talent to the negotiations respecting the East, regarding which there seemed to be little difference between parties in France, however ill accordant all were with the views of England. At the same time was announced to the Chamber the marriage of the Duc de Nemours to the Princess of Saxe-Coburg-Cohary. For the maintenance of the Prince the government no longer proposed Rambouillet or any hereditary appanage. It merely asked 20,000*l.* a year, with 12,000*l.* a year for the Princess if she survived her husband. The demand was referred to a commission, and the required documents furnished to it, and it concluded for the grant of the annuity demanded. Opposition was not idle. M. de Cormenin

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came out with one of his virulent pamphlets. One of the members of the commission complained that the documents furnished were not complete. And when it was proposed to render these documents public, and thus reveal the entire state of the King's fortune, the government opposed the demand, and publicity was not granted.

This was ill-judged. The whole truth, as it afterwards came out, would have shown the King by no means so overflowing with wealth as the public supposed and his foes asserted. But the general opinion was that, with his large private fortune added to the public domains, and his 500,000*l.* sterling of civil list, the King possessed means sufficient to endow his children, numerous as they were. Subsequent accounts attempt to prove rather too much, viz. that the public domain occasioned more expense than it brought in receipts, whilst the private property of the Orleans family came to be estimated at only 40,000*l.* a year. Had such facts been fully and openly established in 1840 the Chamber could not have refused the dotation demanded for the Duc de Nemours.

Certain incidents that marked the debate made a most unfavourable impression. One was a declaration of Laffitte, that the annual income, set down as accruing from the forest of Breteuil, which the King had purchased from him, was egregiously underrated. No sufficient answer was made to this assertion of Laffitte. So that in the division which immediately followed there appeared 226 votes negativing the dotation, against 200 that approved.

The vote of February 20th, 1840, which the ministry had brought on themselves by their want of truth and foresight, completely prostrated them. Marshal Soult resigned. Public and parliamentary opinion pointed out Thiers as his successor. And the recent settlement of the Spanish question removed the chief obstacle to

his appointment. In the fractioned state of the Chamber, M. Thiers was far from grasping at office. And he at first proposed taking the foreign department himself, and leaving the presidency of the council still in the hands of the Marshal. On Soult's refusal, he made a similar proposal to the Duc de Broglie; the chief cause of M. Thiers' hesitation was due to the evident displeasure and dislike of the King, who could not but feel that the vote negativing his son's dotation, in which Thiers and the coalition had joined, was a personal outrage, and who felt, moreover, that M. Thiers was far too warlike and too spirited. His acceptance of the new cabinet he styled his humiliation,* and he had no sooner done so than he looked towards M. Guizot to have a more agreeable ministry ready in case Thiers should stumble. Yet the new premier introduced into his cabinet two staunch friends of the Doctrinaires, Rémusat and Jaubert, the former, too, occupying the important position of home minister. M. Thiers promised the Doctrinaires that, however desirous of gaining the adhesion of the Left, he would at all events refuse two things they demanded, viz. electoral reform and the dissolution. The other colleagues of M. Thiers belonged to the Left Centre. Vivien became minister of justice, Cousin minister of public instruction, Cubières and Roussin ministers of war and marine. Pelet took the finances, and Ganneron commerce. Billault became one of the under-secretaries.

Such was the ministry which had for its chief task to negotiate with England and the other powers of Europe the settlement of the Eastern question, which at the moment absorbed the interests of all.

* Guizot's Memoirs.

CHAPTER XLVII.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE TO *HIS FALL.*

1840—1848.

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THE first half of Louis-Philippe's reign, which we have just concluded, was marked on the whole by rare prudence and signal success, the result of political sagacity, as well as good fortune. Much, or indeed all of this, was at the time attributed to the wisdom of the monarch, who was likened, not unaptly, to Ulysses. And yet, during the first years of his reign, which were those of his success, the will of Louis-Philippe was continually crossed and frequently overborne by his statesmen or his Chambers. In the last half of his reign, on the contrary, Louis-Philippe made his ideas more completely prevail, by setting aside inexorably the views and the men which displeased him. Yet this period, during which he was entirely master, was no longer marked by the same success or the same dignity. Enemies and obstacles gathered and rose against his throne, without his being able to either remove or conciliate them. The basis, too, on which his throne and his influence were founded grew narrower as years rolled on. The entire middle class at first supported him, all of the lower ranks of life, save a few, remaining indifferent. As his reign advanced, adherents everywhere, save in the official world, fell off, and began to dislike and to mistrust, when they did not rebel.

Speculative writers* have described the Restoration

* Louis Blanc.

as a struggle of the middle class against a government which attempted to restore the aristocracy, and was supported by the class which pretended to form it. The reign of Louis-Philippe is thus characterised as a struggle between the victorious middle class, or *bourgeoisie*, and the labouring ranks beneath them. Nothing can be more incorrect or calculated to lead to more error than such classifications. Charles the Tenth was overthrown by the resistance of the Chamber of Deputies, elected by the highest tax-payers. He was in fact abandoned by that very class which is represented as having upheld him. In the same way the people, which until the 27th of July, 1830, took little part in the overthrow of the elder Bourbons, were almost as uninfluential in the ejection of the Orleans. Every attempt based upon popular insurrection had been put down. From 1840 to 1847, Louis-Philippe, whilst he continued to keep true to him the majority of a Chamber elected by the highest tax-payers, contrived to array in enmity almost all parliamentary and press talent. The *bourgeoisie* split into as many opinions as the nation, its wealthy capitalists still upholding the policy of resistance, whilst poorer and professional citizens, constituting the majority of the *bourgeoisie*, repudiated it. In this, far from being antagonistic with the people or the labouring class, the middle ranks completely sympathised with them, or at least with those limited numbers which formed the thinking portion of the people. All theories which here draw marked and definite lines between classes, and ascribe separate interests and action to each, are mistaken.

The great divisions and antagonism of the time were in no wise between aristocracy, *bourgeoisie*, and people, but between those who conferred or held place and those who were without any such power or privilege. The non-official world, necessarily the larger number, became more and more hostile. The alternative rise

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and fall of parties, incidental to constitutional government, would have gone far to remedy this. But Louis-Philippe was as obstinate as Charles the Tenth in not allowing any such alternation of power. He objected to any minister who would not accept his *system*. And his system at last became concentrated and identified in one statesman, an able and an honest statesman certainly, but one who drew unpopularity and danger upon himself, and consequently upon the King, by his continuous hold of power as well as by his policy. Representative government is a vessel floating upon a strong but ever-changing element. It may at times be constrained to stem the tide, or different means of power and motion may be employed to counterbalance each other, but the attempt to assimilate the vessel to the land, and fix it altogether, is to ignore its nature and condition, and to attempt what is preposterous and impractible. Such however was the *pensée immuable* of Louis-Philippe.

The administration formed by M. Thiers in March 1840, however little to the taste of the King, was the government which might have best consolidated his throne, rallied to it the Constitutional Liberals of the Left, and inaugurated in domestic policy a new era. Although no member of the Liberal party save M. Billaud took office, still Odilon Barrot declared his confidence in the principles and aims of Thiers, the latter boasting the adherence of Barrot. He alluded to the most important though not immediate aim of the Liberals, reform, which no one proposed for *to-day*, whilst no one was bold enough to meet it with an imperative *never*.*

It raises a melancholy smile to read the anxious expressions of M. Guizot, and his anger at the same time, at the mere idea of a French minister ever abating the policy of resistance and repression. As if there

* Debate on the address.

was really any future or any solution to such a policy, or as if persevering in it, for its own sake, could lead to any other termination than disgust, disaffection and rebellion. M. Guizot seems even now to imagine no other attitude for a French statesman than that of St. George riding his rampant steed, and furiously transfixing the dragons of sedition at his feet, as if the dragon was ever killed, or as if St. George, eternally a combatant, was ever a definitive victor.

Foreign questions, however, were soon to efface all others, the turn which affairs took in the Levant, and the character of the ministers charged with directing and deciding them, leading to a total change in the alliance and attitude of European powers. It is idle now, as it was then, to lament that the French nation, far more than statesmen, should have embraced and thereby identified themselves with the cause and the grandeur of Egypt, thereby flinging themselves directly athwart the path which led from England to India, and in flagrant antagonism with English interests. Circumstances more than choice led to this—first the grand expedition to Egypt, then the rise and policy of Mehemet Ali, who made use of French men and French ideas to organise his power, his predilections and policy necessarily attracting him to the nation from which he borrowed them.

In a series of aggressions and triumphs, terminating in 1833, the Egyptian Pacha, having proved his superiority to the Turks, defeated and drove them almost to the Bosphorus. But these victories, instead of rendering Mehemet Ali master of the whole empire, as he would have been were the East left to itself, merely resulted in Russia taking the Sultan and his capital under her protection, whilst Mehemet retained the great portion of the empire east and south of the Taurus. This state of the East, such as the battle of Konieh and the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi had created, was certainly most ruinous

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to the Ottoman empire, which it cut in two, giving one half to the Egyptian Pacha, the other to the Russian Czar.

England played but a secondary part in the negotiations of these years. France alone had influence with Mehemet Ali, and French agents alone induced the Pacha and his son to submit, if that could be called submission which secured to them broad conquests. These conquests placed both the roads between England and India in the hand of the Egyptian Pacha, a ruler avowedly in French interests. At that time the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf were looked to as a passage to India preferable to that through Egypt. But Mehemet Ali stood astride both, a position inimical and menacing to England. In 1839 these considerations had more effect in England than in the years when it was absorbed in its great reforms. Lord Palmerston was in 1839 the leading spirit of the English cabinet; and he could not tolerate the position of Mehemet Ali in Syria. Lord Ponsonby, at Constantinople, was of the same opinion; and he unfortunately urged the Sultan to put an end to it. Mahmoud himself, indeed, was sufficiently prone to rashness, and by indulging in it he merely drew down upon Turkey the terrible defeat of Nezib (June 1839).

The French and English governments at home had not waited for the result of this battle to provide against its consequences. It had been foreseen. Lord Palmerston, representing the British government, M. de Bourqueney, the French envoy, and Marshal Soult, his chief, held frequent conference and communication, and had agreed to send a combined fleet to stop hostilities, and so deprive Russia of any pretext to come into the Bosphorus under the clause of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. The territorial delineation between Egypt and the Porte was also discussed. Lord Palmerston, from the very first, insisted that the Porte should give Mehemet the hereditary investment of Egypt, and that in return

the Pacha should evacuate Syria, so as to place the desert between his troops and those of the Sultan. This would preclude all further collision. Marshal Soult at first made no objection.*

In a short time after, however, occurred, in addition to the defeat of Nezib, the death of the Sultan Mahmoud, and the defection of the Ottoman fleet, which the Capitan Pacha conducted to the harbour of Alexandria. Lord Palmerston at once proposed to take the Turkish fleet back by force, and restore it to the Sultan. The French minister objected to the employment of force, and in his communication more than hinted his opinion that, in consequence of the victory of Nezib, more favourable terms must be granted to the Pacha of Egypt than were previously contemplated. He could not be deprived of Syria, the French thought, without his offering resistance, marching on Constantinople, and thus precipitating that Russian intervention which it was the great object to avoid.

It was unfortunate that the French did not uphold from the first, as they did at the last, the right and justice of assigning Syria to Mehemet Ali, instead of insisting on the expediency of leaving that province to the Pacha on the ground that he could not be coerced. For this ground, as well as the plea of imminent danger from Russia, soon disappeared. Russia, rather than rush into conflict with England, France, and probably with Austria, abandoned its isolation, and consented to sign a common agreement, taking the defence and integrity of Turkey under the protection of the four powers, Russia herself making one.† An immediate result of this was to prevent the Turkish government from coming to a direct understanding with the Pacha

* Letter of Soult to Bourqueney, June 17, 1839. It will be found in the Pièces historiques of M. Guizot's 4th volume.

† Diplomatic correspondence of the time, Annual Register, and Annuaire.

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of Egypt, granting him not only Egypt in hereditary right but Syria.

The partial adherence and change of attitude made by Russia ought to have warned the French government to avoid being left in the isolated position of a friend at all risks of the Pacha. The King, indeed, did feel more anxious and afraid lest Soult was not equal to the critical task; he replaced Bourqueney in London by Sebastiani, who, he hoped, would bring back Lord Palmerston to the terms of French friendship and alliance. But it was almost too late. Sebastiani had scarcely arrived when Russia had made new propositions, no less than to abandon the especial advantages of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and, in case of the Egyptian Pacha menacing Constantinople, to come herself to the Bosphorus with an army indeed, but at the same time to admit French and English vessels of war into the Sea of Marmora by way of compensation.

Sebastiani laboured with all the address in his power and character to win back and keep the British minister true to the French alliance exclusively. Lord Palmerston was well inclined; he knew the slippery nature of a Russian alliance. And to meet the wishes of France, he agreed to depart from his fixed idea of putting the desert between the Sultan and the Pacha, and to give the latter the Pachalic of Acre in hereditary right as well as Egypt. It is to be regretted that Louis-Philippe and Marshal Soult could not close with this offer. Lord Palmerston indeed rendered it more difficult by saying he expected France to join in coercing the Pacha if he did not accept these terms. Moreover, his lordship plainly told Sebastiani that, if France would not accept this offer, "he would be compelled by necessity to seek elsewhere the support which he no longer found in France."*

* Letter of Sebastiani to Soult, October 10, 1839.

The French government did not take sufficient notice of this menace. Sebastiani allowed matters to drag on, and the more liberal members of Soult's cabinet, becoming alarmed, insisted on Sebastiani's being replaced by a more active and independent negotiator. This was no other than M. Guizot. The King objected. A more supple diplomatist, he thought, would be more useful, but he was overruled, and M. Guizot went ambassador to London. M. Thiers at the same time became foreign minister and president of the council. And the fate of the English alliance was thus entrusted to two of the ablest politicians of France, those also most inclined to preserve it. But this change of men and ministers in that country proved but an obstacle in the way of a wisely followed policy. All of them being weak were dependent on public opinion, and were compelled to follow, instead of undertaking either to guide or correct, it. Then, the very eminence of the minister and the ambassador, which rendered them more chary and suspicious about their political character than other men might be, made concessions on their part more difficult. M. Guizot reasoned with Lord Palmerston, but to no effect. M. Thiers told him merely to gain time. The vigilance of both, moreover, was lulled by a random proposition of the Austrian and Prussian envoys to give Egypt hereditarily to the Pacha, and Syria for life. This flattered the French with hopes of success, and yet M. Guizot was not empowered or able to accept the offer. Russia, in the meantime, made propositions for an accord between the four powers without France. The English minister resisted, when certain events occurred which wore the appearance of being produced by intrigue. Khosrew, who governed at Constantinople, and was known to be the declared enemy of Mehemet Ali, was of a sudden dismissed. This had been the repeated demand and known desire of Mehemet. He prepared to reply to it by sending back the Turkish

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fleet. And everything portended an accord between the Porte and the Pacha, in which the former was, of course, to yield everything, the latter to come off triumphant, and the four powers, at least the two principal of them, England and Russia, be completely disappointed and befooled. The irritation of the English government and of its minister was extreme. That of Russia was not less. And the result was the signature, on the 15th of July, 1840, of a treaty between them, joined with Austria and Prussia. The 1st article gave Mehemet Ali, if he accepted within ten days, Egypt hereditarily, and the Pachalic, with the citadel, of Acre for life, the frontier to extend from thence to the northern littoral of the Lake of Tiberias. Mehemet was to give up the rest of Syria as well as Crete, Arabia, and the Holy Cities. This treaty Lord Palmerston lost no time in communicating to the French government.

The first announcement of the treaty of the 15th of July came like a thunderclap upon Louis-Philippe, and as little less to both the French statesmen, Thiers and Guizot. Neither of them expected anything so sudden. They complained of Lord Palmerston not having warned them that the treaty was on the point of signature, although this would have been playing with and deceiving the three powers with whom England was negotiating. M. Guizot did not believe in Lord Palmerston's powers to effect so great a change. The English government had but just been left in a minority, had dissolved parliament with small hopes of success, and was in fact not an established but an interim administration.* The prospect, therefore, was that the Tories and Lord Aberdeen would replace the Whigs and Palmerston, and the French envoy had good hopes of more successfully negotiating with the first. Even after the treaty was signed, M. Guizot thought it could not be executed, and that, if Ibrahim could hold out in Syria, the new alliance

* M. Guizot's Memoirs and Correspondence.

would find coercion difficult or insufficient, and that France and the Pacha would triumph after all.

Such were the opinions which M. Guizot expressed at the Château of Eu, whither he went to meet and consult the King and M. Thiers. The latter was by no means satisfied to leave time and circumstances to remedy or to arrange the affront which France had received. This, he thought, could only be done by war. But the country was by no means prepared for it. It wanted troops, equipment, *matériel*. The fleet, indeed, might cope for the moment with the English at sea, but even victory there would lead to more complete defeat afterwards. It was to the invasion and conquest of Italy that Thiers looked to compensate for the loss of Egypt. Such an expedition, if not crowned with immediate success, might bring the allies once more to Paris, as in 1814. For this M. Thiers determined to be prepared by fortifying the capital, and putting all the frontier fortresses in a state of defence. Besides the great expense of so vast a work, votes of additional estimates were demanded for army and navy, 56,000,000 of francs for the former.

To the more pacific views of Guizot and of the King M. Thiers so far submitted as to despatch Count Valewski to Alexandria to recommend the Pacha to be contented with the life possession of Syria, from whence he was to go to Constantinople to recommend a direct arrangement between the Porte and Pacha on these terms. But as their rejection was foreseen, Valewski had ulterior instructions to recommend Ibrahim not to dispute possession of the towns of the coast of Syria, but to concentrate his army in the north of that province, and there await till spring, in order then to co-operate with whatever warlike enterprise France might have set on foot.*

* Nouvion, Hist. de la Règne de Louis-Philippe; Regnault, Histoire de Huit Ans; D'Haussonville, Histoire de la Politique extérieure.

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In the midst of this rekindling of the spirit and excitement of war, the remains of the Emperor Napoleon were in course of transference from the rock of St. Helena to the mausoleum prepared in the Invalides. One of the first acts of the Thiers cabinet on its installation was to ask England to deliver up the ashes. And the Prince de Joinville sailed to St. Helena to exhume the mortal remains of the Emperor. On opening the coffin, the features of the great man were fully recognisable. They did not reach France till the close of the year. When they were floated up the Seine, received and borne with all due pomp to their final resting place, there was some effort on the part of Republicans to beget a disturbance. But the people considered the act of the King and government magnanimous, which it really was. And all signs of disapprobation were put down.*

The danger, however, of exhuming and resuscitating patriotic and warlike sentiments appeared when in August, after the Prince de Joinville had gone to St. Helena, but before his return, Prince Louis-Napoleon made a descent upon the shore of Boulogne with a band of devoted friends. The Prince on this occasion repeated his mistake of supposing that the French soldiery were still animated by the spirit of 1815. Far from this, the peasant recruits of France were the most contented and quiet of the population. Some few officers, indeed, were carried away by enthusiasm for the memory of the great name, to incur the risk of seeking to raise his nephew to the throne. But even these were hesitating. The Prince had vague hopes, first of the support of the 42nd regiment, of which the principal portion was at Lille, with detachments in Boulogne, Calais, and St. Omers. Yet he was certain but of one lieutenant of the regiment, Aladenize. Had a regiment declared for

* Journals of the time.

him—a French regiment counts nearly 3,000 men—he had reason to think that General Magnan, commanding the division of the north, would join him. With such hopes he landed on the beach near Boulogne. Met merely by Aladenize, though he had expected a large body of adherents, Louis-Napoleon marched in the early morning of the 6th of August to the barrack of Lower Boulogne, where two companies of the 42nd lay. The soldiers marched forth, listened to the Prince's harangue,* some showing signs of adherence, some not, when their officers, above all Captain Puygellier, arrived, who being a Royalist made courageous efforts to maintain his men in their duty. There ensued a kind of struggle, in which the Prince fired a pistol in the face of a grenadier, who no doubt wanted to seize him. The little band of conspirators found it necessary to withdraw, the soldiers and officers not preventing them. They then marched to the high town of Boulogne, trying to induce soldiers or people to join them. Finding this too vain, they retreated across fields to the Napoleon column, and thence descended the cliffs to the sea. They embarked in a small boat, but the National Guard began to fire at them, and even killed one. The boat was too slight to go to sea in, and it, moreover, soon upset. The Prince and Colonel Vaudrey, who were in it, were seized, and some fifty in all made captive. Prince Louis was then brought before the Court of Peers, and necessarily condemned. His penalty was perpetual imprisonment in the castle of Ham, to which he was immediately consigned, and in which he passed six years, by all accounts not ill employed in study and in reflection.*

In the midst of these events of Napoleonic homage and failure, the Eastern question pursued its course. Early in September Admiral Stopford cannonaded Beyrouth, and landed a number of troops, destined to support the Syrian insurrection. Sidon surrendered

* Annuaire, report of the trial.

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after a brief resistance early in October. The celebrated fortress of St. Jean d'Acre, which had defied the arms of Napoleon, was evacuated by the Egyptian garrison, after having endured the fire of the British admiral for the space of a day. This was on the 2nd of November, and on the 26th Admiral Napier appeared with his vessels in the harbour of Alexandria. He offered Mehemet Ali with one hand the hereditary Pachalik of Egypt, with the other the destruction of his city, and probably his own dethronement. Mehemet at first was inclined to resist, but being made aware that the same hesitation which had displayed itself amongst his troops in Syria began to influence those of Alexandria, he resigned himself to his fate, and signified his acceptance of the conditions offered by Sir Charles Napier.

Long before this definitive result, the Porte, on learning the first successes of its allies in Syria, and the powerlessness of Ibrahim, had gone the length of declaring the Pachalik of Egypt to be forfeited by Mehemet Ali. Although Lord Palmerston treated this as a menace, rather than an accomplished fact, still it rendered it impossible for M. Thiers to persevere in a mere policy of sullen abstention. He therefore proposed sending the French fleet to Alexandria to protect the Pacha at least in Egypt. The King objected to an order from which war might spring, and the cabinet gave in its resignation early in October. The popular effervescence at the time was great. The middle class were more animated than the lower, and the National Guards talked of associating and entering upon measures of national defence, which indeed the announcement of the fortification of Paris showed to be not unnecessary. A popular demonstration was to be feared. And the King as well as the royal family besought M. Thiers not to desert them. He was willing to remain at his post, meditating hostilities not sooner than the spring. These

hostilities being on land, not sea, he waived the proposal of sending the fleet to Alexandria. He even consented to its being brought back to Toulon or the island of Hyères, provided the King would support the cabinet in its ulterior designs.

The recall of the fleet was a prudent act, but it was fatal to M. Thiers, who, by admitting it, became identified with the royal policy of peace at all price. His ulterior designs in his own opinion compensated for this, but the public knew not of them. M. Thiers sufficiently covered himself, he thought, by signifying to England and the other powers that he would consider the *déchéance* of Mehemit Ali as a *casus belli*. In answer to this came the act of violence committed by Admiral Napier at Alexandria, which indeed stipulated the maintenance of the Pacha there. But should the Porte disallow this? And in fact it at first determined to do so.

The epoch for opening the Chamber approached; and the terms in which the King was to address them became a subject of discussion and doubt. Several councils were held on the subject. The King, returning from one of them, was fired at from the quay by a determined fellow, who had charged his gun with no less than five balls and several large shot. This perhaps saved the King's life, for the barrel burst. Neither the carriage nor those in it were injured, but some of the outriders were. The assassin was named Darmès; he was connected with the secret societies then existing. Regicide, however, was too common an attempt to occasion any excitement or influence the course of politics. M. Thiers had drawn up a royal speech in accordance with the policy he intended to pursue. It was menacing. "Recent events," it said, "were calculated to bring on grave complications. Should such take place, the military precautions hitherto ordained would no longer suffice. To complete them, the presence and adhesion of the Chambers were necessary. It was not France

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that had brought on the present state of things, but it must be prepared to act, on seeing the balance of power disturbed. France will not purchase peace at a price unworthy of her." Such language as this, Louis-Philippe refused to utter. M. Thiers and his colleagues in consequence resigned; and M. Guizot was summoned by the King to form an administration.

Its composition, announced on the 29th of October, 1841, was as follows:—Maison, first president and war minister; M. Guizot, foreign affairs; Duchâtel, home minister; Martin, justice and public worship; Humann, finance; Villemain, public instruction; Teste, public works; Cunin-Gridaine, agriculture and commerce; Duperré, marine.

M. Guizot, it may well be conceived, put language into the King's mouth very different from that of his predecessor. That speech in fact gave hopes of peace. M. Guizot explained on what these hopes were founded. He denied that it had been the intention of England or the powers to mortify or injure France. He indeed admitted the affront, but maintained it was not intentional. The French government committed a twofold mistake. It had exaggerated its own interests in maintaining the Pacha, and at the same time exaggerated the means of the Pacha to maintain himself. He therefore proposed for the present not defying Europe in arms, but showing resentment in sullen isolation. After this fashion dignity would be preserved as well as peace. To such announcement of the new minister from the tribune of the Chamber, Thiers replied, "You can give us not only hopes of peace, but the assurance of it. Peace could, of course, be obtained by yielding everything." The minister observed that the situation was not of his making. This led to unpleasant recriminations. The late minister accused his successor, until lately his ambassador in London, with not having kept him fully warned and frankly advised. M. Guizot said he had

fully warned his principal, but it was not the duty of an ambassador to advise. If M. Thiers accused his successor of being for peace at all price, the latter retorted that M. Thiers had definitively determined upon war in the spring. An invasion of Italy was to have been the answer on the part of France to the demolition of Mehemet Ali by Austria in concert with the allies. The difference being thus clearly stated, the majority of the Chamber rallied to Guizot and peace; and the address was voted, even after the events of Acre and Alexandria had become known.*

Although the new ministry triumphed in the Chamber, it was far from doing so in public opinion, naturally excited by the violence, and, as it was considered, the injustice, offered to the Egyptian Pacha. This was but a momentary and additional cause of excitement. The discontent with the government, the King and his system, and with the Chamber, was loud even in 1839. As was the case under the Restoration, some of the Conservatives of the Centre joined in this line of semi-opposition. They complained that the King appointed what ministers he chose, this influence being secured to him by means of the 150 or 160 functionaries who had seats as deputies. Early in M. Thiers' administration, a motion was made by M. Remilly, precluding members from being appointed to office. The government met it by the declaration of its unseasonableness for the present, whilst admitting that it was a question to be seriously discussed and even advanced hereafter.

It was indeed a serious question, involving far more considerations and results than appeared at first sight. What could be called an aristocracy did not exist in the country. The class which could pretend to be such held aloof from public affairs. The monied and manufacturing interest formed a large and influential body,

* Annuaire, French debates, Guizot's Memoirs.

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with none to counterbalance them save the functionaries. Were these eliminated, the legislature would have been completely one-sided, and ministers at the mercy of a class which on political as well as on economical questions entertained very narrow and selfish ideas. Moreover, the functionaries were, for the greater part, the choice capacities of the nation. To expel them from the Chamber was to deprive it of its intellectual superiority and professional experience. Many of these, opposed to the omnipotence of the King, and the undue influence of the government, like Dupin, strongly deprecated the elimination of functionaries from the Chamber. And these arguments were, and still are, most worthy of consideration for such a monarchy as that established in July 1830.

But whilst the Conservatives were not unwilling to entertain or at least bring forward motions for getting rid of functionaries from the Chamber, they would not hear of any extension of the suffrage, which might render the electoral body wider and more liberal. Even the admission of the *capacités*, or educated persons, to be electors frightened them, such class being generally liberal. Petitions poured in upon the subject, demanding either universal suffrage or an approach to it. It was asked that at least every National Guard should have the elective franchise. This last was a dangerous proposal, at least dangerous to refuse, since such refusal must alienate the very power on which in insurrections the King and government most depended. Although M. Thiers scorned the idea of universal suffrage, or, as he called it, the sovereignty of numbers, with bitter derision, the Constitutional opposition did not desert, however they may have differed from, him. But this lukewarmness in opposition drove the Radicals, such as Dupont de l'Eure, Laffitte, and Arago, into co-operation with the Republicans.

It was the republic in truth that they preached. Their

revolutionary banner was indeed kept in the background, and that of reform hoisted in its stead. But by the side of reform appeared another with the more significant and formidable inscription of the *Rights of Labour*; Arago first hoisted it. Ever since 1830, original thinkers and powerful writers had been elaborating schemes for refashioning society, and superseding the unsatisfactory state of things which Christian civilisation had produced.

The efforts of the St. Simonians have been mentioned, sufficiently successful as long as they were confined to preaching and to theory. Having the boldness to put their ideas in practice, the nullity and impracticability of them soon appeared. They could not indeed revolutionise property without at the same time overthrowing the laws of family connection and descent. This involved such outrage upon morality that the whole thing exploded. The economical portion of the scheme, however, remained, and was taken up, manipulated, and expounded by able professors of other schools.

The basis of all these theories was that property belonged in principle not to the individual, but to the state, that the promotion of private interests, separate from public ones, was a sin and a crime, and that some way was to be found for rendering the whole population participators in the wealth and produce of the country. As any practical realisation of such a scheme was found to be impossible, it was provisionally announced that the destitute, or the day earner, had at least a right not to bread—such a demand was considered too ignominious for the sovereign people—but to the means and materials of labour. Land and capital formed these, the people had a claim upon both.

The seeds of such doctrine fell upon a soil well fitted to make them germ. In all other countries, the gradual decline and abolition of feudalism has left strong connection between the different classes of society. If there be dependence on one side, there is protection on the

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other. That these may degenerate into servility on the one hand, and authoritative mastery on the other, there can be no doubt. But these relations are also blended with kindness, and with affection, respect, and care. In France there survive none of these mutual feelings. The labouring agriculturists had for the most part got possession of the soil in a way, and at a price, that inspired their less fortunate fellows with small esteem. The peasantry had in general subdivided the soil amongst them, and tilled it, with no superior to make a claim, or cast a shadow, unless it was the government taxman or official. Had this peasantry kept possession of the soil, it might have made them a happy and contented race. But the want of capital to raise more than the earth can produce unaided, and the necessity of either raising capital or incurring debt to buy off brothers and sisters, necessarily copartners of the land, as well as to meet the heavy fines of the conscription, left the French peasant, though a nominal proprietor of the land, yet necessitated to pay a larger portion of its produce in interest upon debt than he had under the ancient régime paid in rent. Thus the town capitalists replaced the old aristocracy, and took as large a share of the produce of the earth, without inspiring the same respect. Add to this that the new proprietorial class, labouring itself, required or employed small additional labour. Scant was the class that lived on wages, or that got any in the rural districts. The lackland population hence migrated to the towns, where what was heretofore the rent of land, now the interest of the town capitalist, enabled this latter personage to become the great and general employer. Town industry thus took a large expanse, as did the class that lived by it. Manufactures arose even in the fields. Beet was grown for sugar; and as foreign markets opened, and fertile years succeeded one another, there was a vein of prosperity which tended more than any effort or wisdom of Louis-Philippe or of his government to quiet the in-

creasing town population. But about the time of the Eastern question opening, harvests became unfavourable in France, whilst at the same time important foreign markets closed. General Jackson went to war with the Banks and with fictitious capital, and deprived the French of their great Transatlantic market. Manufacturing and agricultural interests both began to suffer at the very time when the government, quarrelling with England and with Europe, was compelled to incur large debts. In the general distress, disaffection and turbulence rose again. Manufacturers, deprived of their markets, could not supply work and wages, or tried to diminish both. The labouring artisan declared himself wronged, and the political agitator backed his complaint by proclaiming that he had a right to labour, and to its hire.

These socialist symptoms showed themselves in various acts of turbulence during the administration of M. Thiers. The small articles of commerce which Paris furnishes, being mostly those of luxury, were left without a market at the time of political agitation, and this, added to the dearness of provisions, rendered the artizan population eagerly attentive to the declaration of Arago that all men had a right to employment. Strikes took place in almost all the Parisian trades. Tailors, shoemakers, paper makers, compositors, stone cutters, each had their strike. At one moment, in September, this came near to assume the shape of an *émeute*, with barricades and banners. The troops early got the better of that manifestation. But these difficulties, blended with the embarrassment of the foreign question, formed the heritage which the Thiers cabinet left to its successors.

To these causes of agitation and danger came to be added the humble ground which M. Guizot took, instead of the prouder attitude of Thiers, upon the Eastern question. In this indeed he had the support of parliament, but it was a support of which, although the ma-

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jority assumed the responsibility, they felt the shame. It would have been madness, however, to fly in the face of Europe, and provoke it either by land or sea. The original fault of being of one opinion, and allowing united Europe to hold the other, rendered France helpless. The powers, however, did not want to dethrone Mehemet, or even to reduce him so low as the Porte proposed. They refused to sanction the conditions which Turkey sought to impose by its *Hatti Scherif* of mid-February, limiting the Egyptian army to an insignificant force, and retaining the nomination of its chief officers. These hard conditions were rejected; and Mehemet was acknowledged as the hereditary Pacha of Egypt, with full right of sovereignty, the Turkish fleet being restored by him. This was offered in June 1841. And in the following month, M. Guizot, as foreign minister, signed with the other powers the Treaty of the Straits, which closed Bosphorus and Dardanelles, the one to Russian, the other to European, fleets. M. Guizot recounts how he endeavoured to make it more complete by regulating the right of way through Egypt, as well as other matters. But Lord Palmerston set these stipulations aside as irrelevant, and the close of both straits alone became European law.

Few ministers were ever burdened with so serious a task as that which M. Guizot and his colleagues had to meet. Whilst he himself laboured at the diplomatic oar, his law officers were engaged in quarrels with the press. Those journalists who often contrived to escape by the indulgence of the jury obtained no mercy when brought before the Court of Peers. Accordingly the Upper Chamber became the target for Republican virulence. The *National* called it an hospital of *Incurables*, a mere collection of dry bones, without sufficient energy for independence. Their debates were a constitutional concert played by the dead. These were but jests. The Court of Peers, however, punished them

by fines and imprisonment. Lamennais was condemned about this time. The trial of Darmès for his attempt at regicide also occupied the law officers of the crown. They were convinced that he had accomplices, and was an agent of the secret societies; but they could elicit nothing from either him or his associates.

War minister and prime minister were both sorely pressed by the large expenditure ordained, and the difficulty of supplying funds to meet it. The fortifications of Paris formed the most serious demand. The first idea of these works was to place all round Paris, and at a certain distance from it, detached forts which would keep off a besieging army or an enemy, and prevent hostile artillery from showering its projectiles into the city. The King was for this plan, which, however, was speedily laid hold of by opposition, and denounced as a plan for embastilling Paris. The patriots were for the simple wall, or *enceinte continue*, open within, and not menacing to the Parisians, their liberties, or their licence. The dispute ended by the adoption of both systems of defence, and of course the expense was proportionately increased.

Moreover, when the war-cry arose, all the materials of war were found to be wanting. Regiments were without equipments, depôts without artillery or *matériel*. Fortresses were dilapidated, the military offices told of long peace and consequent dilapidation. Credit after credit was swallowed up, without satisfying engineers or intendants. This financial question was a vital one for any minister. That the monarchy of July should manifest itself more obsequious to foreign powers than the Restoration, and yet that its expenditure should be far greater, were confessions dangerous and humiliating to make. Yet unfortunately they could neither be withheld nor contradicted. The public expenditure, which required 40,000,000*l.* sterling annually in the last years of the Restoration, amounted to 50,000,000*l.*

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in 1842. And these swelled to 60,000,000*l.* sterling, or one-third more, in 1847. The annual interest upon the debt during the seventeen years of Louis-Philippe's reign had increased from 10,000,000*l.* to 15,000,000*l.* sterling. The war office, which required 8,000,000*l.* sterling in 1829, absorbed 13,000,000*l.* in 1842; the marine, costing little more than 2,000,000*l.* sterling in the last years of Charles the Tenth, exceeding 4,000,000*l.* under Louis-Philippe. It is but fair to state that the expenses for public instruction had increased in a still greater proportion. The year's deficit not the less perplexed the finance minister. He could not increase the land-tax, it already made one-fourth of the revenue; the direct taxes, with the stamp duty, or *enregistrement*, furnished one-half of it; the indirect taxes, or excise, supplied another quarter; but the tax on drinks and salt was already odious to the population, and the minister durst not increase them. M. Humann therefore imagined to render the old taxes more productive by rendering the mode of levying them more stringent. Hitherto the repartition and levy of taxes had been left in a great measure to the localities themselves and to their notabilities, which of course produced much laxity and indeed unfairness. M. Humann proposed to institute the direct action and interference of the treasury; this led to angry remonstrance, especially in the towns of the south and west. At Strasburg, M. Humann's native city, it occasioned a conflict between the prefect and the municipality. To assess the taxes, it was necessary for the government officials to enter and inspect the houses. This was resisted. For the first time the Frenchman declared that his house was his castle. At Toulouse the resistance was so general that the prefect wrote for his instructions how to meet it; he was answered by his recall, and the arrival of a new prefect; the Toulousans received him with a monster Charivari. The prefect called out the gendarmes, and the people met them by

barricades. The National Guards then assembled of themselves, and all the government authorities were obliged to fly. They were restored some time after by a force equal to an army; but such suppressed insurrections left the locality in a more dangerous state than before.

The worst feature and most pernicious result of the resistance caused by these measures of the finance minister were that it blended middle and lower classes, especially throughout the provinces, in the one excitement of opposition, and made several provincial towns and districts as anti-ministerial and as anti-dynastic as the capital. The press of the *bourgeoisie*, as the middle class was called, began to echo and repeat the arguments of the Republican prints. Republican candidates, too, began to find favour in the provinces. Ledru-Rollin, a young advocate, was elected for the Sarthe, and made a complete confession of republicanism to his electors. The law officers of the government instituted a prosecution, which terminated in an acquittal for the orator, and a condemnation for his printer. The *National* was about the same time prosecuted for an article representing successive ministers as mere puppets, the true and well-known culprit being behind them. The personal allusion to the King was transparent; the ministry denounced such expressions as criminal. The jury found them venial, and, twice tried, the *National* was twice acquitted.

Hence might be divined the reason why government refused the electoral franchise to all upon the jury list. Those on the list showed hostility to the King and his ministry; they were not only of the middle class, but of the most educated and enlightened amongst them. Their disaffection and disapprobation of such prosecutions ought to have acted as a warning for the ministers of a monarchy which had no firm support but in a broad and favourable public opinion. Ministers, far from taking warning, were merely more irritated by what they

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deemed the perverseness of the juries; the law offered the mode of avoiding trial by jury. It was to consider frowardness as treason, and impugn it before the Court of Peers.

In September 1841 a shot was fired at the Princes as they entered Paris at the head of the troops in honour of the return of the Prince de Joinville from Algeria. It was a workman named Quenisset who fired the shot, and several of his brother workmen were implicated. The journal which they were in the habit of reading was the *Journal du Peuple*. One of them wrote to the editor, Dupotet, asking him to defend them. Government had lately appointed a new *procureur-général*, a man of talent indeed, but of exuberant zeal, M. Hebert. He ferreted out from the files of the *Bon Sens* certain stirring articles, which seemed to approve of such violent acts as that of which Quenisset had been guilty. Adducing them as proofs, he charged Dupotet with being the accomplice of Quenisset. It was a most violent application of the law, which might be made to include in its rigour many an innocent person. The trial took place before the Court of Peers, and many members of it argued that, although no real complicity or connection could be discovered between Quenisset and the editor of the *Bon Sens*, still there was a moral complicity, and this they considered as sufficient to condemn. Such a decision recalled the prosecutions for tendency under the Restoration, and was certainly Draconian. A jury would have at once acquitted Dupotet. The Court of Peers condemned him to five years' imprisonment.

This straining of the law was not only illegal but out of season; for even extreme parties had become as much disgusted with regicide attempts as the moderate. No one placed hopes in them, nor had need to do so. The enemies of the dynasty met with such success in depopularising it, whilst the government and its agents

laid themselves so open to obloquy, that the Republicans began to entertain confident hopes of prevailing at no distant day without either conspiracy or revolution. The policy of a wise government ought not to have been under such circumstances difficult to fix. An open schism had taken place so far back as the last elections between the anti-dynastic opposition, the Republicans in fact, and the Liberals who still clung to the House of Orleans.* M. Thiers' plan was to conciliate the latter to accept progress, and bring all that could be called the middle class within the limits of the electoral franchise. The quarrel about Egypt drove Thiers from power; and M. Guizot succeeded him, with the task of preserving peace with Europe, and then keeping down opposition as well as sedition at home. He knew that the aims which he proposed in foreign policy were unpopular, and that the least extension of the franchise might be fatal to them. He therefore took his ground on the principle of no concession to the clamour for reform.

The cry for this great panacea had become general. The Republicans demanded universal suffrage, or an approach to it. The Moderates proposed at least the admission to the franchise of the second list of the jury, or the *capacités*, as they were called. When one considers that this motion wns moved by Ganneron and Ducos, eminent citizens and leading *bourgeois*, one cannot conceive how the ministry could be so unwise as to scout it; joined, however, with this demand for extension of the franchise, came motions for excluding functionaries from the Chamber. The project, extreme as it might be, was supported by the members of the middle class, men who were annoyed at finding the wealthy commercial classes outvoted by the numerous talented functionaries of the day. The removal of functionaries from the legislature was indeed a propo-

* Louis Blanc, Histoire de Dix Ans.

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sition far more radical than its movers imagined. There was no aristocracy in the country, few men, and no class, of wealth or weight. Functionaries, military and civil, supplied the place of an aristocracy. It might be desirable to give such a class independence in the Chamber; to exclude them altogether was to decapitate the country of its talent, and give a strong impulse to social revolution.

Ministers succeeded in setting aside such propositions, not indeed by any large majority, and quashing every project of electoral reform. But even if it were expedient to do so, whilst the question of peace and war still hung in the balance, it was very imprudent to meet them with such arguments as were used by the Doctrinaires. M. Guizot, like Canning, not only opposed, but ridiculed the very idea of reform. "It was but a popular itch," he said, "not a rational want, a *prurit*, which it could only injure sanity and health to indulge or pay attention to." The minister and his friends insisted on the virtue of immobility, or of not stirring an inch forward, and of maintaining the *status quo* in everything, as the only means of consolidating the monarchy, and of ensuring peace. "If such be your policy," exclaimed Lamartine, "the monarchy does not want men to defend or administer it, milestones in place would answer every purpose."

It is painful to think that the reign of Louis-Philippe could boast such eminent statesmen—personages whom it would be impossible to surpass in eloquence and intelligence—yet who were not able to consolidate or give lasting strength to the monarchy. M. Thiers' tendencies and convictions, more natural and spirited than those of his great rival, might have led to the success of the government in war and the popularity of the dynasty. This, however, must have been tried in the face of risks, whilst no one could predict the result. But neither the Chamber nor the King would have allowed the

experiment of M. Thiers; and therefore nothing remained but the foreign policy of M. Guizot.

To that foreign policy he was tied, and in it he was absorbed without time or means of casting his eyes or directing his intelligence towards the domestic questions far more important. Had M. Guizot leisure to examine these, he would have seen that something more was required than mere resistance. But there was no other eminent man in the councils of Louis-Philippe who could lay his head on his hand and think of whither monarchy and society were tending. M. Duchâtel was not equal to such a task, yet to him was the management of home and parliamentary affairs committed.

On most questions, indeed, or in all, it was not government which led or which commanded, but circumstances; and almost in any department a bold man or a decided will dragged the government into positions which were none of its choosing, yet which it became its duty and necessity to defend. We have seen this in the Egyptian question, when the French public drove the government into a path without issue and without honour. There resulted from this quarrel an awakening of French jealousy of England, and consequent hostility, without France being able to acquire a single ally in the quarrel which she was provoking. The end was that in almost every question England and France were at variance, yet unable, and indeed unwilling, to strike at each other more than diplomatic blows. The international quarrel was like that between enemies of the female sex, displayed in high airs, high words, much malice, with an endless variety of mingled coquetry and spite, but without real triumph, much less important results obtained by either party. The history of the Right of Search, of the Pritchard quarrel, of the Morocco one, and finally that of the Spanish marriages, are worthy of forming chapters in any novel. But the

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acts achieved, the motives observable, and the arguments employed in all, are simply disgraceful to two great nations, which wasted time and energy in such petty passions and such beggarly considerations. The old monarchy of England went through this epoch unscathed and undiminished in dignity and in power, simply because the mere rivalry of its foreign policy was redeemed by the genius, the wisdom, and the grandeur of its domestic legislature. Sir Robert Peel was a political physician that could place his hand on the pulse of the country, and prescribe for its social and economical ills. All this time French politicians and ministers were writing diplomatic notes and fighting party and parliamentary battles about nothing.

The first source of quarrel was the Right of Search, accorded to the armed vessels of both nations over their mercantile shipping in order to detect and prevent the slave trade. As there were infinitely more English trading vessels than French, the cruisers of the latter exercised a right even more extensive and humiliating, if it was found to be so, than the English. From 1831, the date of the first treaty, till 1841 there had been scarcely a complaint. Unfortunately the English government were at the time rendering the right of search general in consequence of the consent of other nations of Europe which had hitherto refused. This necessitated a new treaty, which the French diplomatists and statesmen saw no reason to decline. The United States government soon intervened. The Americans, for reasons of their own, did not like English officers coming on board their vessels, even to decide their nationality. They cared far more for a question of pride than for that of slavery; and American agents soon stirred the French to entertain the same jealousies and act upon them. Some of the French ports were at the time deeply interested in the slave trade, and objected to its being put down. Nantes was one of these places, and M. Billault, a young

lawyer who represented it, so ably advocated slave trading interests that an amendment to the address in January 1842 was carried in the Chamber against the ministry, denouncing the right of search, and especially any extension of it. This suspended the treaty, left M. Guizot powerless to sign it, and France finally receded from it. The majority of the Chamber, not contented with this, pushed on for the abrogation of the treaties of 1831 and 1833. That body, the *Tiers parti* included, were not only irritated against England but anxious to display a warlike spirit on a question that could not lead to war. Such was the sentiment always displayed by M. Dupin and others of his school. They pressed for an abrogation of the right of search altogether, and of the treaties of 1831 and 1833, which sanctioned it. The English Tory ministry was not a little angry at this display of hostility from a monarchy and a court which it had in 1830 protected against Europe, and secured from the effects of a coalition.* But Lord Aberdeen was full of blandness, of consideration, and of trust for M. Guizot; and both ministers succeeded in replacing the right of search, by certainly a more costly mode of preventing the slave trade, but perhaps an equally effective one, that of a combined or double fleet of the cruisers of both nations. The arrangement concluded in May 1845 was as little to the taste of the slave interests of Nantes as the right of search. But there was no terrible objection to be raised against it.

The nation took a deeper interest than usual in all matters relating to the marine, of which the estimates became largely increased. The sugar question was felt to be connected with them. Proprietorial interest was so predominant in the Chamber that the colonists continued to be sacrificed to the beet growers, their sugar being

* Lord Sidmouth's Life and Correspondence, by the Dean of Norwich; Lord Colchester's Diary; Lord Eldon's Life, by Twiss.

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taxed double of that produced at home. It was felt that this system not only ruined trade but restricted the number of vessels and seamen. Beet-root was therefore denounced as a foe of the country's grandeur, and its protection so little desirable that equal taxes were laid upon home-grown and colonial sugar.

In the midst of M. Guizot's efforts to heal up the breaches between England and France, especially in maritime affairs, the caprice of a French naval officer undid all that the minister had been labouring to effect for years. Admiral Dupetit Thouars had been sent with a squadron to the Pacific to take possession of the Marquesas group of islands, and form there a port and colony, which would prove a refuge and a station for French vessels in those seas. Not only this, but the Marquesas were to furnish a place of transportation for French criminals. The retention of these at home was attended with a host of inconveniences and evils. Admiral Dupetit Thouars took possession of the islands in May 1842. His ambition was not satisfied. Otaheite and its group offered a more enchanting climate and a richer soil. The admiral sailed thither under pretence of protecting the Catholic missions, although Protestant clergymen had long since converted, and, as far as was possible, civilised the islanders. The French admiral demanded a large sum from the Queen and her subjects, as indemnity for the alleged wrongs done to the Catholic clergy. Unable to pay it, Queen Pomare said, Take our islands. Dupetit Thouars had no other object; and by virtue of the offer of the Queen of Otaheite, the French flag was immediately hoisted, and their protectorship of the islands proclaimed in September 1842 by the French. M. Guizot was as much astonished as Lord Aberdeen at this fresh cause of difference between the nations. For the English clergy were nearly masters at Otaheite, although the English government had refused to assume or accept any sove-

reignty there. But here was a French admiral, with French priests in his suite, prepared to take not only military but religious possession of Otaheite, and of course subject the Protestant missionaries to the arrogance and intolerance of the new conquerors. However so much annoyed at the admiral's enterprise, the cabinet would not disavow or undo it. Public opinion would have laid hold of the apparent weakness, and made the admiral triumph over every government that attempted to control him. Captain Bruat was therefore sent out as governor of the French possessions in the Pacific, the Protestants of Otaheite included.

The fellow Protestants of M. Guizot, Gasparin and Pelet, remonstrated against the subjection of a Protestant population to a Catholic priesthood, supported by an envoy. M. Guizot repudiated of course any intentions of intolerance as if he was master of either person or policy on the other side of Cape Horn. He might have been certain that priest and captain would as little obey him as the admiral had done. The English consul and missionary, Pritchard, returned to protect his flock, as far as possible, from the French ecclesiastics. They insisted, he protested. He invoked the support of Lord Aberdeen, who was determined to give none. Meantime Dupetit Thouars paid another visit to the island, and finding that his protectorate had produced its inevitable result of anarchy and quarrel, he sought to put an end to it by dethroning poor Queen Pomare, and changing the French protectorate into sovereignty. The Queen retired to Pritchard's house; the sympathies and indignation of her people naturally followed her. Insurrection and civil war were the consequences. An officer, named D'Aubigny, who took the command on Dupetit Thouar's departure, seized Pritchard and shut him in a blockhouse, until he could be transported from the island. Thus the French commanders did their utmost to excite war between the

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countries, whilst the respective ministers at home laboured to prevent it. Sir Robert Peel indeed allowed himself to be carried away by his feelings, and denounced the treatment of Pritchard as a "gross outrage." But Lord Aberdeen explained it away, and admitted that Pritchard was at least not an "English consul" at the time of his arrest. He had already struck his flag. Still the English government required some reparation. It was given in the shape of a pecuniary indemnity to Pritchard, who was prepared to accept it. If this appeased and settled the anger and the difference between the governments, it raised a threatening storm in the French Chambers. The indemnity to Pritchard was styled a tribute, or humiliation. And many members of the majority, who habitually supported Guizot, were prepared on this occasion to assume the character of being spirited, and to condemn the government for any apparent concession to England. M. Guizot met this, as it only could be met; he determined to resign. This at once brought the would-be defectionists to their senses. They were anxious to show themselves spirited and independent, and to win popularity as anti-Pritchardists, but they could not afford to lose Guizot. Accordingly they abandoned the idea of even a semi-hostile vote, and so in 1845 the French government got over the perilous question of Otaheite.

Algeria, and the policy to be pursued with respect to it, a question important of itself, was equally so as exciting the jealousy and adding to the risk of a rupture with England. Both countries, it must be owned, were extravagantly and foolishly susceptible on the subject of colonial influence and conquest. It should be a subject of regret to Englishmen that the French have not been able to preserve a fair portion of colonial empire. The war evidently gave England more than she could people, civilise, or govern. That other races should have root and footing in the distant parts of the

world would have been just, and would not have been detrimental to us. With a French race at present dominant upon the St. Lawrence or the Mississipi, could not the balance of peace be better cared for and preserved in the New World? Besides, the want of colonial outlet has been the great cause of French turbulence and sedition. We should have favoured, not opposed, such development.

The possession of Algeria by the French ought really not to have excited a grudge. A vast region without rivers, and a sea coast without ports, was surely nothing to envy, with a climate where European families never outlive the third generation. It was long, however, ere the English government became resigned to the French dominion in Algeria, which it was feared might be extended to Egypt on the one side, or to the Atlantic on the other. On one of his expeditions, the Duke of Orleans proposed taking some frontier town or portion of the Regency of Tunis. Louis-Philippe thought it best to mention the project to the English government. It elicited a very fierce rejoinder from Lord Palmerston to the purport that the occupation of even a Tunisian village would be war.

The campaign of Marshal Bugeaud against Morocco raised similar fears in the placid breast of Lord Aberdeen. Algiers made no exception to the rule, that French agents and commanders carried the government at home into policies and positions which it deprecated and never proposed. The possession of coast with a certain influence, rather than dominion over the interior, would have satisfied government ideas in Paris. But no sooner was an officer appointed governor-general than he not only meditated but entered upon a complete subjugation of the country. Marshal Clausel was recalled for this. But the reverses which had befallen his arms in marching against Constantine compelled the subsequent siege of that town. Marshal Bugeaud was M. Guizot's

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very good friend, but the latter could not confer his moderation upon the general. Bugeaud was of course for conquering, nay, he was for civilising in military fashion a military not civilian colony.

It was impossible for him not to carry on the war vigorously, for his menaces of conquest had aroused the spirit of the Arabs, and enabled them to find a chief worthy and able to lead them. This was Abd-el-Kader, with enough of fanaticism to impose upon and inspirit his followers, without disturbing his own *sang-froid* and prudence as a commander. Abd-el-Kader organised the tribes against the French, and fought them action after action, his chief superiority being due to the fleetness of his cavalry. Marshal Bugeaud was obliged to imitate him, to create native horse, and to mount his infantry for the march, in order to come up with the enemy, and engage with success the flying columns of the Arabs. In this campaign the King's sons greatly distinguished themselves. Even the mild Duc de Nemours showed himself on more than one occasion a hero. In 1843 the Duc d'Aumale surprised the *smala*, or encampment, of Abd-el-Kader—a scene immortalised by Vernet—and achieved a high military reputation for himself. This and similar disasters drove Abd-el-Kader first to the borders of Morocco, and then within its frontiers. Beyond this was a population still more fanatic than the Arabs, and not having yet experienced the disasters of the war or the prowess of the French, the Moors flocked in crowds to support Abd-el-Kader. The French found him on the frontier, and no doubt somewhere beyond it. The Moors, on their part, attacked General Lamoricière within the French bounds. War necessarily ensued between France and Morocco, and the Prince de Joinville, at the head of a fleet, sailed to cannonade and reduce the Moorish forts on the Atlantic. The English government, still Tory, was annoyed at this prelude to conquest. Lord Aberdeen could with

difficulty pacify his colleague Peel, and M. Guizot was at his wits' end to render his pacific assurances credible. Tangiers and Mogador were in the meantime bombarded by the French, and Marshal Bugeaud, entering the territory of Morocco, attacked their army of some 25,000 men at Isly in mid-August 1844. It was a rout rather than a battle. The Moors did not stand the first shock. And its result was a treaty in 1845, Morocco making submission and reparation, and promising not to receive Abd-el-Kader within its territory. The terms of the treaty were far from satisfying the opposition. And as the Prince de Joinville himself protested against them, the French public had some reason to complain that the conditions imposed upon Morocco were not more severe. M. Guizot's plenipotentiary had made sacrifices, and waived immediate money payment, rather than delay the final arrangement. The government had other reasons for terminating the Algerian and Morocco wars than obsequiousness to England. The King had long desired to make the Duc d'Aumale governor-general of Algeria, which would enable him to win the attachment of the army and its principal officers. He had clearly established claims to it by his capture of the *smala* of the Emir. Marshal Bugeaud, at first jealous, had at last assented to pave the way to such an appointment. But it was unadvisable to leave to the Prince the burden of a flagrant and difficult war. Peace accordingly was concluded with Morocco, which gladly sunk into inertness, and earnestly strove to observe its agreement with the French by repudiating the Arab Emir. The latter was not so easily set aside. He continued his campaign against the French with more courage than success, and at last undertook not only to resist them, but to revolutionise Morocco. However he might have done this in the heyday of his power, he had no longer the prestige necessary. The Moors resisted him, and in 1847 inflicted on him so severe a defeat that the Emir, seeing

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the French bar his way back to the Desert, came to the resolution to surrender. He made the offer to General Lamoricière, who gave him the solemn promise that he should be set free, and conveyed to Egypt or to Syria. The Duc d'Aumale into whose presence the Emir was brought, trusting, the latter said, "That the son of a great king could not violate the promise of one of the first of his generals," reiterated the promise of Lamoricière. But the great king did not feel himself bound by the solemn words of either his general or his son. And Abd-el-Kader was put on board ship, and conveyed, not to Cairo or Alexandria, but to Toulon, from whence he was transferred, and shut up in the château of Amboise!

The desire of the monarch to give weight and military prestige to his sons brings us back to the sad event that rendered such care requisite. The Duke of Orleans was just such an heir as the founder of a monarchy would cherish, princely, spirited, taking a view of politics and political duties more liberal than his father, yet carefully avoiding to assume aught like an attitude of opposition. Brave as a soldier, and fully capable of winning the affections of the army, all this, united with the best of conduct in private life, rendered Louis-Philippe happy in his eldest son. The Duke had a decided taste for the light and the slender, which was always the occasion of good-humoured banter on the part of his sire. On visiting the Duke's stables, the King observed that he did not see one horse with what he called a leg; they stood on mere pipe stalks. The Duke's carriages were the same, with wheels of slightest construction, and springs so slender and elastic as to be dangerous. As the Duke, on the 3rd of July, 1842, in one of these carriages was driven by a postilion into the cross-road from the Bois de Boulogne to St. Ouen, the horse took fright, and the Prince thought it best to leap from his cockle-shell of a vehicle, which bent about

like a wave of the sea; in doing so, his head was flung to the ground sooner than his heels, and the result was concussion of the brain. His family soon gathered round the unfortunate Prince, of whose life there could be no hope; and in the evening the heir to the throne expired amidst his astonished and distracted relatives.

A greater misfortune could not have befallen the dynasty. The next brother, the Duke of Nemours, though brave, too, as a soldier, was of a soft temper, what Marshal Bugeaud called *mollasse*; yet it was for him to take the place of his brother in a crisis. The Prince de Joinville was petulant, but none had the weight or influence of the elder brother. The enemies of the throne and dynasty fully perceived the loss it had suffered. The secret societies met again with renewed hope and vigour, and even parliamentary opposition found means to engraft intrigue upon it. A law, regulating the regency, became necessary, the son of the late Duke being of course still in his infancy. The Duc de Nemours, next brother, was fixed on by the King and his ministers. But though gentle, the Duke was said to be conservative and to be wedded to his father's politics. The opposition, at least M. Barrot, was for setting him aside, and giving the regency to the Princess. This opinion was no sooner started than the anti-dynastic party embraced it. Lamartine was eloquent in its behalf, on the ground that the Duchess of Orleans, as regent, would be in the power of the Chambers, the Duc de Nemours, like his father, above them. The Republicans sedulously adopted the same opinion by saying that it was for the nation, not the parliament, to appoint a regent. M. Thiers entreated his friends of the Left not to render themselves impossible as ministers by espousing such extreme doctrines. They persisted, however, but were left in an insignificant minority by all the partisans of the monarchy.

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These considerations of family stood paramount in the mind of Louis-Philippe. Indeed it often seemed as if he accepted the throne more to provide heritages for sons and daughters than to render France powerful, prosperous, and free; the King married his three daughters to his satifaction. They were the Queen of the Belgians, the Princess Alexander of Würtemberg, and the Princess of Saxe-Coburg-Cohary. The establishment of his youngest son as husband of the Infanta of Spain became early one of his objects.

The great reproach made to M. Guizot, and to the monarch whom he served, was that they took no account of the immense changes effected by the revolution of July, and that they unswervingly followed the old beaten track of Bourbon policy. In no case was this more evident than in the conduct observed towards Spain. Although the revolutions in that country as well as in France, if they did nothing else, at least rendered each of them independent of one another, Louis-Philippe and his minister persisted in regarding Spain through the same spectacles as Louis the Fourteenth. They cared not for Spanish exigencies, Spanish interests, but simply for those of the House of Bourbon; by keeping members of which family on both thrones, the principle of the family compact was to be maintained. Nothing could be so preposterous, or more absurd, except indeed the kindred policy, had it existed, on the part of Prince Albert, to obtain the throne of Madrid, by marriage, for a Coburg. This family had already won a sufficient number of thrones for its aggrandisement, and for the creation of enmity. It is by no means proved, however affirmed by M. Guizot, that the Queen of England, or any of her family or ministers, really laboured to give a Coburg husband to Queen Isabella. On the contrary, they early disclaimed any such purpose.

But what Queen Victoria did not, the Queen Dowager of Spain, Christina, no doubt did. She put forward the

project of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as the future husband of her eldest daughter. It is said that she did not desire the marriage, but that she resolved to make a stalking horse of the Coburg in order to frighten and precipitate Louis-Philippe and M. Guizot into the marriage of the young Queen and her sister with princes of the French royal family. At one time, however, she was sincere in abetting the Coburg marriage. Sincere or the contrary, she at least it was that stirred all the selfish, avaricious, and jealous passions of Louis-Philippe, and made him perpetrate the scandal of the Spanish marriages.

Independent, however, of the question of the marriages, the widest difference prevailed between the French and English governments with regard to Spanish politics and Spanish interests. The English thought that the Queen's government should be frankly liberal and constitutional. The French were for falsifying constitutional government in Spain, as they did at home, and base it upon an oligarchy of influential men. They dreaded popular exigencies, municipal liberty, and aught exceeding the narrow *juste milieu* of the Tuileries. And when Espartero and the Liberals triumphed, the *moderado* opposition, who never could have rallied a majority in the country, supplied it by the favour which was shown them by France. Queen Christina was in the same sentiment. Popular dislike had indeed necessitated her departure from the country. But French agents were not wanting to pour into the young Queen's ears blame and distaste of the constitutional guardians to whom she was as yet subject. On one occasion this was too palpable. The French government despatched M. Salvandy as envoy, with orders to deliver his credentials to the Queen alone. Espartero, being regent and head of the government, conceived that it was to him, and not to a queen still a minor, that an envoy's credentials should be presented. He insisted; Salvandy refused to ac-

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knowledge his claim. And the envoy, recalled, suddenly took his departure from Madrid, and returned to Paris.

The marriages were not yet on the *tapis*. But French jealousy was almost equally awakened by the demand of the English for at least a convention of free trade with Spain. Up to this moment, the French, by virtue of the family compact, had several trading privileges, especially at Barcelona, which the English had not. The British ambassador sought to establish equality of treatment. M. Guizot, however, took fire. He considered Spain as much an appanage of France as Louis the Fourteenth himself, and claimed that France should be the most favoured nation at Madrid in matters of trade as well as of alliance. Lord Aberdeen was weak enough to admit all this. And when Lord Palmerston, a statesman of bolder views, gave it as his opinion that France had really no more claim to dictate or dominate at Madrid than England, M. Guizot and Louis-Philippe accused him of creating a new source of rivalry between the countries.

When the question of marrying the princesses first came under consideration, the Liberal party and the Regent Espartero were undisputed masters of the government. The Queen was considered still too young, and therefore Louis-Philippe's ministers bore with Espartero. As the Spanish princesses, however, began to reach a marriageable age, it so happened that the *moderado* party, all along supported by the French court, came into power. Espartero was obliged to fly for his life. And Queen Christina returned to take the lead in the management of the domestic affairs of her family. Prince Metternich had long laboured to bring about a project of his own, which only displayed his ignorance of foreign countries, especially since 1830. He was for marrying Isabella to the son of Don Carlos. Louis-Philippe himself had once formed the idea, but soon saw the impossibility of realising it.

The son of Don Carlos being set aside, chiefly because the military chiefs in Isabella's interest would not hear of it, a Sicilian prince, a Bourbon, was thought of. And Count Trapani was fixed upon. He was taken from the Jesuits' college, in which he was educating, in order to be better fitted for a constitutional throne. In reality the Sicilian prince was as miserable a choice as the son of Don Carlos himself, and would as certainly have been scouted by Liberal Spain. Count Trapani had thus no party in Spain for him, except, indeed, Narvaez, who found that he must accomplish it in the teeth of the Cortès as well as public opinion. But Narvaez fell, and with him Trapani. Then Christina turned to the Orleans, or in default of it to a Coburg alliance.

Louis-Philippe opposed the marriage of his son with the Queen, whom he had reason to think incapable of bearing children. It would place him at variance at once with England and with Austria, and leave his dynasty without a friend. But to those Spaniards and others who pressed for the French alliance, he replied, "There is the Duc de Montpensier, my youngest son; let him be affianced to the Queen's younger sister, the Infanta, which will give you the French alliance, and not alienate England." The English minister, Lord Aberdeen, assented to this marriage of the Infanta on the condition that the Queen, her sister, had not only previously married but had given birth to an heir. Such was the understanding between the French and English courts when they met at Eu, and afterwards in the Isle of Wight.

This arrangement did not satisfy Queen Christina, especially that portion of it which deferred the marriage of her second daughter. She soon found an auxiliary in her policy of playing the Coburg against the Bourbon, this auxiliary being no other than the Russian envoy in London, Count Brunnow, who jeered the French ambassador on the imminent success of the Coburg mar-

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riage. On the other hand, the British ambassador at Madrid, Sir Henry Bulwer, perceiving that there were few Bourbon princes that were desirable husbands for the Spanish princesses, wrote to his government, and otherwise maintained, how absurd and unfair it was to limit the choice of husbands for the princesses to one family, that family so effete in most of its branches. The Spanish people could not accept a Carlist or a Sicilian Bourbon. Besides the Orleans princes, there remained but the sons of Prince Francisco de Paula, of whom the eldest had the voice and the appearance of a *soprano*, whilst the younger, still worse, had actually declared himself a Liberal and an *exaltado!* "Why not marry the Queen to any prince, Bourbon or not," asked Sir Henry Bulwer, "and let the Infanta marry the Duc de Montpensier?" So natural a proposition is set down by M. Guizot as nothing less than an anti-Gallican and Coburg conspiracy. To put an end to M. Guizot's terror, Lord Aberdeen applied to Prince Albert, who gave his word that the family of Coburg would not press and did not even desire the marriage.

This promise of the Prince was far, however, from quieting the susceptible French minister. M. Guizot saw a Coburg in every breeze. It is evident that he was wholly preoccupied and absorbed by this arch enemy. And thus he and Louis-Philippe, in their anxiety to keep Bourbons and Bourbon alliances on the throne of Spain, allowed the same Bourbon family to slip off that very throne of which they had the special keeping, being no other than the throne of France itself. Unfortunately the susceptible minister and monarch had had a still more susceptible envoy at Madrid, Count Bresson, who was always in a panic or a passion, and proved it indeed by his last act, suicide, without it being possible to assign a sufficient reason.

The year 1846 demanded a solution of the marriage question. The Sicilian and Carlist princes being set

aside, the sons of Don Francisco came into the front rank. Lord Aberdeen had quitted office, Lord Palmerston was in power; and his lordship, being informed of the non-virile symptoms, manifest in the aspect and voice of the Duke of Cadiz, eldest of these princes, declared that his brother Don Enrique should alone be thought of as the Queen's husband. The French King's minister, as well as Queen Christina, thought otherwise. They had their own reasons. Lord Palmerston feared that a marriage with the Duke of Cadiz would prove null and sterile. He was not aware how such defects are remedied or supplied in Spain. He, therefore, was opposed to a marriage of Queen Isabella with the Duke of Cadiz. Were it to be decided on, he for very cogent reasons was desirous that the promise of the French government should in that case be observed, of not solemnising the marriage of the Infanta with the Duc de Montpensier until the Queen had given birth to an heir.

Previous to the letter of Lord Palmerston mentioning the name of Saxe-Coburg, Count Bresson had, however, actually obtained from Queen Christina a promise of the simultaneous marriage of the Queen and Princess to the Dukes of Cadiz and Montpensier. Louis-Philippe showed himself highly displeased at such an intrigue, which placed him under the charge of duplicity towards England. M. Guizot viewed it otherwise. He considered Lord Palmerston's mere mention of the Saxe-Coburg candidate as freeing himself and the King from all engagements. This minister pleaded that the French court was to be disengaged from all previous agreements if the Queen's marriage with any prince not a descendant of Philip the Fifth had been imminent.* These words are vague enough. But even admitting their worth, no one could suppose Isabella's

* Life of Peel.

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marriage with the Prince of Saxe-Coburg to have been at the time either probable or imminent. M. Guizot, however, considered it sufficiently so to despatch orders to the French envoy, Bresson, at Madrid to precipitate and accomplish the simultaneous marriage of the princesses.

Subsequent events have shown how little important were all these causes and jealousies, and how weak a hold the House of Bourbon had upon any one throne of Europe, much less upon two such thrones as those of France and Spain. The conduct of the King and M. Guizot sufficed to create the conviction, not only in the English cabinet, but in the English public, that the French government had tricked them.

The result was that the two countries and the two governments fell asunder, and that Eastern Europe perceived that the Anglo-French alliance was at an end. This emboldened them to complete the partition of Poland, and rendered France powerless to pursue any liberal or national policy in Italy. Had the Orleans dynasty and the French government of its predilection endured for any time, they would have afforded still further and distressing proofs of how much this separation from England left them at the mercy of other powers. But whilst the foreign policy of the French government went to deprive it of all allies, all support, and all confidence abroad, its domestic policy was gradually alienating every friend and every party at home, until the monarch and his ministers stood as isolated in the Tuileries as France did in Europe.

There was no circumstance connected with the dynasty of July that rendered it more welcome to the Liberals, and indeed to the French in general, than the conviction that it could not, apparently, favour the clergy, and that it would neither give high patronage to the ultramontanes nor make over to them that supremacy over education which it was the aim of the

Restoration to accomplish. Notwithstanding this belief, the ultra-religious party gradually raised its head in France, and became especially noisy and virulent in its attacks on the university. The clergy no longer strove indeed to dominate that body, appoint its grand-masters, and dictate the spirit and course of education; they adopted quite different aims, and, seeing it impossible to predominate in the councils of education, they clamoured for complete freedom of public instruction. They demanded, in other words, the power of establishing those Jesuit or monastic schools which had been banished the kingdom to Switzerland in the last years of Charles the Tenth's reign. Freedom of education is a good principle in a country where all is free. But in a centralised administration, or a country where every institution depends on a minister, to allow the Jesuits to establish schools and colleges was simply to set one administration against another. M. Guizot, as a Protestant, experienced more scruples than another might have felt. He showed himself tolerant to the Jesuits, and instead of protecting the university, and putting down its monastic foes with the strong hand, he applied to Rome. This was an attempt to take the matter out of the hands of the Chamber, which showed itself strongly opposed to the condescension of M. Guizot to the church party and the Jesuits. His conduct, no doubt, proceeded from principles of tolerance and justice, and a wish to give even ultra-Catholicism fair play. But the result was unfortunate, for, though the court of Rome advised the Jesuits to desist and withdraw, the good fathers managed to hold their ground under another name, and thus contrived to make the Orleans dynasty fall under the same imputations which Liberal France had directed against the Restoration.

Such imputations became more powerful and more pointed when the policy of the French government in

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Switzerland became an object of public opposition and parliamentary comment. The Swiss, like the Italians, naturally marched with the age, and demanded ameliorations in their government and their social organisation; the republic had been but patched up in 1815. An inevitable revolution had taken place since; old prejudices and reactive ideas remained unchanged in the central or mountain cantons, whilst the town population of the plains came to predominate, and to demand the alterations consequent upon these. Several changes had taken place. The latest and most important was the suppression of religious communities in cantons where the civic and Protestant population predominated. This revolution effected in the canton of Argau created much disturbance. Lucerne is a half Protestant half Catholic canton; the Protestant party espoused the Liberal cause. The Catholics held firm in despite of this, and, whenever attacked, were wont to summon the mountaineers from the other side of the lake to their aid. The Swiss should have been left to settle this dispute themselves. But not only Austria, but France, interfered, to espouse the party of the monks and the peasantry of the forest cantons. Lord Palmerston deprecated this retrograde policy of the French in Switzerland, as in Italy; he refused to adhere to M. Guizot's and Prince Metternich's views; and the consequence was that the civic party throughout Switzerland took courage, formed an army, and with great ease put the retrogrades and monks to the rout, dissolved their Sonderbund, and expelled the Jesuits altogether. If the natural current of events, with which Lord Palmerston floated, thus ran counter to French retrograde policy in Switzerland, much more striking was that which he abetted in Italy. Here was a grander theatre, a more enthusiastic population. The change of a Pope from one of the old stationary school to Pius the Ninth had sufficed to set the mind of the peninsula in motion. At first, in 1846, the movement

had been directed against Austria, and the Pope as well as France had seconded it. But in 1847, when France had alienated England and assimilated her policy to that of Austria, the part of the Pope was quite other. The popular movement, too, had broken out into overt acts. Charles Albert inaugurated political changes at Turin. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, at Florence, and the Prince of Lucca were obliged to fly. In the midst of all these circumstances, Lord Minto, a member of the English cabinet, visited Italy, and though deprecating violence and ultra-Liberalism, could not but applaud the efforts made everywhere for emancipation. The Liberal movement, however, did not wait upon Lord Minto's smile or approval; he had only reached Rome when Sicily and Naples burst out into insurrection. The Pope grew alarmed, and his hesitation began at once to beget his unpopularity. Such was the state of Europe, and of France in it, at the close of 1847. The changes and the tendency of its policy threw Louis-Philippe into the arms of Austria, whilst the Liberal tendency and convictions of the English minister prompted him to trust the party of the people. That such a state of things would have drawn the King of the French by degrees into an alliance with the despotic powers, and into not merely estrangement, but even hostilities with England, is evident. But the French people perceived the course their sovereign was taking, and this, added to the persistance in a similar policy in domestic affairs, of which the results appeared daily, gradually brought people's minds round to the necessity and probability of a revolution.

There were not wanting members of the King's own family who were alarmed by the direction affairs were taking. The Queen had misgivings which she communicated to Montalivet and Sebastiani. The Prince de Joinville was haunted by the same fears, which he ventured to express; his father, on hearing them, gave

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as an answer the order to the Prince to take the command of the Mediterranean squadron. From on board, the Prince de Joinville addressed the following letter to his brother, the Duc de Nemours, depicting so strongly and truly the state of things as to render unnecessary any remarks of the historian. It was published at the time in the *Akbar*, a journal of Algiers, then under the influence of the Duc d'Aumale, who no doubt thought the publication of his brother's letter useful.

"I am troubled by the events I see gathering on all sides. I begin to be seriously alarmed, and when one is so, one likes to communicate with those enjoying our confidence. The King is inflexible; he listens to no advice; his will must overbear all others. One great danger is the action exercised by our father, which is so unyielding that a statesman who cannot break it finds, like Bresson, no resource but in suicide. Debates this session must turn upon this anormal state of things, which destroys all constitutional freedom, and puts the King personally forward. There are no longer any ministers, at least there are none of any responsibility. The King is of an age that accepts no observation to be made to him; he is accustomed to govern, and he likes to show it. His immense experience, his courage and great qualities prompt him to face danger, but the danger exists not the less. The present year will display more forcibly this false position. Constitutional government was established to avoid the inconvenience of having a monarch too young or too old. But it has failed with us.

"Our situation is bad. In the interior our finances, after seventeen years' peace, are not brilliant, and our foreign policy is as little so. Palmerston's accession to office, by arousing the passionate mistrust of the King, has betrayed us into the Spanish campaign, and left us open to a charge of bad faith. Separated from

England, at the moment when the affairs of Italy demanded its support, we have been able to do nothing. We durst not affront Austria, lest a new holy alliance should be formed and England join it. With a state of things thus detestable at home and abroad, the result of the King's growing superannuated, we come before the Chamber. Nor do I see a remedy. At home, our finances stare us in the face; abroad, what can be done? An Austro-French campaign in Switzerland would make matters worse. Italy, I had hoped, would have furnished us means of redemption. But the opportunity has been lost. Without England we can do nothing but throw ourselves into the arms of the retrograde party, which is worse than nothing. Oh, these sad Spanish marriages!

"In sum, our dilapidated finances, the alternative abroad of either submitting to Palmerston or acting the *gendarme* to Austria and Switzerland, all this is due to the King. It is very serious; and I fear that instead of discussions upon the rise and fall of ministers, the Chamber will go into constitutional principles. If there was any opening for action, one might enter into it with spirit, and win a victory. But there is not a chance.

"Excuse this, as well as what I say of father; you know my affection and respect for him. But it is impossible to look into the future without being alarmed.".

This letter, which sums up the chief causes of discontent connected with foreign policy, passes over that springing from domestic government as too well known. It mentions, indeed, the finances, the expenditure being nearly double that of the Restoration, and the wilfulness of the King, which effaced the responsibility of his ministers. The opposition did not slacken in denouncing these evils, but that most dwelt upon was corruption. The party which dominated in the Chamber, and gave the majority to the King and government, was

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represented as a mere aristocracy of money, and so immersed in commercial and pecuniary calculations as to lose sight of all others. The rage of the time left the monied world open to this accusation. Instead of being a period of legitimate trade, it was that in which railways sprang up, and were subscribed for, the creation of, and traffic in, shares suspending almost every other aim or business. It was not the honest fructification of capital so much as the manipulation of its paper representative that constituted business, and occupied the commercial mind. In the creation of railroads, obstacles were to be overcome, influence bought, and a portion of the capital of every company was devoted to carrying out its objects by the usual mode of interesting, or, one may say, bribing, *hostile* or passive influence. This symptom of corruption was not, we fear, confined to France; but in that land of equality, where such an epidemic assailed every class, ministers themselves did not escape. M. Teste, minister of public works, was proved—the facts came out in the courts of law, where contending parties had imprudently brought each other—to have accepted some 4,000*l.* for sanctioning a scheme. General Cubières, who had been minister of war, was equally inculpated. Teste could not deny the facts, and was condemned to restitution, and three years' imprisonment. In the midst of the rage for revelation, many came forward to denounce and disclose. M. Émile de Girardin stated cases in which certain personages had been bought. M. Petit confessed how he himself had paid money for a place, and this in some degree implicated M. Génie, who was chief in the office of M. Guizot. The moral character of this minister was unimpeachable. His name was quite sufficient to shake off every imputation of the kind; and the same might be said of M. Duchâtel and other ministers of the cabinet. But the solitary case of Teste was damning. About the same time unfortunately occurred the murder

of his wife by the Duc de Praslin. However little such a crime of an individual had to do with the members of his class or his age, still the event was coupled with the offences of Teste and others; and the entire upper and middle class, especially that supporting the monarchy of July, was represented as a mere hot-bed of corruption.

It had been a constant source of anger and annoyance with Napoleon to find that his functionaries, as well as contractors, made large and inexplicable fortunes in his employ. Instead of bringing them to trial, or exciting scandal, however, Napoleon fixed a sum, equal in his idea to a large portion of their profits, and told them peremptorily to disgorge.* They always did so without a murmur. The Restoration was not more free than other régimes from this dilapidation; the story and trial of Ouvrard are sufficient testimony in this respect. The last years of Louis-Philippe's reign, the corruptions of which were so flagrantly exposed, were no more immoral, or epicurean, than those which followed or preceded.

If moral critics had thus a positive ground of accusation against the monarchy, those material interests which were represented as influential before all others had no reason to be satisfied. The railroad mania, which had given such activity to money dealings, had rather benumbed than accelerated actual trade. The companies carried off and spent all the disposable capital of the country, and, this not sufficing, were obliged to borrow more.† But money could only be had from abroad. A financial crisis was the consequence. The Bank of England and the Treasury of the Emperor Nicholas was applied to for gold, and lent it. This

* See Bourrienne.

† In two years the companies had borrowed 1,300 millions of francs at the Bourse, and government 200 millions more. The amount of the floating debt at the same time reached 700 millions. See Garnier Pagès.

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distress affecting the commercial classes led to diminished expenditure, which curtailed or destroyed the usual gains of the shopkeeping community. The famine and dearness which affected the lower classes were fraught with worse consequences. The failure of the potato crop and the great inundations of 1845 had greatly diminished the usual store of winter food. Great drought followed in 1846. The price of corn consequently, in that year and 1847, reached famine prices, and, joined to the scarcity of money, produced one of those periods of universal discontent which, especially in France, are found to produce revolution.

The public in such crises look to the government and to the Parliament. Unfortunately neither of them responded or could respond to the supplicating attitude of the people. The French cabinet contained no Peel. Lacave-Laplagne was superseded as finance minister by M. Dumon. Salvandy had succeeded Villemain. Messrs. Jayr, Trezel, and Montebello, added to the cabinet, did not confer upon it that character for talent which it required. M. Guizot and M. Duchâtel stood, indeed, almost alone.

The Chamber and the parliamentary system itself shared in their unpopularity. The Chamber had been dissolved in 1846 after having sat four years. It had not introduced order or economy into the finances or added strength to the throne. The cry of corruption as well as of incapacity assailed and weakened it. The elections of 1846 made no change in the majority, which was in a manner stereotyped. Whilst the country was progressing, or at least notably modifying its sentiments, the narrow electoral body and the representative one emanating from it showed no alteration. It was pointed out that whilst 120,000 electors returned but 81 deputies, 98,000 returned 278.* The thinly-peopled rural and igno-

* Garnier Pagès, Histoire de la Révolution, t. iv.

rant districts thus formed the majority. And yet even in these districts agitation and discontent contrived to penetrate. The emissaries of the clubs arrayed the poor against the rich and excited the working classes with strange doctrines, whilst the educated and professional, denied even electoral rights, looked on and augmented the growing disaffection.*

The obvious remedy for this was reform. It is a dangerous thing when a whole country comes to concentrate its grievances in one word, and mad must be a government that would not pay attention to it. M. Guizot himself at one moment appeared not deaf. In addressing his electors at Lisieux, he declared that, whilst opposition merely favoured progress, the government would give it. The session therefore that opened in the first days of 1847 soon rang with echoes of Reform. Duvergier de Hauranne, the friend more of Guizot than of Thiers, took the lead. He proposed to lower the franchise to 100 francs, augmenting the number of deputies, and fix 400 as the requisite number of electors for a district. The motion produced an animated debate of many days, but was negatived by a majority of nearly a hundred. M. Guizot in the course of it refused to promise even at a future time to make any the least concession. There ensued another debate on the *incompatibility* of being placeman and deputy. On this the majority of 100 sank to 50. Many friends of the throne thought it might yield on this point. M. de Morny was one of them. When he pressed his advice upon the monarch, Louis-Philippe observed that France could not be governed except by its functionaries in and out of the Chamber.

The King, the minister, and the Chamber thus presenting an immovable barrier to the one desire and demand of all parties, these coalesced. Left Centre,

* See Dupin, t. iv.

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Dynastic Left, Radical or Republican Left, not only agreed, but met. And in April, at Barrot's, they proposed to form a *comité central*, to get up petitions, and above all banquets. These apparently convivial meetings became the great means of opposition: the government, at first miscalculating their importance or uncertain of the law, felt doubtful of their right to interfere and prevent them. The first manifestation of the kind took place in the garden of the *Château rouge*, a tavern near Montmartre. Twelve hundred persons, under the presidency of the veteran Lasteyrie, gathered round the table on the 10th of July. Odilon Barrot and Duvergier de Hauranne were the principal speakers. Ledru-Rollin refused to attend, Barrot and Duvergier being too moderate and monarchic for him. The two parties were afterwards to meet at the banquet of Lille, but their respective journals taunted both, and Barrot would not dine except a toast was given to the Institutions of July, which the Republicans declined. The schism was indeed much deeper between moderate and *exalted* Republicans than between both and the Monarchic Liberals. The *National*, edited by Marrast, was for such a republic as would conciliate and include middle and educated classes. The *Réforme* was for resuscitating 1792, without bloodshed indeed, but still putting the people, as at that epoch, dominant over the upper classes. In the bureaux of the *Réforme* itself there were also shades of difference, for whilst Louis Blanc was for gaining the support of the labouring classes by assuring them not only a right to labour, but a participation in the capital which employed it, others, Ledru-Rollin himself included, looked with doubt and mistrust on the sanity or realisation of such doctrines.

But however differing in principles and aims, all agreed in denouncing the King and his ministers, who were universally devoted to the infernal gods during the last six months of 1847. A signal proof how much

influential men were impressed with the necessity of the court yielding to the general demand was a vote of the Council-General of the Seine, strongly impressing this opinion on the government. The advice of M. de Morny has been mentioned. The old friendship of Marshal Sebastiani for the King emboldened him to offer more urgent counsel. It was repelled in a manner that offended Sebastiani, who never saw the King after. The Prince de Joinville's letter spoke the sentiments of the King's own family. The Queen commissioned Montalivet to make representations upon the grave subject. Madame Adélaïde, the King's sister, was forced to do the same. And her death at the close of 1847 was in this respect a great loss to Louis-Philippe. In fact, the only persons inexorably decided on not making the least concession were the King and M. Guizot, who on that account no doubt had been declared president of the council, a supremacy previously denied to him.

It has been generally supposed that M. Guizot was as resolute in non-concession as the King, and that for this merit he was proclaimed president of the council during the recess. In his Memoirs, however, that statesman declared that he was fully alive to the pressing nature of the demands, and that he warned the King that circumstances might arise during the ensuing session which would render it advisable to yield at least on some points. Had M. Guizot accompanied this admonition by adding that he would be, or was, ready to propose a moderate measure of reform, the King might have given way. But, on the contrary, M. Guizot said that if any amount of reform was deemed necessary, he must resign. This surely intimated disapproval and encouraged the monarch in resistance.*

* M. Guizot seems to say that his objection was less to Reform than to the dissolution of the majority. If the conservative majority could have

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Nothing indeed could have been more easy than to have divided the coalition and disarmed opposition. Far from attempting it, the government managed to keep them more united and persistent. The King's speech on opening the Chamber (December 28, 1847) stigmatised reformers as factious and blind, and expressed the conviction that "the present institutions unchanged were quite sufficient to satisfy all the moral and material wants of the country." The address produced two-and-twenty days of fierce debate, in which King and government were accused in every department of foreign and domestic policy of weakness, corruption, incapacity, and obstinacy. This no doubt hardened their determination not to yield. Yet they might have done so with a good grace. M. Sallandrouze, one of their partisans, prepared an amendment in these words: "In the midst of these manifestations, *if the government* must recognise what are the real and legitimate desires of the country, it will, we think, take the initiative of wise and moderate changes which will satisfy public opinion, especially in the matter of parliamentary reform." This was eventually rejected by over 222 votes against 189. Had the government accepted it, the amendment would have passed, and would have proved to them that a moderate measure of reform would have satisfied and broken up a large portion of the opposition. The amendment, however, as well as all others, was rejected, making it evident that the decision and opinion of the majority of the Chamber were the reverse of those of the country and the public at large. The fiercest debate was on the subject of the banquets, which ministers claimed the right to prevent for the future. This led to a fierce interchange of threats.

agreed in a measure of reform, he might have adopted it. It became subsequently evident that, had he adopted it, he could have brought the conservative party with him and preserved his cherished majority almost intact.

Hebert, who had succeeded to the seals of justice, was most provocative, or, as M. Duchâtel afterwards admitted, *trop absolu*. Barrot said that the present ministry was worse than that of Polignac, and a greater enemy of the public liberties. He prophesied to them the same fate. Duchâtel in a note to Guizot confessed that the debates were "leading directly to *émeute*."

The dispute was soon transferred from the Chamber to the streets. It had always been the intention of the Coalition to wind up the provincial banquets by one in the capital. It was announced to take place in the 12th district, a popular quarter. The police signified that it prohibited the banquet by virtue of a law passed in 1790!

The propriety of persevering or abstaining was seriously discussed at a meeting of the Coalition, but it being argued, especially by Lamartine, that to desist was to acknowledge defeat, the majority expressed the determination to meet at this banquet, whilst the government seemed as determined to disperse them. The inevitable collision that must ensue, and must end in a tumult, alarmed certain provident spirits, and especially M. de Morny. He determined to act as mediator, and M. Vitet, the friend of Duchâtel, joined him. They proposed, with the assent of the home minister, to M. Barrot that the meeting should take place for the banquet, that the police would then interfere, and that if the deputies thereupon withdrew, the whole dispute would be referred to the law courts and the right of meeting be decided by them. Barrot and his moderate friends of the Left accepted this arrangement, as did the council of ministers.*

It might have been foreseen that this would not suit the turbulent, and these instantly imagined a procession previous to the banquet, at which deputies, national

* Guizot s Memoirs.

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guards, and schools should march in array. This was forthwith announced in a kind of manifesto, which secured the sanction of M. Barrot without that gentleman bestowing upon it much attention. When ministers heard of the manifesto, which they did on the 20th, they exclaimed especially against that part of it which called the National Guard to march in procession to the banquet. M. de Morny was summoned and told that this was considered to break off the agreement. Eager for peace, that gentleman hastened to Barrot and his friends, and represented the fears and objections of ministers. Barrot himself regretted these arrangements, but he could not counter-order them. Still he offered to publish a note explaining that if the National Guards came it was the simple act of each, and that there was no convocation or preparations made except for the sake of securing order.* Hurrying back with this *note*, De Morny found the ministry no longer disposed to accept it. The King was hostile to any such concession, M. Guizot equally so, M. Duchâtel was obliged to submit. "In that case," exclaimed M. de Morny, "a collision is unavoidable. But recollect if the government sheds a drop of blood, it perishes. Are you sure of the army? Do you think that the National Guard will support you?"† The ominous warning was thrown away, and a proclamation from the prefect of police forbade procession as well as banquet.

In order to prevent any serious insurrection, the government ordered the occupation of the principal posts of Paris on the morning of the banquet, the 22nd of February, according to a plan laid down by Marshal Gérard. Moreover, orders of arrest were issued against twenty-two of the principal movers to the banquet.‡ But at the threat of the police to disperse banquet and procession, how was the opposition to meet

* Garnier Pagès. † Ibid. ‡ Guizot.

it? M. Barrot and his friends resolved to abstain and give up the feast, replacing it by the very ineffectual means of impeaching M. Guizot before the Chamber of Deputies. When the accusation, signed by fifty-two members, was laid on the bureau, the minister went up, read it, and laid it down with a contemptuous smile.

If the Dynastic Left was satisfied with this, no other portion of opposition was so. Lamartine represented the case as a *to be* or *not to be* for the patriotic party. If an insurrection threatened on one side, disgrace and suicide threatened the whole party on the other. In consequence of such arguments it was resolved to have the procession and a muster at any rate. But all were against pushing it to an insurrection. The members of the Dynastic Left, assembled at the *Siècle* office, were not alone of this opinion. M. Marrast, of the *National*, chief of the moderate Republicans, equally deprecated it. He preferred to see the Liberal deputies resign and quit the Chamber. Nor were the ultra-Republicans of the *Réforme* more animated or determined to push matters to a violent struggle. Ledru-Rollin declared that any such attempt would fail; Louis Blanc said he would cover his face with black crape if it was attempted. More determined fellows, such as Caussidière, said: "Let us wait, and watch events." None, however, counselled an *émeute* or open resistance to the government.

This unaminity in the adoption of extreme prudence on the part of the enemies of the government and dynasty worked it more harm than if they had decided upon open defiance. Word was brought of all these pacific resolves to the government, and so struck was it by this unanimity that the home minister Duchâtel, ever anxious for peace, sent round counter-orders to the troops and forbade that military occupation of Paris on the morning of the 22nd which had been arranged, and which, if persisted in, might have prevented the worst that followed. It was too late to

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call a council, but Jacqueminot and Tiburce Sebastiani, the commanders of the National Guard and of the regular troops, insisting on it, the King was consulted, and it was approved of by him.*

Paris was thereby left to itself at a moment when the chiefs indeed had resolved to maintain tranquillity, but while the people, the students, and the multitude of those who had meanwhile probably promised themselves a political holiday were but too ready for disturbance. The workers of the faubourgs began to throng the Boulevards early in the day. The more ardent of the students did the same, to the number, it is calculated, of 3,000.

Dense as was the crowd around the Madeleine in the forenoon of the 22nd, there was little menace of revolution. It was only the young who were ardent and mischievous. The students, for example, or the more violent of them, made an incursion against the Chamber of Deputies, penetrated within its railings, and alarmed members and the *huissiers*, but were half persuaded, half driven off, from their purpose. A juvenile group accomplished more mischief. Some hundreds of *gamins de Paris*, choosing the most open spaces in the capital for their gambols, attacked a little guard-house of the municipal soldiers in the Place Louis-Quinze with stones. Some cavalry could have easily dispersed these ragamuffins. But there was none, and the municipal guards, shutting themselves up in their little station, the *gamins* clambered on the roof and set fire to it. This and a similar kind of attack on the *Hôtel des Affaires étrangères* on the Boulevards were the only *émeutes* of the 22nd.

Where were the men of the vaunted secret societies, the Republican conspirators? The prefect of police, Delessert, questioned on the subject, declared that secret societies existed no longer. This was in some measure

* Guizot.

true. The new *Société des Saisons* existed, but without action or purpose. It had depended on the group of journalists in the *Réforme*. But the *Réforme* itself was expiring for want of funds, and the society depending on it was expiring from the same cause. It had not even hope to keep it alive, for M. Ledru-Rollin had told its chiefs that there was no chance or possibility of a successful insurrection. There were 200 or 300 dare-devils, however, who were not to be kept down and balked of their natural prey by the overprudent such as Ledru. They constituted what they called the *Société dissidente*, and were prepared to get up an *émeute* on their own account, if on no one else's bidding. They had stirred up the workmen and brought them to the Madeleine, and they were the first to try their hands at a few barricades. Those at first attempted near the Place Louis-Quinze were, however, soon destroyed, and the small band of *émeutiers* withdrew to the central streets and the Rue St. Denis, and then commenced skirmishing with whatever troops or police showed themselves.*

These disorders were sufficient to warrant the summoning of the National Guard to arms. They mustered few, and those who did come were many of them Republicans, determining to excite, not put down, insurrection. The more conservative of the guards, disgusted, did not attend the summons. The watch-word was given by the editor of the *Réforme*, Flocon, who bade all his friends don the National Guard uniform. These citizen soldiers were, however, of themselves more favourable to the insurrection than to order. The government had long shown its mistrust of them, the King not venturing to review them. Jacqueminot, their commander in chief, had attempted to sift the guards and make a corps of those in favour of ministers. This gave

* Caussidière, De la Hodde, &c.

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great offence. And amidst the panic, the National Guards on duty at the Tuileries found that the soldiers of the line had ball-cartridges whilst they had none. The regiments of the former force accordingly, on the morning of the 23rd, showed favour to the insurrectionists, and instead of putting them down cried out "*La Réforme!*" with them. This took place under the very windows of the Tuileries. At the Place des Petits-Pères, the municipals about to charge the mob were met by the National Guard, who crossed bayonets with them to protect the people. The troops of the line, which had been brought on the morning of the 23rd to occupy different posts by order of Sebastiani, showed hesitation when they saw the Citizen-soldiers fraternising with the people.

Several witnesses of these startling facts hastened to the Tuileries to communicate them. The King was at first incredulous, but the royal family, and especially the Queen, saw their true import. About two o'clock, M. Duchâtel having come to the Tuileries on his way to the Chamber, the Queen observed to him that M. Guizot ought to resign, his unpopularity endangering the monarchy. Duchâtel hastened to the Chamber, and acquainted M. Guizot with what had been said. The latter repaired to the palace about half-past two. Whereupon the King asked, was he certain of being able to master the *émeute?* Had the minister taken upon himself to answer "Yes," he might have continued his purpose of resistance; but M. Guizot said he could not answer for events, and even to maintain resistance was impossible if the crown withdrew its confidence. Such a colloquy necessarily ended in the two ministers resigning.* The King sent for Count Molé, whilst Guizot hastened to the Chamber to announce his resignation. Meantime the insurrection grew strong. The line and dragoons were

* M. Guizot writes that from the first moment of his interview, and first words with the King, it was evident that the latter had already made up his mind to dismiss his ministers.

withdrawn from their posts in the middle of the city, and the municipal guards, besieged by multitudes, were either slaughtered or compelled to surrender. Count Molé recommended the King to admit Thiers to the ministry. The monarch hesitated. Had he declared Thiers and Barrot ministers in the afternoon of the 23rd the insurrection might have calmed down. But Louis-Philippe would not accept even Thiers, who, when Molé did call upon him late on the 23rd, insisted on the dissolution of the Chamber as a preliminary.

The afternoon of the 23rd was thus lost by the King, whilst the followers of the secret societies, the party of the *Réforme*, did their utmost to stir up the strife. Accident, however, did more than all their efforts. The post of the National Guard in the Place Royale was besieged and surrounded by the multitude. Some of its officers, to get rid of the people, proposed a procession to the column of the Bastille. The people caught at the idea, the procession was formed, and, having marched round the column, continued its course spontaneously up the Boulevards. Slowly proceeding along the broad popular path, they paused at the office of the *National*, were harangued by M. Marrast in inflammatory style, and then resumed their course to the Madeleine.

By a most stupid arrangement, the officers commanding the troops that protected the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, instead of merely surrounding the edifice, undertook to interrupt the passage of the Boulevard itself. Crowded as it was from one end to the other, a procession or any body of men must advance and could with difficulty check its course. It was in this way that the procession from the Bastille, after pausing at the *National*, came upon the troops barring the way before the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Had there been National Guards there, they might have prevented a collision, but a company of them had been just called away when the procession and its leaders arrived. There ensued a parley. The leaders

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of the procession begged to be allowed to pass. The colonel or commander pleaded his orders to bar the way. During the discussion a chance shot was fired, and the line of soldiers, who had merely orders from their colonel to keep off the multitude with their bayonets, fired. The volley took effect upon the serried multitude, near a hundred of them falling,* whilst shouts of horror as well as of pain burst from the decimated people. The officer was in dismay, and tried all kinds of explanation. They were not accepted. Some of the insurrectionists, who knew their business well, made haste to seize an open cart belonging to Laffitte's Messageries and load it with the bleeding dead.

The excitement caused by this fearful cartload swelled the ranks and raised the spirits of the professional insurrectionists as well as of the people to such a pitch that the central and intricate mass of streets between the quays and Boulevards soon offered a network of barricades. Instead of being ordered to attack them, the troops were withdrawn to the Carrousel. The King towards midnight withdrew the command from Sebastiani and gave it to Marshal Bugeaud,† and Molé having intimated that he gave up all hopes of forming a ministry, Louis-Philippe sent for M. Thiers. That gentleman reached the Tuileries after midnight, and had a long conversation with the King, who had at first objected to such ministers as Barrot and Rémusat, but at last consented. He would not, however, agree to the dissolution of the Chamber. "How am I to find colleagues," then asked Thiers, "if you will not grant what they will all demand?"

* Lagrange, the wild republican, has been accused of firing this provocative shot, but it is certain that Lagrange was not there at all. (See Garnier Pagès.) Thirty-five dead and forty-seven wounded were counted in the neighbourhood.

† Guizot recommended Bugeaud's appointment early in the evening. The King at first hesitated; Thiers was then appointed, and it was thought necessary to await his fiat. Louis-Philippe observed that, although Thiers would approve of Bugeaud's nomination, he would not initiate it. On this Guizot countersigned the appointment.

—"Get the colleagues first, and we shall see."—"By-the-by," observed the monarch, "I have given the command to Bugeaud. He is your friend."—"Friend he may be," said Thiers, "but he is most unpopular. If Barrot and I assume power, it is for the purpose of conciliation; the appointment of Bugeaud at the same time is a contradiction."—"You would not disarm me altogether?" asked Louis-Philippe. M. Thiers replied that he could not, and he set out on his errand of persuading Barrot and his friends to be his colleagues.

As morning appeared, Marshal Bugeaud gave the requisite orders for regaining possession of the chief points of the capital abandoned during the night. He despatched one column by the Quays, another, under General Bedeau, by the Boulevards, and a third by the Place des Victoires. The accounts at first published and accredited of the revolution of 1848 represent Marshal Bugeaud as certain of success, his soldiers eager for the fight, and the people as unable to resist them. At this moment, it was added, the King, at the demand of M. Thiers, sent orders to suspend hostilities, and Bugeaud obeying, the people pressed on, and the monarchy was lost. Acquainted with many of the principal actors in these critical scenes, I often questioned them as to the possibility of Bugeaud's resistance and Louis-Philippe's success, and I always received for answer that success was as impossible in 1848 as in 1830! The National Guard and the whole population were at both epochs arrayed against the monarchy. Later accounts have corroborated these views, and the "History of the Revolution" by M. Garnier Pagès fully proves that it was not the King that overruled Bugeaud, but that the marshal himself, struck and overcome by the accounts of the resistance which his troops met with, sent the orders for suspending hostilities.

He did so no doubt at a moment when Barrot and Lamoricière, accompanied by their friends, undertook to

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show themselves before the barricades, announce the formation of a Liberal ministry, and propose that as the troops had suspended hostilities the people ought to do the same and submit. In this mission, so courageously undertaken by Barrot and Lamoricière, they succeeded at first, and were well received in the Carrousel; but as they ventured further, they encountered more ferocious bands of insurgents, who rejected all offers of accommodation. The first barricade objected to Thiers and to Bugeaud; the others refused to welcome Barrot, and instead of accepting peace, shouted "Down with Louis Philippe!" or demanded his instant abdication.

The suspension of arms thus not only failed to produce any accord, but placed the troops in extreme danger. Had they been all marched immediately to the Tuileries, they might have made a stand for the King, or obtained conditions for his family or for his successor. But when they did begin their retreat between ten and eleven o'clock, it was a rout. Bedeau was obliged to abandon his guns. At the Hôtel de Ville the troops joined the people and left the National Guard alone to defend the post. Those of the Place de la Bastille had retreated on the Porte St. Antoine; seeing the insurrection triumphant, the entire mass of the people joined it, attacked the military posts everywhere, the municipal guards, the toll collectors on the bridges, some of which were burned, the barriers suffering the same fate. To describe all the scenes of disorder and popular triumph were impossible. They were not confined to what might be called the town side of the Château. On the other side, towards the Champs Élysées, the royal family, about to breakfast, were startled by an explosion. It was the soldiers on guard at the gate of the Tuileries gardens leading to the Place de la Concorde that fired upon the people, killing amongst others the deputy Jollivet.

Several persons rushed into the Tuileries, all with alarming reports. What was to be done? M. Thiers

recommended the King to retire to St. Cloud, gather what troops he could collect about him, and make either a stand or conditions. This was playing Charles the Tenth. Louis-Philippe would not follow the precedent, yet he adopted another equally fatal. Like Louis the Sixteenth at the supreme moment of the 10th of August, he descended to the Cour du Carrousel to review the 4,000 men there collected. He met with the same reception as Louis the Sixteenth; first, a few cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" then "*Vive la Réforme!*" and at last, "Down with the ministers, with the system, with Guizot!" The King instantly quitted the review for the palace, and meeting with Thiers, exclaimed, "All is over!" When he reached his apartment above, the counsel was "Abdication and Regency." Broken discussions, and lengthened pauses followed, which the King thought to terminate by at last frankly nominating M. Odilon Barrot president of the council. He had scarcely done so when a more formidable explosion was heard in the direction of the Palais Royal. It was occasioned by the attack of the people, or rather of the Republican chiefs, upon the post of the Château d'Eau, opposite the Palais Royal. Lamoricière risked his life a thousand times over to prevent this attack, and to obtain the evacuation of the post by the municipal guards. In vain; they refused to give up their arms, and the people would not on any other condition let them escape. The fight lasted long, until at last the people set fire to the building, and the unfortunate garrison perished to a man either in the flames or under the shots of the insurgents.

The terrible echoes of this battle had the effect of attracting to the Tuileries the mass of combatants and insurgents, who soon broke into the Carrousel. Marshal Bugeaud at first confronted them, and drove them out by his stern aspect more than by his strong arm. But blood panted after blood; and the balls were already heard upon the walls of the Château. Émile de

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Girardin then rushed up the staircase into the royal apartments, declaring that abdication could alone save the lives of the King and of his family. M. Merruau, editor of the *Constitutionnel*, came at the same time, and bore witness to the ferocity which animated the people whose ranks he had traversed. Girardin demanded "Abdication, with the regency to the Duchess of Orleans, the dissolution of the Chamber, and an amnesty." The Duc de Montpensier pressed rather rudely his father to submit to these conditions. The old King consented, and Girardin hastened to communicate it to the multitude. The Queen and Marshal Bugeaud both protested against the abdication; but, overborne by events, the King at last signed the document, and sent it by Marshal Gérard to be shown to the people. The marshal, in the open space of the Carrousel, read it to the foremost squad of the multitude, and as it was impossible for him to penetrate the mass before him, then handed it to Lagrange, who seemed obeyed as chief by the Republicans, begging him to communicate it to his followers. Lagrange took the paper, and coolly put it in his pocket. Thus evaporated all hopes of compromise or armistice from even the written act of abdication.

The King had no sooner given the important document than he withdrew for a moment, and re-entered in plain clothes, and, giving his arm to the Queen, prepared to quit the Tuileries. The Queen, much excited, told all around that they would soon regret so good a King. The Duchess of Orleans exclaimed at being left behind. Louis-Philippe bade her stay for her son's sake, yet he refused to name her regent, insisting that the law had appointed the Duc de Nemours. The King, Queen, and a few followers, then made their way from the Tuileries, by a secret passage under the garden terrace, to the Place Louis-Quinze. The royal carriages had been ordered, but no one knew what had become of

them; the postilion had been shot. The royal family therefore got hastily into a couple of hackney coaches, and, escorted by a few dragoons, were driven along the quays in the direction of St. Cloud.

The first thought of the Duchess of Orleans, left alone with her children, was to repair to the Hôtel de Ville, and claim her son's crown from the people. An emissary from Barrot indeed proposed it to her. It was a bold idea, which some heroic woman might have converted into a triumph. This, in the present case, was, however, more than doubtful. But in the interim M. Dupin arrived, and proposed to the Princess to repair to the Chamber of Deputies, where parties might acknowledge her as regent.

There were few deputies on the benches of the Chamber, when the Duchess of Orleans and her children, accompanied by the Duc de Nemours and Dupin, entered it. She was received by the President Sauzet, and took her seat beneath the tribune. A member called on Dupin to speak. He at first declined, but afterwards announced that the King had abdicated in favour of the Count of Paris; his mother, the Duchess, being regent. It was received with applause, but ere it could be followed up, a band of insurgents and National Guards broke into the assembly. They apostrophised the Duc de Nemours. It was evident that, if the first act of the Chamber was the recognition of the Duchess, its second must be to repel the attacks of the insurgents. Where was the force that would enable them to do this? A measure indispensable to the success of the Duchess was to have prevented the Chamber from being invaded by the mob. The Duc de Nemours ought to have given orders to General Bedeau to that effect. But he had merely told him to protect the Duchess of Orlean's retreat to St. Cloud.*

* Bedeau's letter, Véron.

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Neither Bedeau nor Gourgaud, the latter commanding the troops around the Legislative Palace, took it upon themselves to keep out the multitude.

The Chamber was evidently powerless. M. Thiers and M. Barrot have been both much blamed for not attending the opening of the sitting. But M. Thiers was not minister; Barrot, after failing to make any impression on the men of the barricades, went to the home ministry to issue some orders and tranquillise the provinces by telegraph. There he heard of the King's abdication, and soon after of the coming of the Duchess to the Chamber. He hastened thither, but was intercepted on the threshold by some of the chief writers of the *National*. They brought him aside, told him that they had resolved on having a republic, showed him a list of the provisional government, with his own name set down as one. To all this Odilon Barrot demurred. He preferred the regency of the Duchess of Orleans, as more legal, and more calculated to meet the wishes of the country.*

Individuals of the same group and party also caught hold of Lamoricière as he entered the Chamber. But let us first say, who these personages were, and what was their mission. Whilst the King was escaping on the westward road, the Duchess of Orleans about to proceed to the Chamber, and the mob engaged in plundering the Tuileries, a meeting was held at the *National* office to consider what was next to be done. In the morning these persons would have accepted the regency. Now they determined to set aside the Bourbons altogether, and have a Provisional Government appointed. A list of names was made out. It consisted of Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Crémieux, Garnier Pagès, Ledru-Rollin. The journalists had not the audacity to promulgate such a government of themselves,

* Memoirs of Dupin, History of Garnier Pagès, Lamartine, Regnault, Louis Blanc, and Véron, Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris.

but E. Arago and Bastide, with Marrast, hastened with the project and list of the Provisional Government to the Chamber, to persuade or frighten the members, as it might be, to adopt them. On arriving at the Chamber, Marrast and Bastide met Lamartine, whilst others encountered Barrot; the latter, as we have stated, would not listen to them. And had Lamartine proved equally staunch to the House of Orleans, or to the monarchy, and at the same time the generals received orders to protect the Chamber, the standard of the monarchy might have been raised in the parliament, with what definitive success may, however, be doubtful. Lamartine thought that the Duchess could never hold her ground, as regent, against the people. And this is the reason he gave for abandoning her. Probably he was right. Those who had accomplished the revolution could not resign their necks and fortunes to the party of the dynasty they had overthrown.

Lamartine was won over to the scheme of a Provisional Government; it was also communicated by Marie to Sauzet, who presided the Chamber. E. Arago, Marrast, and others entered the House soon after the Duchess, and thus both parties were in presence. After Dupin had vainly spoken the few words above mentioned, Marie, informed of the views of the Republicans, first rose to object to the regency of the Duchess. It had already, he said, been conferred on the Duc de Nemours, and would require a new law. He thought it more advisable to appoint a Provisional Government. Crémieux, who had been all royalist with the King, and was all republican with the Chamber, spoke in the same sense. Lamartine then proposed that the Duchess of Orleans should withdraw. Dupin is very angry with President Sauzet for at once supporting this idea, and turning the Duchess out. Sauzet was indeed a miserable president. The Duchess rose, and, quitting the centre of the hall, withdrew to the higher benches of the Centre, which was rendered necessary, for many of the armed multi-

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tude had penetrated amongst the members, and already threatened her. Barrot soon after entered, and, full of his interview with the Republicans, declared that the supreme authority, as well as the fate of the country, rested upon a woman and a child. He declined, however, in the crisis, proposing the promulgation of a regency. He would not take upon himself the responsibility of civil war. The Duchess rose to speak, and many thought, had she persisted, she might have rallied the house to her cause. But Odilon Barrot went on, and she sat down irresolute. Larochejaquelin then obtained possession of the tribune, scouted the idea of an Orleanist regency, and as to the Chamber itself, he told the members, "They were no longer anything!" Genoude seconded him. Ledru-Rollin followed on behalf of a revolutionary government, but hesitated to propose it, whilst Berryer was crying out to him, "Conclude; move it." He did not. But some of the worst specimens of the combatants burst in at the time, and rendered any vote in favour of the Duchess impossible. A fellow with a long sword took his post under the tribune, and a butcher with a kind of cutlass kept menacing the group of members round the Duchess. She thought it prudent at length to withdraw, with difficulty escaping, and separated from her two sons, who each ran considerable danger, to the president's house, and from thence to the Hôtel des Invalides.

Lamartine then took possession of the tribune amidst the tumult, mingled applause, and threats of the armed people. At their aspect, President Sauzet ran away, after declaring the sitting at an end. The greater number of the deputies followed. A few of the extreme Liberals alone remained. Lamartine still occupied the tribune, and proposed that Dupont de l'Eure should take the president's chair. Lamartine had in his hand the list of the Provisional Government, chosen at the office of the *National*. He modified it somewhat, and handed it

to Dupont de l'Eure to read out the names. They were those of Dupont himself, Lamartine, Arago, Crémieux, Marie, and Ledru-Rollin. They were accepted by the mixed multitude. And Lamartine immediately set off to exercise his authority at the Hôtel de Ville. Ledru-Rollin, however, tarried a little. He saw something informal in the list, and he read it over again from the tribune, adding the name of Garnier Pagès, and he met with equal acclamations; and then Ledru, with others, hastened after Lamartine to the great centre of popular authority.

Meantime the King and his family had directed their flight first to St. Cloud, then to Trianon, and subsequently to Dreux, the place of the family sepulture. There learning that the regency had been set aside, the royal fugitive travelled in disguise to the coast near Honfleur. He at first hoped to embark at Trouville, but difficulties intervening, the King, under the guidance of the English consul, ventured in disguise over to Havre, and thence embarked on board an English packet, which conveyed him safely across the Channel. Claremont was offered by the Queen as the place of residence for the exiled family, and here the dethroned monarch did not long survive.

Nothing can more clearly show than his fall how much stronger situations and insurrections are than men. Louis-Philippe smiled with pity in 1830 on the imbecility and blindness with which Charles the Tenth rushed on his fate. Yet eighteen years later he himself showed the same blindness, the same ignorance of the danger before him, and of the spirit of the people which he governed. Human prudence failed the one as completely as divine right blinded the other. Louis-Philippe thought himself both right and safe as long as he scrupulously kept within the letter of constitutional law, without perceiving that he totally nullified its spirit. Neither he nor M. Guizot perceived the danger of their position, and that in case of an *émeute*

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the monarch's unpopularity would array the National Guard as well as the people against them, and that in the face of this the army would be reluctant to act. To be sure, the government was always able to prevent an *émeute*. And there indeed was their only chance. But a variety of circumstances deceived the government into allowing full play and space for the commencement of the insurrection, which, once aroused and in conflagration, it was no longer possible by human means to suppress.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE SECOND REPUBLIC,

1848—1852.

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THUS did the National Guard, the students, and the people, excited by the Liberal minority of parliament, overthrow the King, his government and his functionary following, supported by the class of the highest tax-payers, who had the monopoly of the electoral power. Nothing can be more erroneous than to characterise the revolution of 1848 as a victory of the people over the *bourgeoisie*. It was the middle classes especially who murmured against the government, and rendered powerless the arms in its hands, for it was the presence and the voice of the National Guard in the *émeute* which deprived the soldiers of all enthusiasm, the generals of all hope, the King of all courage. Had the monarchy been one of the middle classes, it would not have perished so pusillanimously. But it was a monarchy founded by a group of notables, a pseudo-aristocracy, and carrying on its government by them alone, thus becoming estranged from any of the great divisions which a nation naturally forms.

It has been the fashion of late years to make the *bourgeoisie* the target for speculative abuse, the scapegoat of political ill; and Louis-Philippe's reign and fate have been the occasion for showers of vituperation upon the middle classes. His was styled their peculiar monarchy, the monarchy of the middle classes, and they

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are taunted with not having maintained it. But monarchy is not the natural or favourite regimen of the middle classes. It is that of the highly born, and highly placed, the fastidiously reared, the intellectually educated. But the class whose brain is devoted to industry, and making pecuniary profit of its dealings with other men—this class is essentially republican in its habits, its aspirations, its ideas. In a highly aristocratic and wealthy society, indeed, that portion of the middle class which cater to it, or profit by it, take, of course, like the cameleon, the colour of the substance or support on which it lives; and so the middle classes in many countries were and may still be aristocratic. But this is passing. At last and at length the wide public has become the best patron and the best chapman; and the industrial capitalist, who first doffed his hat to his rich customer, turns to bestow his attention, if not his courtesy, upon the people. The middle classes are thus by nature definitively republican. It was a monarchy, surrounded by republican institutions, they looked to, and were promised in 1830, and the promise being broken, they withdrew their confidence and support.

If the well-provided and well-educated classes be monarchic, rational constitutional limited monarchists, if the spirit and tendencies of the middle and industrious classes be republican, what are the people, what the labourers, the earners, not of luxuries, but bread, the *prolétaires*, as the French call them? Politicians themselves would make believe that such are the only republicans. They are no such thing. If you restrict the state to a city, register its impoverished classes, give them bread at their homes, and places at the theatres, they will in return fill the Forum on stated occasions, and gratefully perform the part of a political mob. But republicans they are not. They much prefer a great personality to any universal or written principle. They will, like the Romans, when fed with the Panem and Circenses, or,

like the *Sans-culottes* of the Terrorists, clamour and fight for those who feed and flatter them. But to be governed by peaceable, humane, intelligent, and superior citizens, is what the people will not long tolerate. A dictator to drive a nail is their idea of superior government. Be the nail war, or agrarian law, or universal suffrage, or equality, that is an humbling of the great to the common level—for such causes as these a people will fling up their caps. But their mode of doing it is to do it by a dictator. Riots, of course, lead the way, and anarchy follows. But an absolute ruler is the necessary heir of anarchy. To him the people always tend when they take matters into their own hands. They show no respect to a legally-formed monarchy unless they are still in the infant state of feudal serfism. They cannot comprehend, much less support, a republic. But despotism, that is, absolute power exercised, or pretended to be exercised, in their peculiar interest, that is the true popular regimen, the inevitable euthanasia of democracy.

If this account of the spirit and political tendencies of different classes be true, it fully explains the failure of the three systems of government essayed between 1815 and 1852. The elder Bourbons established a monarchy, which, if fairly conducted, might have had the support, for a very long period, of the middle class as well as of all above them. The tendency downwards was indeed inevitable, but by gratifying it to a certain degree, and taking advantage of the natural oscillations of political feeling, it might have endured. But the court, the squires, and the clergy, would be contented with nothing less than restoring the past. They would have a monarchy such as the intelligent classes of the day could not tolerate, and thus arrayed the best and most natural support of monarchy against them. The second attempt, that of Louis-Philippe, might have succeeded too, no longer as a monarchy of the upper and intelligent classes, but as a nominal monarchy and a

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real republic. As such the middle classes would have supported it, and the people applauded. This, no doubt, had its risks and incertitudes. War was one of them, and to what war might have led, none can tell. But the accusation was perhaps just that Louis-Philippe and M. Guizot merely essayed a second edition of the Restoration, which, with the elder Bourbons for monarchs, might have done very well, but with the King of the Barricades was an anachronism.

We now come to the experiment of the republic. It was by no means the people that either plotted or suggested it. The writers of the *National*, Lamartine, Garnier Pagès, Marrast, Ledru-Rollin, were amateur politicians, literary or professional men of the middle class, Lamartine himself of a higher grade of society, who saw no possible sovereign, and desired none, and who in consequence tried the more impracticable scheme of erecting a republic, governed by middle-class intelligence, interests, and ideas, in the midst of a civic population, of which the very dregs had boiled up to the surface. Could one even have swept away this mass of popular and civic foam, a republic was difficult, if not impossible, in a vast country without republican institutions, and without habits of local independence. This republic, too, became the banner of the most disorderly and anarchic classes of the capital and the provinces, which, instead of having learned to avoid the excesses and atrocities of the first republic, gloried in them on the contrary, the popular horde in the capital eager to recommence and re-enact them. That a French republic in 1848 must end in dictatorship and despotism was evident indeed from the first day. The only questions were, Who should be the dictator? and, Of what kind should be the despotism? It took three years to decide. And yet it required no wonderful gift of prophecy to foretell where authority would concentrate. Almost every eminent person sent in his adherence to the republic,

from Béranger and Larochejaquelin to the members of the Buonaparte family. Louis-Napoleon came at once to Paris with his adhesion; but the Provisional Government feared his presence, and bade him begone, as dangerous to their supremacy and to the public peace. The Prince instantly obeyed.

The first personage, who in the afternoon of the 24th reached the Hôtel de Ville, and assumed authority there was Garnier Pagès,* who had been sent by Odilon Barrot. He found the municipal council sitting, and he was forthwith chosen and installed as mayor. Soon after came Lamartine and the members of the Provisional Government, named at the Chamber, Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Crémieux, Marie, and Ledru-Rollin. They experienced great difficulty in making their way into the edifice, and almost as great in finding a room in which they might sit and constitute a council. The crowd followed, and hustled and threatened, a bevy of friends and students struggling to keep them off.

The first serious business was to distribute the offices and duties of the ministry. The most aged, Dupont de l'Eure, was declared president of the council. Lamartine took foreign affairs; Ledru, the interior; Crémieux, an Israelite, with a most un-Jewish physiognomy, became justice minister; Marie, public works; Carnot, public instruction; the Banker Goudchaux, finance; Arago, marine. This was accomplished by seven o'clock, when some time after eight appeared Marrast, Flocon, and Louis Blanc, to claim their share in the government. The writers of the *Réforme*, a more radical Republican paper, on hearing that the *National* had drawn up a list of governors for the country, made out another one of equal right. It was the same list as that of the *National*, except that Flocon, editor of the *Réforme*, well known

* His Histoire de la Révolution de 1848; Lamartine's Histoire de la Révolution de 1848; Régnault's Hist. du Gouvernement provisionnel; Cassaignac's Hist. de la Chute; periodicals of the time.

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as a reporter in the gallery to the *Constitutionnel*, and Louis Blanc, one of its writers, were added, and with them an artisan, named Albert, a manufacturer of buttons, and a member of the secret Republican societies.* The *Réforme* was too late to despatch its list to the Chamber and get it sanctioned there. But it did not deem its right of electing the sovereigns of the country less sacred, or less clear. The original seven, however, named by the Chamber, objected to receive their new colleagues except as secretaries. So M. Garnier Pagès arranged it. The secretaries, however, took their seats with the other members of the government, and the question being soon raised as to whether a republic should be proclaimed or not, the new members showed themselves as loud and as influential as the others. They were indeed for proclaiming a republic at once and absolutely, whilst the others were for proclaiming it conditionally, until its ratification by the country. This latter proposal prevailed, and the Republic was proclaimed from the windows of the Hôtel de Ville.

Loud as were the acclamations which followed this announcement, it satisfied and tranquillised no one. To the middle class, the Republic enthroned at the Hôtel de Ville offered nothing to which they could rally. On the other hand, the secret societies and more ardent of the people were disappointed to see supreme power wielded by parliamentarians such as Lamartine, Garnier Pagès, and Marie. There was no time or means for making any plot or plan for altering this constitution of the government. But individuals and bands came one after the other, all through the evening and night, to apostrophise the members of the government, menace, hustle them, and demand all kinds of absurdities and impossibilities. Lamartine was the chief orator of the government, who faced them, whose eloquence often appeased, some-

* Garnier Pagès, Louis Blanc's Pages d'Histoire, De la Hodde.

times dominated them, always at least prevented the crowd from proceeding to violence. Some, however, demanded his head. "My head, citizen, I wish it was on your shoulders, and then you would have some common sense." This trifling retort changed the imprecations of the mob to laughter.

Whilst Lamartine thus perorated for his life and the existence of government at the Hôtel de Ville, some of his colleagues laboured to quiet the disorder, which from the streets had spread to the environs of the capital. Everywhere country houses and palaces were sacked, that of Louis-Philippe at Neuilly, of Rothschild at Boulogne. The railway stations were burned; Vincennes was threatened.* The National Guards marched forth to prevent these excesses; that of Versailles saved the palace. The first impulse of such members of the government as met in the morning of the 25th was to follow an example given in 1830, and enrol the wild youth of the barricades into regiments to be called the *garde nationale mobile*. They were given good pay, the liberty of choosing their own officers, and other immunities. The offer was grasped at; and the young marauders of the 24th became regular soldiers on the 28th. It was well for the government thus to collect a force, for the anarchists were organising themselves. Caussidière and two agents of the secret societies, as well as of the *Réforme*, took possession of the police, and organised there a regiment of the worst and most reckless of the combatants of the barricades, not the *gamins*, but the veterans of conspiracy and crime. The army itself was threatened with dissolution. The people had everywhere broken into the barracks, taken the muskets, whilst the soldiers, disgusted, were ready to disband.

Ere the new *garde mobile* could be organised, or either the National Guard or the soldiers brought to

* Memoirs of Caussidière.

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protect the new government, its members, during the 25th, were assaulted by the same enemies which had first shown themselves, but no longer in a confused manner or in unorganised groups. The popular opponents of a civic republican government by such men as Lamartine might be classed either as Socialists or Terrorists. The first had conceived the idea, if not of seizing and confiscating all capital, at least substituting for it an employing power to be wielded by the State. This doctrine, preached in the secret societies, had not as yet the opportunity of prevailing or being applied. Two of its professors, Louis Blanc and Albert, had installed themselves in the Provisional Government. And deputations of their followers came on the 25th, not to recommend or supplicate, but insist upon this view being acted upon. A stentor of the name of Marche was their spokesman on this occasion, his rudeness alone being sufficient to excite opposition. This was shown not only by Lamartine, but by Arago, Dupont de l'Eure, and Marie. Louis Blanc tried to soften and excuse his rude behaviour. But the majority of the government would not sign or sanction these Socialist demands. They consented, however, to a compromise. The government promised to find labour for the workman, and to fix a *minimum* of his gains. And this was the essential point. Lamartine and his friends did not perceive that in granting this they really granted all. And it was seen a few days later when Marie, as minister of public works, prepared to open national workshops for all artisans and labourers out of employ.

Louis Blanc was unjustly charged with having originated this system of State employ for the labourer. But in truth, he had nothing to do with the national workshops. His ideas were more scientific and more complex. And whether impracticable or not, since he had been allowed a seat in the government, he ought to have been permitted to preside over and direct the experi-

ment. He would have conducted it at least better than the lawyer Marie, who was totally ignorant on the subject. Had Louis Blanc succeeded, he would at any rate have quieted the labouring classes. Had he failed, he would have been incapacitated from mischief. But the Provisional Government unfortunately did not entrust the workshops to the chief Socialist professor, but placed that professor at the head of a commission which was to sit in the Luxembourg, and instead of practising on the national workshops, he was to preach and propagate hopes and ideas with the working and other classes assembled to hear and discuss with him. The result was that Louis Blanc and his aide-de-camp, Albert, created an enthusiastic army of followers at the Luxembourg, whilst the minister of public works was enrolling workmen to play at pitch and toss, and receive government salary at the rate of thousands a day.

Whilst the Socialists thus partially succeeded with the government, the Terrorists, or *Sans-culottes* of the old traditions of the Revolution, came to make their demands too. They had far more villanous intentions, and a more formidable following, than the Socialists, filling the Place de Grève with their bands, whilst their chiefs penetrated to the presence of the Provisional Government. Their desires, indeed, were not such as could be expressed. They objected to a *garde mobile*, or indeed to any new force save their own revolutionary legion, organised under Caussidière, at the Prefecture. The people who followed them did not ask for employment or workshops, but pay, such as the revolutionists received in 1793, for inspiring and supporting terror. A tax on the rich to feed themselves, or the poor, as they alleged. All these things, which could only be obtained by terror, and terror awakened chiefly by the guillotine, were expressed in the one symbol—the red flag. The colour red indeed was sought by them to be universally applied. Cockades, colours, caps, all

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were to be red. And to make this demand of the red republic, the Terrorists gathered to the Hôtel de Ville. Fortunately the different parties were not as yet directly marked and decided, though each of them had already collected in clubs.

There were many mistaken moderate men, and of no opinion, mixed up and confounded with others predetermined to go every revolutionary length. Lamartine made a most courageous resistance to the red flag, and he inspirited his colleagnes to show equal resolution. Louis Blanc at first seemed to say that the colour of the flag was of little consequence, and that at all events each revolution, as it was different in spirit and aim from its predecessor, had a right to a different flag. But Lamartine would not abide such a theory. The flag denoted the cause, and the red flag, if hoisted, would be but the recommencement of the old revolution, its men, and its armies. The Provisional Government, or its majority, adopted his views, and shared his resolution. The difficulty was to persuade and overrule the mob, the packed mob of revolutionists. This Lamartine and, indeed, his colleagues, undertook, defending themselves, and haranguing each portion of the people as they surged up, and declaring that the Tricolour flag, which had made the victorious tour of the world, should be their flag, and not the despicable rag, never red but in the blood of its own fellow-citizens.

Lamartine has left an animated description of his struggles on this occasion,* of the effect of his eloquence, and of the way in which, making one or two proselytes in the crowd, these came to his succour, and, with tears as well as passion, aided in dissuading their comrades from violence and from obstinacy. The people, it was evident, were not Terrorist. Though led away at first to adopt their shibboleth and symbol, they remained the

* See also Dunoyer, Hist. de la Rév. de 1848.

honest citizens of the nineteenth century, not the maniacs of the close of the eighteenth. They were persuaded by the arguments of such orators as Lamartine, and were brought to admit that order, glory, and the Tricolour were preferable to anarchy, bloodshed, and even plunder under the red flag. It was a glorious triumph, for which Lamartine did not indeed reap his reward at the time, but which twenty years later was remembered in the national grant of 500,000 francs voted him by the Assembly of 1867.

After having settled the great question of the national colours, proclaimed the abolition of the pain of death, gone through a solemn funeral ceremony in honour of the slain during the last revolution, the Provisional Government announced (March 5) that, the Assembly being dissolved, another was to be immediately elected by universal suffrage, and by lists, as was the habit in America. Six months' residence was required. The number of members was fixed at 900.

After this the most pressing subject was the financial. The half year's interest on the Five per Cents was due the 22nd, and there was little more money in the Treasury than what would suffice to meet it. The Bank had already suspended cash payments, but was bound not to issue more than a certain amount of notes. How to pay the new *garde mobile*, the army, the national workshops? The revolution had suspended the *octroi* of Paris. Different interests pressed for a reduction of these taxes. The journals almost refused to pay the stamp duty. The provinces clamoured against the *gabelle*, or salt tax.* Goudchaux, the finance minister, resigned, and Garnier Pagès was obliged to take his place. In the paralysis or abolition of indirect taxes, direct taxes could only be come upon. Garnier Pagès, by a decree, augmented these by 45 per cent.

* Memoir of Garnier Pagès; Goudchaux's Report.

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This was a contribution of 7,000,000*l.* or 8,000,000*l.* sterling, struck chiefly upon the landed proprietors, so many of them poor,* throughout France. It was the first boon which the revolution conferred upon them, and they never forgave it. Yet had the country known the alternatives which were proposed and discussed, such as national bankruptcy, a tax on the rich exclusively, a forced loan, and other projects of the kind, it would have hailed Garnier Pagès' tax as the salvation of property and society. The rural population were nevertheless in their first burst of indignation at what they called the rapacity of the Parisians, when a flock of commissioners arrived amongst them for the purpose of republicanising the rural districts, and influencing the elections. These strangers were very ill received, except by a certain class in the chief towns, the members of the revolutionary societies. A kind of journal, or *bulletin*, was at this time issued from the home office, and circulated by post. Written by Madame Sand, under the patronage of Ledru-Rollin, in glowing style and with Socialist conclusions, it excited its readers amongst the populace to insurrection, and seriously alarmed everyone else.† The ministerial *instructions* to the commissioners, also published, endowed them with the duties and powers of the old proconsuls of the Convention. Their authority and their duties were both declared in the document to be *revolutionary*. The interests of the Republic were to be secured at all risks and all extremes. The elections were to be forced, and if government was not successful in them, another insurrection would set all right. The Committee of Public Safety might have

* Cassagnac speaks of *5,500,000* of peasant proprietors paying but *5* francs tax.

† "If the new elections," said one of these bulletins, "do not produce the triumph of Socialist truth, and merely express the interests of a caste, there will remain but one resource for the people of the barricades. This is to manifest its will once more, and adjourn the decisions of a false representative assembly of the nation."—See Daniel Stern's *Hist.* de la Révolution.

issued these decrees with the guillotine at its back, but to send forth such edicts without terror to suppress resistance and disgust was on the part of Ledru-Rollin little short of madness.*

The Paris clubs, in the meantime, were affected with alarm at the prospect of the new Assembly. Their friends in the provinces wrote to say that they were in a minority, that the elections were indifferent and hostile, and that, to obtain a majority, it would require the employ of the old revolutionary excitement and terrorism to work up the feelings or the fears of the people to the due pitch. They demanded in consequence the adjournment of the elections. In this they were seconded by the Socialists, who were convinced that the new Assembly, chosen by millions of proprietors, would not sanction such a scheme, or such principles, as Louis Blanc's. A government which would at once proceed to the realisation and enforcement of these schemes, and accomplish its complete organisation and establishment, before the gathering of an Assembly was what the Socialists demanded. Louis Blanc expressed this in the demand for a dictatorship for a year. For this, however, it was not only necessary to adjourn the elections but to change the government, in other words, to expel the moderate and anti-Socialist members, Lamartine, Arago, and leave Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc masters of the situation. To such a project Ledru-Rollin himself and Louis Blanc objected. They did not want to go the length of expelling their moderate colleagues from the government, but only frightening them into acquiescence.

Such plans were mooted and discussed when a very foolish incident facilitated them. The home minister had claimed the power of annulling the election of officers to the National Guard,† and decided that

* Ledru-Rollin's Circular. † Lord Normanby's Year of Revolution.

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all of those guards should be alike and wear the same uniform. This suppressed the flank companies of the *grenadiers* and *voltigeurs*. As these had each paid a good sum for their bearskin caps and other accoutrements, they objected. It was, however, useless to object in those days unless one could bully too. And so the *grenadiers* and *voltigeurs* determined to go in procession to the Hôtel de Ville, and compel Ledru-Rollin to rescind his decree. They resolved to go unarmed. They did so on the 16th. But they, whilst disarmed, were met by an armed people, and such force as the government could collect. The procession of the flank companies, though they numbered 25,000, was thus powerless even to reach the council of government, much less influence it. In the sitting of that government, a great discussion took place. The circulars of Ledru-Rollin were discussed, and the necessity of modifying or contradicting them. Ledru-Rollin could not deny their imprudence, and accordingly, as the result of the discussion, a proclamation was issued, promising a free and uncontrolled election, and the abstinence, instead of the interference and direction, of the government, at such a critical period.*

The appearance of the proclamation spoke sufficiently that the Socialist and Terrorist party in the government had been overruled. The clubs determined to reverse this. The procession of the bearskin caps gave them the prêtext. And on the following day, the members and friends of the clubs mustered in the Place de la Concorde, for the purpose of making a more serious demonstration. They numbered upwards of 100,000 men in columns on the Boulevards, some hundreds of the most determined and acknowledged leaders of the clubs taking the post of the advanced guard. Thus marshalled, they set forth, and reached the Hôtel de Ville about mid-day.

* Garnier-Pagès; proclamation in the public prints.

This bold project of coercing the government, and purging it of its moderate members, failed, owing to the personal rivalry and fierce dissensions of the anarchists. The most ferocious of them was Blanqui. A number of documents and papers found in the Tuileries and in ministerial offices, betraying the intrigues or the turpitude of the late government, had been given to M. Taschereau to publish successively in a periodical called the *Revue retrospective*. From some of these it appeared that the corruption of the time was not confined to functionaries or parliamentarians. For several reports were found of the proceedings of the secret societies. Those communicated by De la Hodde were discovered by Caussidière in the archives of the police. Another paper disclosed the whole plan and machinery of the conspiracy of May 1839. When it was published, Barbès declared that no one but Blanqui could have written it. The character of the latter was in consequence impugned, although his followers and club refused to credit the accusation. Barbès and others became decided enemies of Blanqui, and Blanqui himself a sworn foe of Ledru-Rollin. In consequence of this dissension, when the leading clubbists sought to persuade Ledru-Rollin on the day previous to the insurrection to assent to their plan of *epurating* the government, he altogether objected to being coupled with Blanqui. They persisted; and Ledru, repudiating them, hastened to Lamartine, confessed to him the entire conspiracy and the plan of getting rid especially of him, Lamartine. "To defeat the plot," observed Lamartine, "you have but to order the *rappel* to be beaten for the mustering of the National Guards."* Ledru gave the order, and whilst the one force was thus summoned to the Hôtel de Ville, Lamartine himself went to the quarters of the *garde mobile*, and secured their battalions. Thus, when the multitude of 100,000, headed by 1,000 of

* Lamartine's Hist., Garnier Pagès, Louis Blanc, &c.

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the clubbists, reached the Hôtel de Ville, they found it occupied in force by the two guards. A delegation of the insurgents was alone permitted to present itself to the Provisional Government, when Lamartine, Marrast, and Garnier Pagès boldly rejected their demands for the adjournment of the elections, the dismissal of the troops, and the concomitant measures. Ledru abetted them; and even Louis Blanc and Albert were obliged to resist and blame the imperious tone of the petitioners. These, through their spokesman, Blanqui, were most insolent. But Barbès, who commanded one of the legions of the National Guards, and whom Lamartine had been instrumental in saving when formerly condemned to death, was present to correct and contradict the insolence of Blanqui. And this, joined to his disgust of Blanqui, rendered Barbès a powerful auxiliary of the Provisional Government on this critical day. Thus was the Socialist and Terrorist *émeute* defeated, and the existence of the Provisional Government secured and prolonged till the meeting of the Assembly.*

Although the moderate party of the government had triumphed, it was more ready to ask pardon than exult. A proclamation declared clubs to be one of the necessities of the Republic; it merely entreated them not to debate or come forth in arms. Decrees at the same time were issued to conciliate the people and the professional class, or the most needy and ambitious of both. The *octroi* on provisions was declared to be abolished, as well as the duty on salt. The judges were declared removable. Notwithstanding these acts in common, the Provisional Government was deeply divided, the Moderates desiring candidates of their opinion, the Socialists repudiating every one not entertaining the peculiar views then held by the artisans.

* Louis Blanc's Pages; Garnier Pagès, Histoire; Regnault, Histoire du Gouvernement provisionnel; Marrast's evidence before the Commission d'Enquête; Lamartine; Caussidière, Mémoires, &c.

Louis Blanc formed a committee of six of these handicraftsmen to sift the candidates for election in the capital; and their horny hands, as Cobbett would say, rejected all but Socialists. Nevertheless, the moderates of the Provisional Government were elected by most votes. Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, and Flocon had not half the number. Lamennais was last on the list, Lamartine first. But there being thirty-four members for the department of the Seine, the chiefs of all parties were elected. The Protestant pastor Coquerel sate by the side of Lamoricière. Cavaignac and Caussidière were both chosen. The great number of members, indeed, greatly favoured the endeavours of the members of the old parties to be re-elected. The vote being by *canton* and *scrutin de liste*, the peasants could scarcely know more than one or two names of the list they were persuaded to give in. But the town electors sufficed to return the notabilities of all opinions. Thus the Assembly offered a fair field for the discussion and final decision of which of them should predominate.

On the 4th of May the new Assembly met in a wooden building erected in the court of the Palais Bourbon. The old Chamber could not have held the 900. There were, however, scarcely more than 600 present. They began by the act of proclaiming the Republic from the steps and colonnade of the palace, which confessed that the Provisional Government had not power to accomplish such an act. The first duty, indeed, which devolved on the Assembly was to appoint a new government. Should it be a continuance of that already in existence, or should the Assembly, like the Convention, take the administration into his own hands, forming committees for the purpose? The opinion of the majority of the Assembly was, there is little doubt, at present in favour of entrusting the government to Lamartine, either as parliamentary president or president of the executive. Those, however, who origi-

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nated this, and who proposed it, were Republicans indeed in profession, but Monarchists at heart. By accepting this offer, Lamartine must have broken not only with the extreme but with the moderate Republicans, that is, in fact, with all his colleagues of the Provisional Government. The majority might have compounded with his maintenance of such Republicans as Dupont and Arago, but his attachment to Ledru-Rollin they could not stomach. The truth was that, on the occasion of the 17th of April, and in face of the clubbist insurrection, Ledru-Rollin had deserted his Red-Republican associates, flung himself into the arms of Lamartine, and by so doing saved the government. Lamartine was grateful. He felt bound by that act to remain equally true to Ledru. He thus sacrificed himself and his influence to an honourable feeling. Lamartine openly declared his trust in Ledru-Rollin, and fraternised with him; and the Conservatives of the Assembly instantly fell off. They agreed to appoint an executive of nine. Both Lamartine and Ledru were named upon it, but they had the lowest number of votes and came fourth and fifth, Arago, Garnier Pagès, and Marie being named before them.* As the members of the executive were considered sovereigns, not ministers, it was necessary to make a new appointment of these. Lamartine ceded the foreign affairs to M. Bastide. He and Ledru both wished to give the home department to Jules Favre, who had the principal hand in separating Ledru from the anarchists, and rallying him to Lamartine, but Arago objected, and the home department fell to Recurs. Flocon was minister of commerce and agriculture; Carnot remained at the head of public instruction; Duclerc at that of finance; Marrast remained mayor of Paris, and Caussidière kept the police. Thus the choice which the executive

* Arago had 725 votes; Lamartine, 643; Ledru-Rollin, 458.

made of new ministers was intended to conciliate even the most vehement of the ultra-revolutionists.

This end was not obtained; indeed, Lamartine warned his friends of the majority that, if the Socialists were set aside altogether, an insurrection would be the consequence. This party had egregiously increased in importance and in numbers. The discussions at the Luxembourg, the preaching and development of Louis Blanc's system, had gained the hearts and hands of thousands of workmen; and Socialism became a standard which set aside those of mere Terrorism or old Republicanism. The very anarchists who found that no one would abide their red flag or their antiquated Jacobinism embraced Socialism as a creed far more respectable and more inspiring; and even those leaders, like Ledru-Rollin, who at first had looked with almost derision upon the *organisation du travail* began to see in it the only banner that could largely rally the people to it.

The nomination of the members of the new executive council and of the ministers had grievously disappointed the Socialists. Louis Blanc had hoped at least for a ministry of progress. But no notice, save that of exclusion, was taken of his projects or pretensions. Accordingly, when the new government proposed a national fête to inaugurate their accession and that of the Assembly, the delegates and those who mustered at the Luxembourg refused to have anything to do with it. The new order of things had come as a humiliation and an insult to them, and was not a proper occasion of feasting or rejoicing.

The fête was accordingly deferred. The clubs, indeed, prepared one, but it was in honour of something more dear to them than Executive or Assembly. The failure of domestic insurrection had, as usual, suggested and set forward schemes of invading and revolutionising neighbouring nations. These schemes met with great favour from Ledru-Rollin. Two attempts had been

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made under his auspices to fling revolutionary bands into Belgium. Another was prepared for Savoy. Lamartine, desirous of peace and amicable relations with foreign powers, deprecated and opposed these manifestations, but in vain. A foreign question, however, raised in the cause of liberalism abroad was less repugnant to the National Guard than anarchy or socialism at home. The Parisian clubbists, although they had succeeded in the elections for the metropolis, had been rendered irate by the tone which affairs had taken at Rouen, where the *bourgeoisie* had been completely victorious, and put down the artisans and their club, both in the elections and in the streets.* It was a bad example, shown, too, so near. The government applauded the success of the Rouen *bourgeoisie*, and was thus traitor to the popular cause. It was necessary to put them down. The mode adopted was to get up a procession and petition in favour of the Poles, march upon the Assembly, force an entrance, and thus by violence effect a revolution and a change of government.† This outrage was rendered more easy of execution, by a fête in honour of the Republic which had been arranged for the 14th, and to be present at which deputations of provincial National Guards had arrived. Meanwhile it had been signified at the national workshops that the younger workmen were expected to join the army, in refusing to do which they would be sent away to their provinces.

The executive commission and the Assembly had both full warning that a tumult was in preparation. The former sent orders to the police prefect, Caussidière; but he and his myrmidons were enlisted on the side of the insurrectionists. Different members of the executive depended upon different leaders of the people to render the proposed manifestation innocent, if they could

* Régnault, Garnier Pagès, Louis Blanc.

† Enquête, Garnier Pagès, Histoire de la Seconde République, Louis Blanc.

not prevent it altogether. As for the Assembly and its president, they reposed on General Courtais. Had a war minister like General Cavaignac been in Paris, he could easily have prevented the *émeute*, for there were 10,000 soldiers in or near Paris, but General Cavaignac, though appointed minister, had not arrived.

On the morning of the 15th, the clubbists mustered on the Place de la Bastille, and from thence directed their march upon the Assembly. The procession was somewhat in disorder when it reached the Place de la Concorde, and a word from General Courtais to the *garde mobile*, which was stationed near, would have dispersed the throng. But General Courtais wanted to play the Lafayette. So he merely parleyed with the mob, which he really thought harmless. And the leaders, taking advantage of this simplicity, approached the gates of the palace of the Chambers, escaladed them, and in a twinkling the mob filled the garden, and threatened to burst on the Assembly. It was then met by Lamartine, who began his old trick of haranguing. "We want no more songs from your lyre, my good fool," said the leader of the mob. And forthwith the multitude rushed into the Assembly to the cry of *Vive la Pologne!*

M. Wolowski at the time occupied the tribune, and was speaking in favour of Poland, but his voice was soon drowned in that of the crowd, which poured not only into the Assembly but into its galleries, from which the mob even overflowed. Clement Thomas first tried to surmount the din, and speak, but Barbès would not allow him; he insisted that the people's petition should be read. Barbès, Blanqui, Raspail, the chiefs of the clubs, occupied the tribune all together, speaking and proposing amid the uproar. Blanqui acted the part of president, Buchez, the real president, being set aside. Ledru-Rollin spoke, and was heard for a few moments. "How can debates or decrees take place when there is no liberty?" exclaimed he. "You did both," replied a

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voice, "on the 24th of February." The mob then seized Louis Blanc, and bore him in triumph on their shoulders through the hall and the adjoining apartments. The deputies still kept their seats, hoping that the other members of the Provisional Government, who were at the Luxembourg, would come with troops to relieve them. The scene of tumult lasted from half-past one till half-past three, when one of the insurgents, Hubert, declared the Assembly dissolved. Several lists of a Provisional Government had been prepared of the names of the known Clubbists and Socialists. Some of these, especially Albert, Hubert, and Barbès, set off for the Hôtel de Ville, and established themselves in the Salle St. Jean.

A staff officer had warned the commandant of a regiment of the *garde mobile* stationed in the Champs Elysées of the indignity offered to the Chamber. That commandant, the Vicomte Clary,* instantly led his men across the bridge, and, leaving them there, penetrated into the palace of the deputies, seeking president, questor, or some person in authority who could give him an order. He could find no one, and at last, on his own responsibility, he led on his troops, and, dispersing the mob, actually charged into the Hall. Some members seized Courtais, the commander who had betrayed the Chamber, and tore off his epaulets. Lamartine then mounted the tribune, and in a few words congratulated the Assembly on its deliverance. Afterwards calling Ledru-Rollin to accompany him, he declared his intention of proceeding to the Hôtel de Ville at the head of the *garde mobile*, and putting down any attempt at setting up a revolutionary government. It was high time, for a committee of government was elected, sitting at the Hôtel de Ville. The *garde mobile* soon made them prisoners, and Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin ordered their transference to Vincennes. Other members of the lists pro-

* See his account of the *garde mobile* and of these events published at the end of Cassagnac's Histoire de la Chute, &c.

claimed in the Chamber were seized, and sent there too. Louis Blanc was encountered about to re-enter the Chamber, and violently handled by his colleagues, who considered him the cause of the late outrage. On an examination, however, no real grounds were discovered for proceeding against him.

The unsuccessful attempts of the Paris mob, Terrorist and Socialist, to tread under foot the National Assembly, as the *Sans-culottes* had done in the Revolution, was virtually the death of the Republic. The majority of the National Assembly, of the Parisians themselves, and of the country, saw at once that a French Republic could be nothing but an alternation between imbecility and outrageous violence. The moderate Republican government was imbecile; the Clubbists were mad. The latter had indeed been put to flight or arrested. But the multitude which believed and hoped in them was afoot, and ready for mischief. To put them down required some other government than the existing one. But what other? Every one looked forth to find a man, convinced that individual authority ably exercised could alone get the better of the existing disorder.

Their several partisans thought of the son of Charles the Tenth, or of the most manly son of Louis-Philippe, the Prince de Joinville. But how could these princes ask or take the part of President of a republic, even as a transition? The heir of Napoleon could alone do that. The prince who occupied this position had displayed more courage than sagacity in his two unfortunate attempts. Still his name was shouted in the streets. Electors were eager to return him to the Assembly. In the partial elections in June, he was returned by several districts, notably by Paris itself. The executive commission, especially Lamartine, supported by Cavaignac, exerted themselves to enforce a decree of exile against so formidable a pretender. But the Prince's letter from London, modest and flattering to the Assembly, made it

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reject the proposal for exiling the Buonapartes. The Prince did not accept the seat in the Assembly, but said, —"If the country should impose duties upon me, I shall know how to fulfil them." Cavaignac complained that the letter in which was this expression made no mention of the Republic. The Assembly, perhaps on that very account, rejected the demand for his exile.

The champion of the Republic was evidently Cavaignac. Though not gifted with eloquence, or with commanding person, still he was a soldier, a man of action. He could defend the Assembly from insult. He proved this in a manner which, however disobliging to the Assembly, impressed upon it an idea of his firmness. A vote passed in consequence of the disorders of the 15th of May, had conferred on the president of the Assembly the right of demanding the support of the army, and even of commanding one of its divisions. The president, by virtue of this vote, had entrusted the command of the forces round the Chamber to General Baraguay d'Hilliers. He affected independence of the minister of war. This General Cavaignac would not suffer. He insisted on all officers and divisions of the army being subject to him. And Baraguay d'Hilliers resigned. Cavaignac's character, indeed, could have maintained his position as chief of the Republic, had the country been Republican. But it was not. He affected or rather indeed felt old Roman ideas of Republican pride, and repelled the Buonapartes as the early consuls of Rome defied the Tarquins. But it was an idle task. For whilst the Moderates and Monarchists of the Assembly supported him, the Republican moderates and immoderates soon became his enemies. His colleagues of the Provisional Government jaloused him. The ultra-Republicans infinitely preferred a Raspail or a Barbès.

These gentlemen, indeed, showed none of the lukewarmness or modesty of other pretenders. They were determined not to wait. Barbès, indeed, was a prisoner,

and Blanqui in flight. But one hoped to be liberated, the other to reappear. Their friends in the Montagne set to work to prepare a reception and a triumph for them. The materials, indeed, for a conflagration were at hand, in the threatened dismissal and consequent mutiny of those enrolled in the national workshops. A great *fête du travail*, a kind of popular banquet, was announced first for an early day in June, but then put off for the 14th of the following month, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. By that time government would have, as it menaced, turned adrift the inmates of the national workshops, and these had no resource but in insurrection. The finance minister had made known to the Assembly, and consequently to the public, his inability to pay 8 francs a week to each of the 120,000 men enrolled in the workshops. It had equally failed to make their labour give any return for their wages. All trades were mixed there pell mell. The spade and shovel were alone employed, and with these they worked only on alternate days. The Assembly appointed a commission to examine and report, and Léon Faucher, in its name, demanded a loan of 150 millions of francs, a portion to be employed in disseminating the workmen over the country. A staunch Republican, Trelat, at that time minister of public works, opposed the extreme step of dissolving the workshops altogether. Léon Faucher also proposed that the common labourer might be employed on the railroads, and other work found for the artisans in other localities and shapes. But the finance minister, Goudchaux, was eager to shake off the burden altogether, and the Assembly listened to him, rather than to the more cautious Trelat. M. Falloux, a Legitimist, insisted on the immediate dissolution of the *ateliers*. The minister Trelat recommended half-measures, and, in order to try them, seized the director of the workshops, and packed him off by a kind of *lettre de cachet* to Bordeaux. This was a fair pretext

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of discontent with the workmen. Some were sent to the provinces to labour; the rest were told they would be henceforth paid by the task. From conflicting authorities, the workmen saw little to hope, and in consequence they listened to the emissaries that recommended an *émeute* for the *organisation du travail*. To keep their number together, a band of some hundred of workmen who had already left for employment on the Rouen railway were recalled by their comrades. They and others returned with songs and banners, and on the evening of the 22nd congregated on the quays near the Hôtel de Ville. The insurrection had in fact commenced.

It fermented and menaced all night, and on the morning of the 23rd the people began to throw up barricades. This was not done fortuitously, but evidently with a plan, and in obedience to intelligent orders. The insurgent population took possession of the eastward half of Paris, the line formed by their front extending from the barrier of Rochechouart to that of St. Jacques. Hundreds of barricades were thrown up, some of solid masonry. The intention was to get speedy possession of Vincennes, and liberate Barbès, with the other Anarchist chiefs who were prisoners in that stronghold.

Eugène Cavaignac, as minister of war, made what preparations were in his power for resisting this the most formidable of popular insurrections. It is impossible to calculate the number of the people which not only manned the barricades in the centre of the city close by the Hôtel de Ville, but formed others in the suburbs as far as the barriers on either side. The Panthéon, on the left bank of the Seine, the *Clos St. Lazare*, on the right, were the chief popular strongholds. The Place de la Bastille, the Faubourg St. Antoine, and the Pont d'Austerlitz were also rendered as impregnable as masonry could accomplish.

To take these fortresses, General Cavaignac had little more than 20,000 troops of the line, and as many more

National Guards; the *garde mobile*, accustomed to its daily pay and discipline, remained true to the government. It was the general's wish to collect these troops in the centre of Paris, and act with them upon the insurgents, whose forces and barricades formed a kind of circumference around him. This plan was opposed by several of the executive commission, and by the friends of order, who were more zealous than prudent, and who were for marching at once upon the barricades. General Cavaignac said he would not run the risk of having any one of his divisions cut off; he would blow out his own brains if such a misfortune should happen. It was therefore more against the will than at the command of General Cavaignac that a good deal of desultory fighting took place on the 23rd. The barricades at the Porte St. Denis were carried by the National Guard. Another division forced its way from Notre Dame to the Panthéon. But the result of these partial attacks was to leave the insurgents as powerful on the evening of the 23rd as they were in the morning, and to create much alarm as to the final result.

The struggle was renewed on the morning of the 24th. The members of the executive commission complained that they had seen and heard nothing of General Cavaignac all the preceding afternoon. He was with General Lamoricière in the Faubourgs Poissonnière and Temple. The Assembly perceived that the divided authority injured the defence, and left no one responsible. It therefore declared Paris in a state of siege, and invested General Cavaignac with dictatorial power. The possession of superior authority seemed to communicate to the general unusual activity and vigour. Considerable reinforcements had reached him, and he immediately launched forth his lieutenants, according to his own plan, in all directions. Lamoricière took the north, Damême (Bedeau having been wounded) the south, Duvivier the centre. The efforts of the latter

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cleared the streets round the Hôtel de Ville and a portion of the Rue St. Antoine nearly to the Place de la Bastille. Lamoricière advanced across hundreds of barricades through the Faubourg du Temple, and forced the insurgents to withdraw within the Clos St. Lazare, where a new hospital was in course of erection. The greatest effort was made in the Pays Latin, where the insurgents held the Panthéon. Cannon was brought against it, and some fifty shot were fired ere the gate was battered in, upon which the *garde mobile* rushed from the Law School opposite, and carried the church, most of the defenders falling under their bayonets, the rest escaping. Damême was mortally wounded, and was succeeded by General Bréa. This commander, seeing the troops everywhere successful, undertook to persuade the combatants of a barricade behind the Porte d'Italie to surrender, resistance being useless, and the government being prepared to show consideration to the people rather than take vengeance. No sooner, however, did the general venture amongst the insurgents than he was surrounded, disarmed, thrust into a guard-house, with every kind of ill-usage, forced to sign an order for the retreat of the troops, and this order, of course, not meeting with obedience, General Bréa was barbarously murdered.

Contrary to the hopes and plans of Cavaignac, the troops were more successful in the faubourgs to the right and left of him than in the centre. On the 25th, the defenders of the Bastille and Rue St. Antoine were shaken by their wings being driven in, and General Duvivier was thus enabled to advance. The strong barricades at the entrance of the Rue St. Antoine, however, long defied him. The slaughter at these induced the Archbishop of Paris to come forward to try and put a stop to the effusion of blood. He mounted the great barricade with his chaplain, and was descending on the other side, when he was shot down.

It was Sunday, but few save the archbishop thought what day it was. Archbishop Affre was not the only eminent victim: General Duvivier, Regnault, Damême, Perrot, and Négrier were killed. The death of the archbishop occasioned a pause in the strife, and gave an opportunity for summoning the insurgents of the Faubourg St. Antoine to surrender. They were willing to capitulate, and lay down their arms on certain conditions. Cavaignac, however, would listen to none; the insurgents must surrender at discretion. He was the more inexorable as he knew that Lamoricière had subdued the faubourgs of the north, had forced the insurgents in the Clos St. Lazare, and would be able to attack those in the Faubourg St. Antoine in flank and rear. These partial negotiations took place on the 26th, in the afternoon of which fighting recommenced. But it merely displayed the dying energies of the insurgents. They were everywhere crushed, disarmed, captured, every place that could serve as a prison being crammed with them. A number of atrocities marked the last days of the struggle. The assassination of General Bréa was not a solitary example. The insurgents were ferociously cruel towards the *garde mobile*. They considered them *enfants de Paris*, who had turned against their fathers as traitors. The *garde mobile* was not slow to retaliate; prisoners were shot by tens and fifties. Multitudes of them were thrust into underground dungeons at the Hôtel de Ville, or the Tuileries, and its terraces. Many were stifled in these crowded dungeons, or shot for showing their faces at the grating. A commission, ordered to visit the *souterrains*, durst not penetrate for the foul stench that emanated from them. Some five hundred were extracted from the caves of the Tuileries terrace on the night of the 27th. The National Guards were escorting them across the Carrousel, when a fusillade was heard from a neighbouring court, where some prisoners were being shot. Those who were led captive stopped,

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and clung to their guards, whilst these, fearing a rescue, shook them off and fired. The shots fell on some posts at the Tuileries, the soldiers of which returned the fire. Numbers fell in the midst of the confusion.* It is calculated that 24,000 were arrested; infinite suffering and many deaths must have been caused by mere crowding. National Guards and authorities felt that they had escaped indiscriminate slaughter and destruction from the Anarchists, and were irritated to a retaliation. Although the official report speaks but of 300 of the people killed and wounded, it is generally calculated that three or four times that number fell victims to the three days' battle.†

On the afternoon of the 26th, General Cavaignac, being able to announce the triumph of the army, hastened to give up his dictatorial power to the Assembly. It replied on the 29th by declaring *him chief of* the Executive Government, with the title of president of the council; he was given authority to name the ministers. His choice fell upon thorough Republicans, moderate ones, all of middle-class ideas, except perhaps Carnot, who became minister of public instruction, and who was soon displaced by a vote of the Assembly, refusing him a large grant he demanded for public education. The true cause was his Socialist connections and ideas. He was replaced by the historian Vaulabelle. Bastide was continued foreign minister; Lamoricière took the war office, Senard the home department.

The apparent result of the three days' battle of June 1848 was the triumph of the civic Republicans over the social ones. Cavaignac was the temporary sovereign; Marrast, president of the Chamber, Bastide conducting the foreign policy of the country. Such was the state of things in appearance. But in reality the combat of

* Castille, Histoire de la Seconde République.

† Prologue d'une Révolution, par Louis Menard; the Commission of Enquiry, *passim*.

June killed the Republic, and effaced the old Monarchists, even at the time that these together formed the majority of the legislature. The two powers which stood forth prominent after June were on one side the army, on the other the Socialists. The former had recovered the rank and importance from which the revolution of 1830 had thrust it; whilst that of 1848 had as yet but added to its want of consideration and authority. But the days of June showed that order and authority were nowhere, except supported by the bayonets of the soldiery.

Although defeated in the streets of Paris by the military, Socialism rose immensely in either the fears or the admiration of the world in consequence of this very struggle. The people, or the lower portion of the people, long in want of a banner peculiarly their own, which the Republic was not, eagerly grasped at that of Socialism. The knowledge of its principles was indeed vague as ever, but this very vagueness swelled its importance, as it allowed persons and classes of very different tendencies and ideas to group together under the name. It was the banner of the earner and the poor against all who had property or position. And it enlisted the large body of the unsuccessful professional class against the comparatively small body of the successful. The traditional *Sans-culotte*, the Red-Republican, was enabled to profess his adherence to tenets and views far more respectable than the old and decried ones. And thus in a short time all the ultra-Republicans became Socialists. They formed indeed but a small minority of the country, but still their energy and organisation rendered them formidable; whilst the very name of republic was injured and degraded by having once been adopted by the enemies of the existing state of society.

If severity could have crushed the Socialists, the measure dealt to them in consequence of their defeat would

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have done it. Cavaignac and his friends, with the Monarchists who supported them, would indeed have extirpated the sect. They hastened on the morrow of their victory to close the most outrageous of the clubs, and to extinguish the organs which spoke their sentiments. The press law of Louis-Philippe's reign was revived, requiring large deposit money for the establishment or mounting of a journal, which put an end to the democratic press. Even Lamennais was obliged to suspend his journal. Some periodicals which could have easily paid the *cautionnement* were suppressed by authority. Some of his partisans proposed to General Cavaignac to arrest the journalists, whilst suppressing the journals. He did not think fit to follow the advice, except in the case of M. Émile de Girardin, whose talents he seemed to dread. The great embarrassment of the new government was indeed the immense number of prisoners. Cavaignac did not know what to do with them. And it was found necessary to set some 10,000 or 12,000 at liberty. A decree of the Assembly previous to the final installation of Cavaignac had ordered all prisoners taken with arms in their hands to be *déportés*.* The leaders, however, who were supposed to have planned and matured the plot, without being themselves the actors, were yet to be revealed. The Assembly ordered a solemn enquiry. A commission sat and called numbers of witnesses before it. Their testimony exists as a terrible record of that anarchic time. The result was to incriminate Socialism more than the leading Socialists. But the Assembly was resolved to get rid of them. Accordingly, whilst Ledru-Rollin's defence was listened to, that of Louis Blanc and Caussidière fell upon ears predetermined to punish them. They were allowed ample time, however, to escape. To drive them into

* Deportation in France means that those sent beyond sea still remain under prison regimen. Transportation means sending out of the country without this subsequent imprisonment.

exile was the aim, and it was fully gained. Proudhon remained, as the apostle of Socialism, scouted in the Assembly, indeed, which he persisted in addressing, but received by the people as a philosopher of revolutionary promise. That Proudhon had no adherents in the Assembly is little wonderful. Capital was his bugbear, which he strove and promised to put down. Property was a crime in his vocabulary. And yet he gave utterance to these strange doctrines with an ingeniousness of sophism and a power of eloquence that puzzled and alarmed the propertied classes, and flattered the needy with hopes of soon forcibly sharing in the goods of this world.*

It is startling to find, on reading the debates of the time, how many eminent persons, although shocked or pretending to be shocked at Proudhon's extravagance, still abetted different kinds of modified Socialism, and proposed making the State come forward in aid of labour, so as more or less to interfere with the free action of competition and employ of capital. No half-ideas, however, were found practicable. The finance minister, Goudchaux, took advantage of the admissions made in these debates to propose that capital should be taxed as well as land. This was a very fair inference. But the Assembly would not sanction anything so practicable, and set aside M. Goudchaux and his theory.

But the grave question of time was, however, the nature of the definite government, in other words, What should be the constitution? should it continue to be a republic? that is, should the Assembly govern? or should the people be called upon to name a first magistrate, independent of the Assembly, and over its head? If so, there was virtually an end of the Republic, or, at least, there would be established rivalry and

* Proudhon's larger works are puzzling to wade through. The short one on the Travail du Dimanche best shows perhaps his originality of expression and of thought.

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civil war between the new executive and the Assembly, to end infallibly in the triumph and ascendency of the former. Some indeed saw this so clearly, that they proposed there should be no Executive, to which others added that there should be no Legislature, save that of the people at large—no representation, in fact, or delegation. Ledru Rollin was for having no President, and no elections! * At first the discussion turned upon there being one or two chambers: this was an idle point to discuss. If there was to be a republic, and the legislature to predominate, it must necessarily be one. There was no basis upon which an upper chamber could be formed. The election of both chambers together, and the separation of the elders into a chamber of ancients, and the rest into merely the representative, was puerile. To make an upper chamber of large fortunes and a lower one of middling fortunes was forbidden in a land of equality. What then? A senate composed of functionaries, or ex-functionaries, a mock patriciate of professionals, become senators? Idle. It was decreed there should be but one chamber.

Should the Assembly elect the executive? The real Republicans, the politicians of the middle class, thought so, knowing it to be the only way of sustaining and prolonging the Republic. But the popular party, the Socialists, or the Montagne, as that great party of the Assembly was called, preferred to see the future president named by the people at large. He would thus certainly be in a better position to assume the power of dictator. But a dictator was precisely what the people frankly desired, provided he was in their interest. In the midst of these discussions, twice arose, like a spectre, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, first to announce that he took his seat as a deputy, and was prepared to support the re-

* See Louis Blanc, Plus de Girondins.

public; the second time, to declare that he accepted the candidature proposed to him of the President of the Republic.

If the people at large were called by universal suffrage to elect a president, there could not be a doubt that Louis-Napoleon would be the choice. To remote districts and to the peasant population of even central ones no other name was known. That of Cavaignac, so recently victorious, would certainly not have reached them. And what was Lamartine at that time but an unsuccessful politician, past whom the popular tide had already swept? On the 7th of October, the Assembly, by 602 votes against 211, decided that the president should be chosen by the people. On the 16th of December, the election took place, when Louis-Napoleon had 5,534,520 votes, General Cavaignac 1,468,302, Ledru-Rollin 371,431, Lamartine 17,914.

It would be erroneous to impute to the majority which elected Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte a political thought. There were four millions of electors who paid no rates or taxes. The greater number worshipped a name, and knew of no other in the political world than that of Napoleon. A million and a half of moderate and civic Republicans voted for Cavaignac, some 400,000 for Ledru-Rollin and Raspail, from the democratic and rural population. The intelligent votes for Louis-Napoleon were evidently Monarchists prepared to condemn and repudiate the revolution of February and its consequences. More than one-half of the Assembly would willingly have done the same if a government, securing moderate liberty, might be the consequence. But these politicians at the centre of publicity and affairs saw plainly, what the country could not so well see, that the supremacy of Napoleon must mainly rest on the army, and that a government so based would take little count of civil liberties.

The only chance for Cavaignac was thus to have

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rallied* to him the several sections of the majority of the Chamber, and obtain his election by them. The moderate Republicans desired this. The men of the *National* abetted it. But, in fact, Cavaignac was too much identified with that party, and too much under the influence of such men as Marrast, to satisfy the Monarchists, who really made the majority. These, indeed, came to Cavaignac, and offered him their support, but it was upon conditions that he could not accept. He was prepared to put down the revolutionary party and the clubs, but he could not run counter to their ideas altogether, and reverse the laws which Carnot and others had introduced. The negotiations therefore broke off. And the Monarchists, such as Thiers and Bugeaud, decided to support Louis-Napoleon's candidature, taking care to limit it to four years, and rendering illegal his immediate re-election.* Whilst thus deserted by the Monarchists, the moderate Republicans began to quarrel among themselves. Certain members and hangers-on of the old executive commission chose that moment unfortunately for attacking Cavaignac, and alleging that he might have suppressed the insurrection sooner, and with less effort than he did. This unseasonable jealousy of the General avowed and uttered by Garnier Pagès and his friends, stirred the spirit of the former to demand a public discussion, in which Garnier Pages and his colleagues vented their rancour, completed the ruin of their party, and caused to explode the last chance of a civic republic in France. That last chance was indeed Cavaignac. Yet Garnier Pagès and Barthélemy St. Hilaire laboured *unguibus et rostris* to destroy him, to render it impossible for ever.

* Such was the guarantee against future usurpation agreed upon by the Monarchists and Republicans of the Assembly united. Well might Count Molé exclaim, "Do what you will. Power is escaping from you. An assembly like this and a president elected directly by the people can never co-exist."

Notwithstanding the high character for sagacity and foresight, which is not unjustly given to the future Emperor, it is doubtful that he saw his way clearly before him at that epoch. He seemed to consider his election as an anti-Republican movement. And his first act was to compose a ministry of Monarchic elements. Odilon Barrot was named president of the council, in the absence of the executive president, and minister of justice. Malleville first, Léon Faucher soon after, friends of Thiers and Barrot, were installed in the home office. Falloux, the representative of the clergy, took public worship and education, and soon showed his leaning by upsetting all the anti-clerical plans of his predecessor Carnot. Drouyn de l'Huys was foreign minister, Passy took Finance. Bixio, a Republican, was at first appointed to be minister of commerce, but he soon resigned. The nomination of General Bugeaud to command the army of the Alps was the most significant appointment. The Prince de Joinville, had he been elected president, would scarcely have made any others.

This ministry had, however, a very bare majority in the Assembly, Republicanism, moderate and immoderate, declaring against it; whilst the leading Monarchists, set aside, lent but a wavering and uncertain support. To get rid of the Assembly and its too Republican elements, and to procure a new representation, more in accord with the presidential election, was the aim of Louis-Napoleon and his ministers. It was necessary, however, to fill the void in the Treasury. The addition of 45 per cent. to the direct taxes had been levied, and was far from meeting the deficit, whilst the salt tax was about to expire. Passy, with difficulty, retained one-third of this tax, and was allowed to augment the succession duty, that which came upon individuals, and was not universally felt at one time by the public.

Financial wants being thus inefficiently provided for, the Moderate and the Monarchist party pressed for the

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dissolution of the Assembly. A member proposed that this should take place in May. There was a division on the question as to whether this should be taken into consideration, and it was so by 400 votes against 396. A decree, that the dissolution should take place after an electoral law had been passed, was subsequently carried by a large majority. All depended upon the nature of the coming elections, which it was supposed, like the presidential election, would be favourable to the present executive. The minister of the interior, Léon Faucher, was so convinced of this, and indeed so fully aware of the little power that a new government could exercise over an election by universal suffrage, that he abandoned the popular choice to itself. The ministry closed certain Anarchic clubs, which disseminated Socialism, and sought to entrap the people once more with their fallacious promises. Ledru-Rollin, in consequence, laid on the bureau an impeachment of ministers. The elections for the new chamber, however, did not much alter the state of things. No party was strengthened, all almost lost eminent chiefs. Neither Marrast, nor Dupont de l'Eure, neither Lamartine, Garnier Pagès, nor Bastide, were elected. Civism or Moderate Republicanism, was extinguished. Monarchists and Socialists mustered strong; whilst Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte had not yet succeeded in the great object of his policy, that of rallying a party attached especially to his family and fortune.

Many inevitable circumstances prevented this. First, he gave trust and favour to the chiefs of the old Monarchist faction, who were desirous to make use of his name, but not for his profit. Then, although he had preserved order, and kept down insurrection, particularly the dangerous one of the *garde mobile*, he had not restored order to the finances, or regularity to the government, whilst the conduct of foreign affairs had produced, especially at Rome, results neither glorious nor satis-

factory. The aims and fortunes of the future Emperor were, in fact, still under a cloud.

Yet it was hard to expect of the government of a disturbed country like France to initiate or accomplish anything great. Lamartine and Bastide felt, as Louis-Philippe had done, that revolutionary France ran the risk of seeing a coalition form against it. The efforts to avoid this by conciliation and prudence were, like those of the government of 1830, inglorious. And when at last, at the express demand of the Pope, an expedition to Rome was despatched, it was really purposed to anticipate Austria in taking the same ground, but apparently it was nothing other than a war against liberalism in Italy. That long enslaved and disturbed country was the last in the world, perhaps, in which a *juste milieu* policy or party could succeed. Between democratic frenzy on one side, princely and priestly prejudice on the other, there was really no medium. Successive French governments had, however, hoped to find that middle point. They even had based a government upon it for Rome in the person of Count Rossi. The ministers of the President and the President himself were impressed with the same hope and the same opinion as their predecessors. They had kept at Rome M. d'Harcourt, the same envoy that had been appointed by Louis-Philippe, and he continued to assure them of the existence of a strong moderate Liberal party, upon which the French might count both to aid them and to establish a government of the same nature, on the rout of the wild democratic party led by Mazzini and Garibaldi. To put down the republic at Rome, as it had been put down in Paris, seemed a praiseworthy deed to the government of the Élysée, the more praiseworthy as, instead of being a defiance to the monarchic powers of Europe, it showed on the part of the new French government a coincidence and sympathy with their conservative policy.

When the first expeditionary corps had been prepared

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by General Cavaignac, but before it had sailed, the news arrived of the Pope's flight, and, of course, of the increased difficulties of the situation. Still it was persisted in, and the force doubled. Such was the ambiguity of language on the part of the French that the Roman insurgents at first were led to hope that the invaders were their friends. They were soon undeceived. General Oudinot advanced upon Rome, expecting a rising of the Moderates. Instead of what they expected, they were met on approaching the walls by discharges of grape, which was followed by a sortie of Garibaldi's legion. The result was on the 30th of April a somewhat disgraceful retreat, and a small loss of wounded and prisoners on the part of the French.

General Oudinot withdrew to Civita Vecchia, there to await reinforcements. Whilst these were preparing, M. Lesseps was sent to renew negotiations, and induce the Romans to submit. M. Barrot, the presiding minister, deprecated the French government's assuming the attitude of downright hostility to Italian liberalism, and of crushing the Roman republic, badly as it might have behaved, *vi et armis*. M. Lesseps could only accomplish this by an agreement with the Roman Triumvirate, by which the French troops should approach, but not enter, the walls of Rome, the citizens being then called upon to decide as to what form of government they would have, Pope or Republic.* This armistice, concluded towards the end of May, was displeasing and indeed humiliating to the French government. And General Oudinot, having received reinforcements, was enjoined to march and force his way into Rome. He proceeded to execute this order, but with due caution. He was obliged to occupy the heights outside the city, and make regular approaches to the walls, although Rome was anything but regularly fortified. It was indeed de-

* Lesseps' Mission to Rome.

fended with such ability and spirit by Garibaldi that General Oudinot took a month to force his way, Garibaldi and Mazzini withdrawing from it with the remains of the Republican government.

These events goaded French Republicans, or at least the really zealous amongst them, to madness. The elections for the Legislative Assembly which had taken place in May, marked the path in which public opinion was moving, that is, in favour of the Monarchist on one side, the Socialist on the other. Neither Lamartine, nor Marrast, nor Garnier Pagès were members, whilst Bugeaud, Changarnier, Lamoricière were returned. By the side of these Conservative generals came to sit several Democratic sergeants, such as Boichot und Rattier. Finding the Assembly grow more Monarchic, the ministry became modified in the same sense. Léon Faucher gave way to Dufaure; Tocqueville took foreign affairs. It required courage in the two men to take the helm at such a moment. Europe was in flames. The Italian Republic was still triumphant in Rome, although the north of Italy had already succumbed to Radetzky. Reaction was gaining ground in the kingdom of Naples, whilst the issue of the Hungarian insurrection seemed doubtful, raising hopes that Austria could not surmount all its difficulties, and that popular passions and interests would triumph over its fall.

At home the Republican Socialists were most active. They had formed a society and a committee to manage the elections, and, the elections over, the organisation was continued with a view to an imminent insurrection. There was no other hope. The Monarchists had obtained the majority in the Chamber. The President leaned to them. His foreign policy denoted what his home policy would be. The name of his ministers bespoke both. Such was the position and feeling of the *Montagne*, as the Socialist Republican party were called, when the news arrived of General Oudinot's hostilities

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against the Republican party at Rome, and the employ of French bayonets in the service of the Pope.

At these tidings the impatience of such Anarchists as remained in Paris, after the rout and deportation of June, became inexpressible. They met in their secret clubs, and decided upon an insurrection, which indeed Ledru-Rollin almost openly announced in the Chamber, whilst proposing an act of accusation against the President and the government. The previous Assembly had decreed that the expedition to Rome should not be converted into an anti-Republican movement. The present Assembly and government took no notice of this injunction, its majority considering such motions as those of Ledru-Rollin illusory. The alternative of *émeute* in the streets was equally so. The reverses of June still haunted the workmen's quarter of the Faubourg St. Antoine. The foremost leaders of those days had been expatriated. And a new generation of workmen from the country had in a great measure replaced the old. These did not preserve any revolutionary abhorrence of the President. Accordingly, when the men of the Socialist clubs marched on the 13th of June in procession up the Boulevards, they were far from agglomerating the old important mass, whilst the rabble seemed altogether cured of their mania of throwing up barricades. The popular column marched from the Boulevard St. Martin to that of the Italians. M. Stephen Arago was at its head, and, by a singular chance, the first person it encountered was M. Lacrosse, minister of commerce, on horseback. He was surrounded, hustled, forced to cry, *Vive la République romaine*, and threatened with a hundred deaths. From this he was saved, however, by the interposition of a colleague, Gent, a member of the *Montagne* in the Chamber, who, at the risk of his own life, defended Lacrosse, and procured him the time to escape. The insurrectionary procession had, however, soon occasion to defend itself. General Changarnier

issued from the Rue Richelieu, as it passed that street, and sent his dragoons right and left along the boulevard at a gallop. The greater part of the Socialists withdrew, and were pursued towards the Boulevard St. Denis. In former times, the fugitives would have immediately proceeded to throw up barricades, and to form of the central and intricate streets of Paris a fortified labyrinth.

Nothing of the kind was now attempted. And yet it was upon this that the chiefs counted. They were assembled at the *Cercle de la Montagne*, Rue du Hazard, at the moment of the conflict, but thought proper to decamp from a neighbourhood already occupied by the troops of Changarnier. They betook themselves to the *Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers*, now opened by squares and boulevards, then in the centre of narrow streets. They were accompanied and escorted thither by a battalion of the National Guard, commanded by Guinard. The chiefs then assembled at the *Arts et Métiers* did not propose resistance, for they dissuaded some of the people, who sought to throw up barricades. Still a kind of barrier was formed of some carts. When the troops and the National Guard arrived, General Cavaignac, whom they met, took the command; the would-be barricades were overcome, and the would-be defenders dispersed by a discharge of musketry. The troops then penetrated into the *Arts et Métiers*, from which the greater number of Montagnards, they could scarcely be called insurgents, made their escape. Messrs. Ledru-Rollin, Considérant, and Martin Bernard were nearly caught. Some National Guards pressed them to a wall, the bayonets to their breasts, but, whether knowing or ignorant of their condition, they allowed them to escape. This was effected with difficulty, but in some days after Ledru-Rollin and his chief companions found themselves safe on the English side of the Channel. This last and most futile of the popular

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insurrections of the middle of the nineteenth century was at least a bloodless one. When Ledru-Rollin was afterwards asked how he came to embark in an open rebellion without any possible chance of success, he replied, "I was the chief of the movement party, and was consequently obliged to follow it." He thus confessed his incapacity to lead it, which indeed abler men might have failed to do. The abortive revolution in Paris was followed by a similar attempt at Lyons. It formed the last scene of the Socialist drama, that in which the remaining chiefs committed moral suicide.

The maxim of Louis-Napoleon seems to have been, when he finally assumed power, to dispose of one enemy at a time. During 1849, he chose as his ministers the lieutenants, if not the active chiefs, of the Monarchic faction. By these means he put down the party of the Republic, both Moderate and Socialist. The Moderate Republicans had indeed already broken the physical force of the Socialist and ultra-Republicans in the days of June. This most arduous and ungrateful task Louis-Napoleon found accomplished to his hand. The next, which was his first, step was to rise upon the shoulders of the victorious Cavaignac party, and become installed president upon their ruin. In 1849, his task was to put down all the Republicans, which was the more easy as their faction remained completely disunited. In May 1849 that was fully achieved.

There remained the necessity of dealing with the Monarchic parties. The fall of the Republicans had rendered the Monarchists not only more confident and presumptuous but more powerful. They dominated in the Assembly. As the star of General Cavaignac grew pale in the regards of the army, that of General Changarnier rose and became brilliant. He, too, had triumphed over an *émeute*, in February and in May. And though those triumphs were bloodless still they effaced those of Cavaignac in the preceding June. The

ministers, whom the President had appointed from the front ranks of the Monarchic faction, treated him as a parliamentary ministry might a constitutional sovereign. Instead of consulting him, they imposed a policy upon him, and this he found a vacillating and distracted one. Thus they had gone to Rome to make a compromise between the Pope and a supposed constitutional party; the latter, however, disappeared amid the violence of events, whilst the Pontiff, who had taken refuge at an ultra-conservative court, was likely to come back imbued with its prejudices rather than with any gratitude to France.

Besides his low estimate of the Monarchic chiefs, of Barrot and Thiers, as politicians, the President soon perceived how inimical they were to himself. They dreaded his popularity, and were resolved to repress it by the parliamentary majority. They had already precluded his immediate re-election after his four years' term of office by an article of the constitution. Had this been done and persevered in with a view to the election of a really Republican president, there would have been little to say against it. But the Monarchists had put down the Republic, had set aside Cavaignac, as they had done Lamartine, and excluded Marrast and Garnier Pagès from the Assembly. It could not be a Republican president they had in view, but a Monarchic one, a general, in fact, such as Changarnier, who would be prepared to play the Monk, and accomplish a restoration of one branch of the Bourbons or the other. Louis-Napoleon could not be expected to sanction or to suffer this, and expressed himself at once very clearly, that, if such was the intention of the Monarchists, he would oppose them. They mocked his threats, and made light of the means at his disposal for realising them. The President had interviews with their chiefs, and did his utmost to gain them, that is, he assured them that, if they behaved true and fair to him, he would

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in the same sense reciprocate. They were, however, not inclined to come into these terms. Nor could they. For whilst some, such as Barrot and Dufaure, were conscientiously prepared to support a republic, others had precipitated themselves into hopes and plans for an Orleanist restoration. It is reported that in a conversation of the President with Messrs. Molé and Thiers they recommended him to follow a purely civilian policy, and in token of it to cut off his mustachios.*

Seeing that he could not trust either the Monarchic chiefs or their lieutenants, the President resolved on changing his ministry. But whom should he name in their place? To which party could he have recourse? He had crushed and exiled the Socialist Republicans, defeated and set aside the Moderate ones. Legitimists and Orleanists were his foes. He had a party in the country composed of the rude and unlettered peasant, who still revered the name and family of Napoleon. But these, although they had elected him President, and would gladly have sent Imperialists to the Chamber, yet knew of none, and had, on the contrary, sent thither men who were anything but Imperialist. His device for ministers was thus limited to men of no party, men in whom he descried talent, with a certain flexibility, which would admit of their rallying to him personally, as soon as they perceived that he really possessed a future and a following. The list of the ministers named by the President on the 31st October, 1849, were—home department, Ferdinand Barrot; foreign affairs, Rayneval; justice, Rouher; finance, Fould; public instruction, Parieu; public works, Bineau; commerce, Dumas; marine, Roman-Desfosses; war, Hautpoul.

The President accompanied the appointment of this ministry by a message to the Assembly, in which he complained that his experiment of forming a ministry

* Cassaignac.

from the different parties of the parliament had not succeeded. There was no unity of views, no leading spirit. During the hundred days, when the first Napoleon was hampered by the Constitutionalists, he expostulated, and observed that the country remained uncertain and dispirited, because "it did not feel the old arm of the Emperor." Louis-Napoleon now repeated the phrase by saying that "France, amidst the general confusion and inertness of direction, sought for the hand and the will of the elect of the 10th of December." The name of Napoleon, he added, meant order, authority, religion, and the well-being of the people. He said not a word of liberty. Up to this period, such men as Thiers had hoped in the new President.* But the ministry and the manifesto now completely dispelled the illusion.

However discontented the Monarchists might be at the choice of persons which the President had made for the offices of the ministry, they had no reason to complain of the spirit of the government or of the laws introduced. Some of these went to conciliate the clergy, to whom was restored its supremacy especially over primary education. The schoolmasters appointed under the influence of Carnot and his laws were found to have taught Socialist in lieu of religious doctrines. They were got rid of, and teachers were subjected to the approval of the prefect. The judges, who had been declared removable by the Republicans, were restored to the old fixed tenure of place. The laws respecting the appointment of mayors were equally Conservative.

This manifest reaction not only exasperated the Socialists but displeased that now very feeble body, the middle classes and shopkeepers of Paris. These last were disgusted, especially with the new enactments relative to the National Guard, and an opportunity was

* Véron says that a Thiers and Molé ministry formed the prospect of the time, for the appointment of which the President had given hopes. —Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris.

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given them, too, for displaying it. The members of the Assembly implicated in the events of June having been expelled, elections were necessary to replace them. Three seats for Paris were vacant. The Parisians returned three decided Socialists, Carnot, Vidal, and De Flotte. The adherence to Socialism was not confined to the middle class; men who had before scouted it now rallied to Socialism, as the strongest auxiliary to the Republic. Michel de Bourges, the orator, Émile de Girardin, the journalist, gave it their support. As did Marrast and Cremieux.

The President was seriously alarmed at this re-apparition of Socialism, which not only had gained some of the middle class in the capital but was making progress under the name of communism in rural districts, especially in the poor and ignorant ones. He immediately retraced his steps, and having sought to govern for several months without the parliamentary chiefs, he summoned them to council at the Elysée. The elections were fixed for the 18th of March, 1850. The meeting of political chiefs at the palace took place on the 14th. These were Molé, Berryer, De Broglie, Thiers, and others. "What is to be done to put down Socialism?" asked the President. Montalembert, as the youngest, spoke first, and he proposed a new ministry composed of all the Monarchist chiefs. Molé and Thiers neither approved nor contradicted. But the Duc de Broglie was decidedly against it. Men of such different opinions could never agree, he said. So thought the President. He had merely convoked them to soften their opposition, and get them to pass more stringent laws against Socialism.

There is no event during the three years' tenure of his President's office by Louis-Napoleon which more fully than this proves how little fixed were his plans from the first, and how ready he was to coalesce with any of the great Moderate or Conservative parties that would have

frankly joined him. After breaking with the majority in October 1849, he recurred to it in the March following, and accepted their remedy for Socialism, although it was inimical to his own interests, as well as to his views, if he had any. The remedy proposed by the Monarchist chiefs was a restoration of three years' residence, instead of one of six months, as requisite for the enjoyment of the suffrage. As the lower orders in Paris form a very floating population, it was calculated that the new law would exclude the rabble from the *faubourgs*. Whether it did or not, it certainly swept away, not thousands, but millions, of those rural voters, who knew no other name than Napoleon.

The law was passed by a large majority on the 31st of May, from which date it took its name. The Monarchists and Moderate Republicans did not, however, rally to the President, notwithstanding his appeal and obsequiousness to them. The increase of the dotation from 25,000*l.* a year to 124,000*l.*, demanded by ministers, was only voted by a majority of four. And when the Assembly adjourned, it appointed a standing commission of Monarchists, Changarnier amongst them, to watch over the security of the Republic against any attempts of the executive.

Flung by these acts back into his isolated position, and at the same time in antagonism to the Assembly, Louis-Napoleon resolved on a tour through the provinces. His first reception was at Lyons, where at a banquet he alluded to the rumour that he meditated a *coup d'état*. "He that has been elected by 6,000,000 of votes need make no *coup d'état*. He had but to execute the will of the people, not betray it. Should culpable pretensions, however, threaten to disturb the repose of the country, he should know how to render them powerless." This was an allusion to the new course adopted by the Monarchists. Instead of continuing to waive their old allegiance, they reproclaimed it by the

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Legitimists going to do homage to Henry the Fifth at Wiesbaden, and the Orleanists taking advantage of the death of Louis-Philippe to pay their devoirs at Claremont.

By these antagonistic movements, the chiefs of the parliamentary majority broke with the President so completely that the war between them, it was evident, would break out in a wider field than the four walls of the Assembly. They saw in the President's speeches the threat of dissolving and over-ruling them by an appeal to the people. They therefore rallied round General Changarnier, whom they engaged to defend them. He had authority for this in the command of the National Guard, and the troops around Paris, confided to him by the President. The first open symptom that he gave of his hostility was a prohibition to the troops to cry *Vive Napoléon.* They had done so frequently. The war minister, Hautpoul, did not disapprove of this manifestation; but General Changarnier conceived it as preluding to the Empire. He therefore forbade the troops to utter a word, and they marched past the President in ominous silence. He enquired the cause, learned it, and resolved to dismiss Changarnier.

He took his time, and in the message which opened the session of 1851, some weeks previous to the commencement of that year, he demanded the revision of the constitution. One of its articles forbade the existing president to be re-elected. This he considered unfair at a moment when hostile parties were putting forward the candidature of the Prince de Joinville, and demanding the abrogation of the law of exile, in order to permit that prince to return to France, and to stand candidature for supreme power. The Orleans family was indeed not zealous or decided for such a step. The Duke of Nemours openly deprecated it, and preferred accomplishing a *fusion* with the Legitimists.

But ere this question of the revision of the constitu-

tion could come under the consideration of the Assembly, a circumstance occurred which greatly aggravated the quarrel between the President and his ministers on one side, the Assembly and General Changarnier on the other. By this time had arisen something like an Imperialist party. The few members who at first formed it styled themselves the *Société du* 10 *Décembre*. A man named Allan, who had enrolled himself in the society, revealed to the questors that a certain number of the members had plotted or proposed to assassinate General Changarnier and M. Dufaure. The questors published this revelation in the newspapers. No one paid attention to so absurd a story save the questors, great enemies of Louis-Napoleon, and who demanded in consequence that the Assembly should have a police force to protect it. No doubt, the story was got up by Allan for the sake of having this force organised, and himself attached to it or placed over it. On his side, the President of the Republic summoned to him on the 8th of January the chief of the Monarchists, Thiers, Berryer, De Broglie, Molé, Barrot, Dupin, and Montalembert. Louis-Napoleon communicated to them his determination to deprive Changarnier of the command of the troops and National Guard of Paris. He could no longer tolerate in such a position an officer who openly assumed the attitude of an enemy. He acquainted the parliamentary chiefs with his determination, adding that, if they would consent to it, he would allow them to form a ministry, and take any additional guarantee they pleaded on behalf of the Republic and its members. Half angry at being so consulted, they declined. Of course, they could not consent to sacrifice Changarnier, whom they had encouraged in his attitude of opposition. The Prince immediately formed another ministry, of which all the members consented to the dismissal of the general. They were Baroche, Rouher, Fould, Drouyn de l'Huys, Ducos. A decree of the next day, June 9,

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1851, dismissed General Changarnier, who was replaced by Baraguay d'Hilliers as general of the troops and guard of Paris, and by General Perrot as commander of the National Guard.

Some of the naturally most moderate members of the Chamber were excited to rage by what they considered so unwarrantable a measure. M. de Remusat was especially passionate. He interpellated the government first, and proposed that, if the reply was unsatisfactory, the Assembly should separate into committees to take such measures as the gravity of the circumstance required. This led to fierce debates, not rendered more calm by the declaration of Thiers that, if the Assembly gave way, the Empire was already accomplished. In fact, it did give way by making no mention of the fallen Changarnier, but merely declaring that the new ministry had not its confidence.

Had the Assembly and the political world been divided into compact parties, parliamentary censure inflicted on a ministry would have been an embarrassment. Politicians, however, were but puppets in the hands of the President, who appointed a new ministry, without any delay, of men little known to the Assembly. The names were Royer, Brenier, Randon, Germiny, Vaisse, Vaillant, Magnan, Giraud, and Schneider. This new government the President announced by a message, in which he said that, unable to form a ministry from a majority hostile to him, nor yet from the minority, he was driven to the necessity of making a government of special talent and acquirements without reference to politics. The Assembly replied by rejecting the 1,800,000 francs supplementary dotation for the expenditure of the President. He in rejoinder sold his horses, and assumed the attitude of a sovereign reduced to poverty by the niggardliness of the Assembly. The Imperialists throughout the country proposed subscriptions, which, however, the President declined.

It was impossible not to see that the struggle between the majority of the Assembly and the President must terminate in violence.* It was not to be expected that the representative of the Bonapartes, owing his position to the suffrage of the people, would yield his place and prospects to any princely competitor. The Assembly was determined to force him to do so, and yet they had no competitor whom they could really oppose to him. The country evidently would not have a prince of either branch of the Bourbons. Neither would it have a civilian or a revolutionary celebrity. The people would infallibly re-elect Louis-Napoleon. But this the clause of the constitution forbade. The President besought the Assembly to revise it. He continually made appeals to the Monarchist chiefs to obtain their assent, promising to give any guarantee they required. They refused, and relied on General Changarnier to ward off any danger from violence or from the military. Changarnier himself promised to render the constitution triumphant over every attempt of the President. "No soldier could be got," exclaimed the general, "to march against the Assembly. Therefore ye, the representatives of France, may deliberate in all security."

In April, the President made another appeal to the parties combined against him, and offered the presidency of the council to M. Odilon Barrot if that gentleman could form a ministry and suffer a *révision*. Barrot accepted, and tried, but the other members of the majority refused to listen to him. They demanded unconditional surrender on the part of the President. On this, the President named another ministry, consisting of Baroche and Léon Faucher, one foreign,

* The *Annuaire historique* quotes a passage from the *Daily News* of the time, and which plainly foreshadows the necessity of the President putting down the Assembly, or the Assembly putting down the President. So plain was the inevitable future even to the eyes of foreigners.

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the other home minister; Fould, Buffet, Randon, and Magne were the other names.

This ministry was allowed to supply as far as possible the place of that which Barrot had failed to unite. It was intended to satisfy the moderate men, who had rallied to the Republic, and who sought to continue it by leaving Louis-Napoleon still at the head of it. For this purpose a revision of the constitution was necessary. Some, however, instead of the revision, proposed simply prolonging the powers of the President for a certain number of years. Not only Léon Faucher, but the Duc de Broglie, Baroche and Duruy, saw the impossibility of setting aside Louis-Napoleon. They were therefore for the great compromise of continuing the Republic under him, no other scheme being practicable or possible. Had it prevailed, the great bugbear of the Empire would have been at least adjourned.

But parties were too violent. At the same time, the personal friends and followers of the President greatly increased as they became more active in their efforts. These showed themselves in the number of petitions which flowed in upon the Assembly during the summer for the revision of the constitution. The signatures were so numerous as far to exceed 1,000,000. Supported by this expression of popular opinion, more than 200 members maintained the necessity of a revision. The discussion followed. But it was soon evident that the Montagnards, or ultra-Republicans, united with the Monarchist and Moderate enemies of the President, would prevail. So it proved. There was indeed a majority for the revision, 446 against 278 who rejected it. But a law altering the constitution required three-fourths of the votes. And 446 did not amount to three-fourths of 742, the number of members present. The revision was thus lost on the 19th of July, and the Assembly separated on the 10th of August.

In the course of the same month, M. de Morny, on

the part of the President, made a last effort to bend the chiefs of the majority, and to bring Messrs. Molé, Berryer, and De Broglie to some compromise. De Broglie, indeed, as well as Barrot, voted the revision. But the Orleanists and the Legitimists, fused or separate, would not hear of it. They insisted on another president than Louis-Napoleon being elected. Who was to be that other president? The Republicans spoke of Carnot, the Orleanists of the Prince de Joinville. The Monarchist men of action preferred Changarnier, who, however, shrunk from explaining which branch of Bourbons he preferred. The Legitimists proposed Larochejaquelin.*

It was then that for the first time sprang up the serious project of the *coup d'état*. Carlier, the prefect of police, proposed it. He was for arresting the chief Monarchists, suspending the press, and dissolving the Assembly.† The President would not consent. He determined to await the opening of the Assembly, and to make another appeal to them to do away with the provision which excluded him from re-election, whilst that chance lay open to other and still less Republican candidates. Should the Assembly reject his demand, the President determined to have recourse to ultra-constitutional measures. And indeed he gave warning of some such intention by changing his ministry previous to the opening of the Chamber. Léon Faucher, the home minister in office, however favourable to the President's continued tenure of power, would have been no party to accomplish this by extra legal means. These, however, were not the patent grounds on which the ministers were removed. The President insisted on the repeal of the law of the 31st of May, limiting universal suffrage. Conservatives such as Faucher and Baroche deemed this law the most valuable conquest made by

* Cassaignac, Véron, journals of the time. † Véron.

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the party of order over the Socialists. The President differed with them. The law of the 31st of May, by demanding three years' domicile as requisite to the franchise, had shut out from the poll three of the ten millions who originally voted, and thus the lower class in such towns as Paris were thereby eliminated. A far greater number of the poor rustic voters were at the same time set aside. The restricted number of voters had returned an Assembly hostile to the President. Moreover, the law of the 31st of May declared that, if less than two millions voted for the election of president, the vote was null, and the election devolved upon the Assembly. When the constitution was decreed, the friends of the Prince argued, two millions of votes were required, these two millions forming one-fifth of the electoral body. But since the law of the 31st of May, two millions formed nearly one-half of the number of voters, and it was against the spirit of the constitution to demand that one-half of the people should vote, under penalty of the election being nullified, and transferred to the Assembly. By manœuvring and raising general obstacles at the time of the election, the Monarchist party might manage to render the majority of the Assembly completely masters of the choice. And in that case Louis-Napoleon had no chance.

Determined on having the law of the 31st of May changed, as well as the obnoxious clause in the constitution removed, the President changed his ministry previous to the meeting of the Assembly. Léon Faucher was replaced by Thorigny; St. Arnaud was appointed minister of war. Fortoul took the marine. Maupas succeeded Carlier in the police. There were but three of the ministers who belonged to the Assembly. The President's message began by stating that the Democratic parties in France and throughout Europe had gained ground, and were in a state of hope and excitement. Nothing encouraged them so much as the probable

ejectment of Louis-Napoleon from his post at the head of the French government. He therefore demanded the abrogation of the law of the 31st of May, and the return to universal suffrage.

Matters were evidently approaching a crisis. A great meeting of the conservatives who were well inclined to the President took place at the house of M. Daru, on the 7th, three days after the opening of the Chamber. Seven or eight members proposed to put an end to the dispute between the President and the Assembly, by a vote declaring the former re-eligible. Universal suffrage, they thought, might be somewhat restored, ceding to the desire of the government, but to counteract it, the constitution should be altered, by instituting two chambers instead of one assembly. Montalembert spoke very strongly for this compromise, which, however, did not suit the majority. It remained irritated against the President, confident that Changarnier was able to defend them, and resolved in consequence not to grant Louis-Napoleon *ni un écu ni une heure*, "not an additional hour, nor a crownpiece."*

To sustain this policy of defiance, it was necessary not only to have a general but an army. These the three questors of the assembly, Baze, Leflô, and Panat, undertook to procure. They accordingly gave notice on the 7th of a motion conferring on the president of the Assembly the right of summoning any portion of the military force of the Republic, and appointing a commandant of that force, whom it enjoined all authorities to obey. This decree was to be read to the army, and posted up in every barrack.

The motion, which aimed at no less than depriving the President of the command of the army, and transferring it to the Assembly, was discussed on the 17th and 18th of November, an ominous date, recalling the event

* Véron.

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of the 18th Brumaire, little more than half a century previous. Opened by Lasteyrie, the debate assumed all its gravity, when General St. Arnaud declared that the army and its chiefs were astonished at a legislative attempt to demand from them a divided allegiance. "If accepted," he said, "it would ruin the army, and supersede its traditional discipline by converting it into a club of political disputes." But far more grave than these words was the rumour which ran, that the President, having round him an armed force at the Elysée, was ready to march upon the Assembly, and accomplish an 18th Brumaire. Such, no doubt, was his purpose; and General Changarnier was prepared, it is also said, on the first news of the attempt, to move for the arrest of those seated on the ministerial benches. In prevision of such a contingency, St. Arnaud left the Assembly for the Elysée before the vote, leaving merely Thorigny and his civilian colleagues, whose arrest would not have been of so much importance. As St. Arnaud was leaving the Assembly, he observed to a friend and colleague, "They are making too much noise here, I am going to fetch the guard." There was no need, however, for such an act of violence. For the ultra-Republicans of the left of the Assembly had themselves become terrified at the military power to be conferred on the president of the Assembly, and consequently upon its majority, which they knew to be hostile to them. They accordingly voted against the motion of the questors, which was thrown out by a majority of 408 against 300. The news of the rejection was instantly brought to the Elysée, when the Prince observed that "it was all for the better," counter-ordering the war-horse that was held ready for him to mount.

The scheme of establishing a parliamentary army and government in face of a presidential army having thus failed by the want of concurrence on the part of the ultra-Republicans, a number of plans were set afloat by

the Monarchists for striking down the President. The *Constitutionnel*, which had been for some time in the interest of the President,* did not shrink from narrating the events and the dangers which the capital had escaped on the 18th, and it added a full disclosure of the plans that had been subsequently discussed. It stated with truth that the country had been within an hair's breadth of civil war. The danger still threatened; the Monarchists would at first have had General Changarnier for dictator, but as the Left would not agree in this, the Monarchists were prepared to give the same power to General Cavaignac, a *red* dictator instead of a *white* one—anything to get rid of the President. In order to arrive at this conclusion, a law was proposed to fix the responsibility of the President, which was nothing less than to put him *hors la loi*, and declare him guilty of high treason, if he placed any obstacle in the way of the execution of the thirty-second article of the constitution, giving the president of the Chamber power to require the assistance of the army. Véron says that it was on receiving notice of this motion that Louis Napoleon took the definitive resolution of dissolving the Assembly by force.

He almost, indeed, betrayed himself when addressing the French manufacturers who had been *exposants* at the English Exhibition—"How prosperous," he said, "might not France be if demagogic ideas and monarchic hallucinations did not disturb it. At the present moment, these parties, which were natural enemies, showed themselves the contrary, and were driving on to revolution. Notwithstanding their efforts, tranquillity shall be maintained. The government is equal to its mission, since it possesses the right, which is given by the people, and the power, which is given by God."

The true question lay with the army. Would it support the President, or would it stand by the constitution

* Granier de Cassaignac.

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and the Assembly? General Changarnier had assured his friends that the army would never act against them. M. Berryer declared in the tribune that in attempting to employ force against the Assembly, "the President would not find four men and a corporal to obey him."

On the 26th of November, General Magnan, who commanded the military division of the capital, assembled all the generals within call. He addressed them, and asked, Would they support the President in making another appeal to the people, in other words, would they join in the accomplishment of a *coup d'état?* The twenty-one generals, without hesitation, answered in the affirmative.* After this adhesion of the chiefs of the army, it was merely necessary to fix the day and the mode of execution. M. de Morny, who was eventually to take the home office, was the President's chief confident; General St. Arnaud, already minister of war, made the military preparations. With them, the prefect of police, Maupas, and an aide-de-camp were the only persons in the secret. "I hear that the President is going to sweep out the Assembly," observed a lady to M. de Morny on the evening of the attempt. "In that case," replied he, "I shall endeavour to act handle to the broom that sweeps." And this was precisely the part he acted.

None of the parties threatened considered the *coup d'état* as imminent. They all reckoned that such an attempt was only to be expected when provoked, as was the case on the 18th of November. There was a reception, as usual, at the Élysée on the evening of the 1st of December. M. de Morny showed himself at the opera. At night the President assembled those in the secret. The final resolve was taken, and the decrees prepared. The first step was the arrest of all who might preach or practise resistance. They amounted to seventy-eight, of whom eighteen were deputies.

* Granier de Cassaignac.

Generals Changarnier, Cavaignac, Lamoricière, and Bedeau, Messrs. Thiers, Charras, and the questors, Lagrange and Greppo, of the ultra-Republican party. These personages were all conveyed to the new prison of Mazas. Whilst the chiefs of all possible resistance were thus committed to prison, some twenty regiments occupied the important posts of the city.

To the Parisians, who awoke in astonishment on the morning of the 2nd, the following proclamation disclosed the meaning of the movement:—

"*Decree.*

"The National Assembly is dissolved. The law of the 31st of May being abrogated, universal suffrage is fully re-established. Re-election of an assembly takes place immediately. Paris is declared in a state of siege, and the council of state dissolved."

The document was signed by the home minister, De Morny. A proclamation from the President at the same time appeared, giving a public exposure of his intentions.

"Frenchmen," said the President, "the actual situation could not endure. The Assembly, which ought to have been the mainstay of order, had become a mere *focus* of all kinds of plots. Instead of passing laws for the public good, it employed its time in forging arms for civil war. It attacked me, the elect of the people. In dissolving it, I take the people to judge between the Assembly and myself. The same men who had destroyed two monarchies already were tying my hands to sacrifice me also, in order to put an end to the Republic. I therefore make a loyal appeal to the nation. If it wishes to prolong the present state of anarchy, let it choose another in my place. I will no longer wield a power that is insufficient to accomplish any good. If, on the contrary, the country has confidence in me, let it give me the power to accomplish

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my mission. This is to close the era of revolution, and satisfy the real wants of the people, whilst protecting them against subversive passions. The instability of power proceeds from the preponderance of a single Assembly. I therefore propose as the basis of government:

"A responsible chief, chosen for ten years; ministers depending on the executive alone; a Council of State, composed of the most able men, discussing the proposed laws before the Legislative Body; a Legislative Body, discussing and voting the laws, elected by universal suffrage; a Senate.

"Such was the system of the First Consul. If I do not obtain a majority of your suffrages in approval of this system, I will summon another Assembly, and surrender to it the mandate I received from you."

This was the *Constitution de l'an VIII*, in other words, the Consular Constitution of 1799, emasculated of some of its liberal provisos, but retaining all its dictatorial character. It preserved the election of communal and departmental lists, out of which alone functionaries could be chosen. The Senate filled up itself the vacancies in its body. But that constitution gave the initiative of laws and motions exclusively to the government, withdrew ministers from the jurisdiction or even the influence of the Assembly, and reduced the latter to a mere consultative body. The constitution of 1799 said nothing of the press, but as it was inaugurated by the suppression of opposition journals so was the constitution of 1851.

Such a system of government could only have emanated from a victorious soldier. It could neither have been framed or accepted by any body of civilians. That of 1799 was, however, accepted by the generality of Frenchmen as at least a repose from anarchy, from civil strife, and administrative dilapidation. There was not the same excuse, certainly, in 1851. No foreign war threatened. The Socialists, who had a large following in

the great towns, and who as communists had perverted the sentiments of several remote and indigent rustic districts, formed a danger which a free government might have fully coped with. Their theories and threats, however, filled the proprietorial class with terror. And they thought less of the requirements of a free government than of those of a severe one. If indeed in and out of the Assembly they inclined to the Monarchic parties, it was that they had no faith in the strength or permanency of the President. When the success of the *coup d'état* showed him to possess power and sagacity, not only did a strong party gather around him, but the much larger party of the timid rallied to him also. As to peasant voters, they knew the name of Buonaparte, and could not comprehend the meaning of a *constitution*. It was an invention of the *bourgeoisie*, which never failed to increase their taxation and to lead to revolution.

Whilst the people, or indeed ere the people, considered these things, the members of the Assembly, with the exception of the eighteen arrested, displayed and entered upon different modes of opposition. In the Conservative Club, Léon Faucher proposed a protest, which Baroche deprecated. The Republicans met to proclaim Louis-Napoleon a traitor. Victor Hugo signed a decree in the name of the *Montagne réunie*, declaring him *hors la loi*. De Morny was soon informed of these acts, and a body of police surrounded the meeting of the Republican members, and conveyed them to prison.

The Moderates, after assembling in several places, collected at last in the Mairie of the Rue de Grenelle. They elected a president. The president of the Assembly, M. Dupin, had made his submission, declaring it useless to struggle against force. The deputies, upwards of 200, passed a vote that Louis-Napoleon had forfeited his office. Some of them then tried to force their way into the old hall. But bayonets barred the way, and finally the entire number of the

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deputies was surrounded and brought captive to the barrack of the Quai d'Orsay. There most of them were obliged to pass the night between the 2nd and 3rd. Some were released early, especially M. de Broglie and Dufaure. M. Thiers was sent by rail to Strasbourg, and set free on the other side of the Rhine. The other prisoners of Mazas were sent to Ham.

It was difficult for the remnant of the Democratic Club to bear such a revolution without protesting against it. And the only protest was by arms. The working class of Paris had, however, sufficient experience of *émeutes*, and, save those enrolled in the clubs, none would join it. Hence the insurrection hung fire. It did not show itself on the 2nd, and on the 3rd made a vain attempt to raise the faubourgs. This failing, the Clubbists collected in the old battlefields, the network of narrow streets round St. Méry. There, on the 3rd, they threw up barricades and commenced resistance. There were also rising and strife in the streets abutting on the boulevards on either side. This led to disastrous consequences, for the troops, as they marched up from the Madelaine, began to fire long before any enemy appeared; and as they could not fire straight before them, being in column, they discharged their muskets upon the houses, and into the windows, killing numbers of inoffensive people. It was a most unwarrantable proceeding on the part of some of the officers in command, and is reproached as a sacrifice of innocent persons in order especially to terrify their class. From the citizens, however, the President encountered no resistance whatever. The National Guard had refused to support the deputies in the Assembly when appealed to. And save a few desperadoes in the quarter St. Méry, the *coup d'état* met really with no armed resistance. There were counted 175 killed of the insurgents.

The ministry formed by the President on the success of his *coup d'état* consisted of De Morny, St. Arnaud, Fould, Turgot, Ducos, Rouher, Magne, and Fortoul.

On the 20th and 21st took place the great vote throughout the country. Of 8,000,000 of voters, 7,500,000 received with approbation the revolution effected by the President.

The constitution was promulgated in January 1852. The members of the Senate were named, and the Legislative Body elected. But with the initiative power taken from it, few persons cared for its existence, or looked into its debates. Parliamentary régime in France was no more. On its ruin rose the Second Empire; for the French require something to worship. Louis-Napoleon tried the pulse of his two great secondary cities, Lyons and Bordeaux. The acclamations of Lyons saluted him Emperor. Bordeaux became eager to do the same, when the President solemnly told them that the new Empire should be Peace. "It was not territories," he said, "but reforms and ameliorations that the new dynasty had to conquer." Again consulted in November 1852, would it sanction the dignity of Emperor as it had already approved of the Imperial system and laws, the country, with its 8,000,000 of voters, saluted the heir of the Emperor Napoleon as Napoleon the Third.

Thus, after thirteen centuries, the monarchy of France returned very nearly to the point from whence it started, subject to a ruler hoisted on their bucklers by his soldiers, and then acclaimed by the people. In that long lapse of time the monarchy suffered many vicissitudes. As long, indeed, as kingship was imperial, which it soon became, Roman ideas of policy and sovereignty prevailing, the majesty of the throne was more nominal than real, its amount of consistence and power mainly dependent upon the personal qualities of the prince. Feudalism soon laid another basis, and gave birth to a new sentiment altogether, and, by making the king the crowning point of a territorial and hereditary aristocracy, caused its roots to commingle with the pride, the prejudices, and the interests of all.

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It would be erroneous, however, to consider the kingship of modern Europe as the mere capital of an aristocratic column. A great portion of its increased strength came from its being looked to, not only by the class in immediate contact with it, but by those lower in the social scale far less fortunately placed. The characteristic of feudalism was, indeed, to create several classes, to recognise them, and endow them with rights, which, however limited at first, were still rights. The ancient world knew but two classes, one the proprietorial and patriciate, the other which gave labour or service for livelihood. The latter had no rights; they were slaves, freedmen, or clients. Feudalism made the serf, and allowed the middle and industrious class to rise, slowly and grudgingly, no doubt, but with the instinctive mistrust that the middle class would one day dethrone it. Church and aristocracy therefore leagued to fetter the middle-class mind, which in time broke or strove to break such fetters. This effort succeeded in England, and failed in France for a time, the revolution of the latter being thus adjourned in order to be more complete. And this forms the difference between the histories of the two countries. The struggle produced the amalgamation of the two classes in England, of their ideas and their wants; whilst in France the victorious privileged classes held their antagonists at bay, till the latter called on the people to rise and accomplish the revolution, which utterly effaced, not only the institutions, but even the social landmarks of feudalism.

That feudalism and territorial constitutions have seen their day, there can be little doubt; as little, that these are already to be succeeded by a return to the old division of patriciate and non-patriciate, the former not based, as was formerly the case, upon narrow or legal privileges, but upon the broad and various claims of wealth, birth, intelligence, esteem, and personal superiority. It will require, indeed, that all these should group together and

stand by one another, if they are to hold their ground as an upper class—the more destitute and uneducated coming to know and to gain daily the advantage of numbers, and not wanting men to teach them that strength gives right. The war of those who inherit nothing, and have nothing, against those more fortunately reared and endowed, we see in England, however disguised, as we have seen it in the latter pages of this history open and undisguised. When it becomes so flagrant and fierce, as was till lately the case in France, the well-to-do class, if unorganised, or unable to defend itself by existing institutions, will, like the upper citizens of the Italian republics, instal a *podestà*, or dictator, or an Emperor: this is, in other words, the sacrifice of liberty to security, which the upper class under urgent circumstances will always be compelled to make; whilst to avoid this necessity seems to be, or ought to be, the first great aim of modern statesmanship.

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